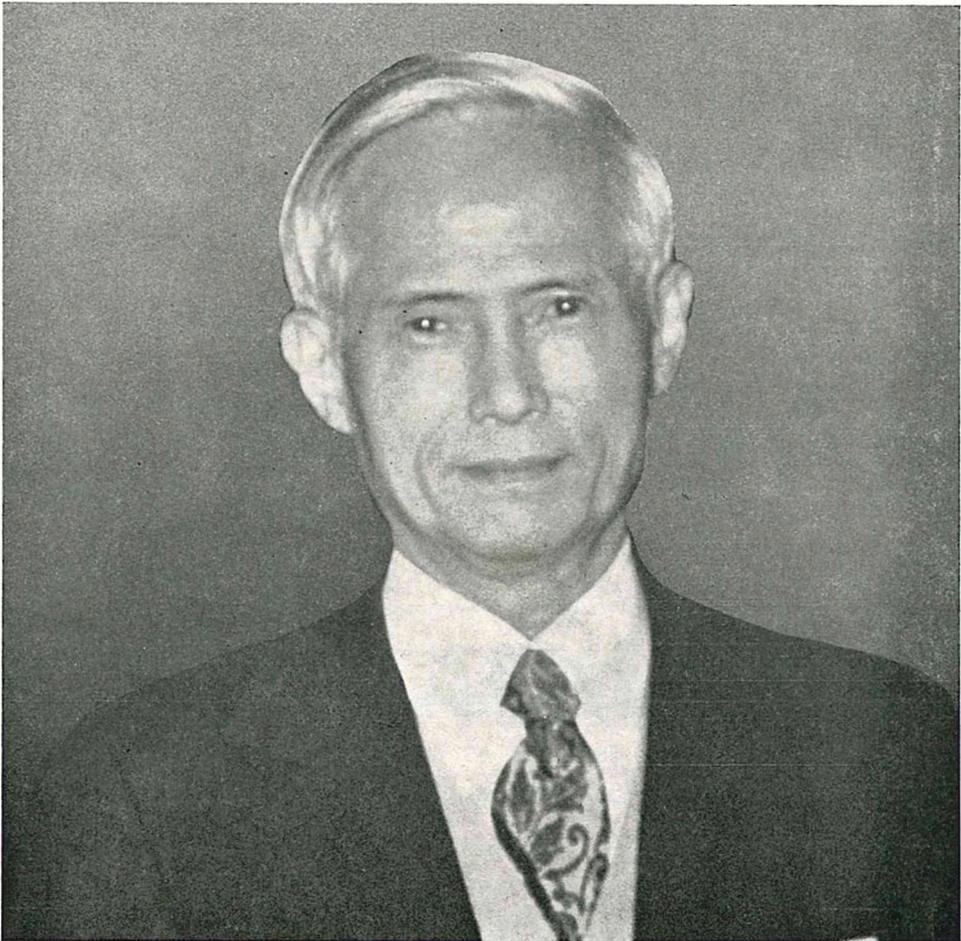


ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Dr. Phan Huy Quat



Former Prime Minister of Vietnam, Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League and a great friend of the subjugated nations. Murdered after the Communist take-over of South Vietnam.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Spiritual Superpower

I should like to point out the following basic ideas in my introductory words:

1. The development of mankind has brought about the dissolution of empires and great power structures into independent national states; this development can by no means stop at the borders of the Russian empire — the USSR — and its satellites including Yugoslavia. The number of Ghana why should they not be able to do so with an independent organization. If the western empires have dissolved why should the Russian prison of nations and individuals continue to exist?! If in other parts of the world colonial rights have ceased to exist why should the prison of peoples in Europe and Asia — the Russian empire — where nations possessing millennial civilizations are subjugated, be preserved?! In this connection technological or economic aspects should be of no consequence; if the USA can have economic relations with the tiny state of Ghana why should they not be able to do so with an independent Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, a free Cuba, Croatia or with Ukraine having 50 million inhabitants or Turkestan having 30 millions, and with Byelorussia? The decisive factor is the desire of the peoples to be independent and not the endeavours of foreign anti-national forces!

2. The precondition for the realization of human rights of the captive nations is the attainment of their national state independence with a democratic system of government. So far there has not existed any empire allowing an enslaved people to practice its human rights since, the fundamental human right of the citizens of a subjugated nation is their right to have an independent state of their own!

The subjugated peoples in the Russian empire will never be able to obtain their human rights as long as the prerequisite, i. e. the dissolution of the empire into independent national states of these peoples, remains unfulfilled. Thus the essential point in question is not the democratization of the Russian empire — which would be contradictory in itself — but its dissolution resulting in the abolition of the totalitarian Communist system as a form of Russian imperialism!

3. The West is compelled to oppose the Russian empire and the Communist system politically and psychologically for its own interest, following the fundamental truths that each nation is entitled to be independent and that each individual has the right to live in his (her) own independent and free state. These truths should be observed everywhere in the world including Europe and Asia where a great number of nations are oppressed by Russian imperialism and Communism. The Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration concerning world decolo-

nization (Declaration of the General Assembly of the United Nations for the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 1960, reaffirmed 1972), the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the US Congress Public Law of 1959 asserting the necessity to support the national liberation struggle of the nations enslaved by Soviet-Russian imperialism within the USSR and the satellite countries for their respective state independence... offer an additional political basis for a liberation policy to be conducted by the West, i. e. the development of a political and psychological opposition to Russian imperialism and Communism. Moscow has by no means abandoned either her ideological and political struggle or her goals with respect to conquering the entire world. Besides, the Soviet-Russian Professor Woslenskij recently stated in Essen (Germany) that "peaceful coexistence does not exclude national-liberation and civil so-called just wars".

Ponomarow has followed this line by "calling into being people's front governments, making the western mass media serve his purpose, infiltrating the bodies of officers of the western armies, the leadership of the western trade unions etc."

When, during his Moscow visit President Giscard d'Estaing requested in view of Helsinki, to end the ideological conflict his talks with Brezhnev were broken off and he had to retire to Jasna Polana and Borodino as a tourist. This shows that even after Helsinki nothing has changed in Moscow. She continues to pursue her goal to conquer the world as her undertakings in Portugal, the Near East, India, Africa (Angola) and South America clearly show.

The West has the possibility of forming a common front with the subjugated nations in the USSR and its satellite countries, to support the liberation movements for the attainment of national independence and the liberation nationalism fighting the so-called proletarian internationalism, and to promote the national liberation revolutions of the enslaved nations in the USSR and the satellite states by practical auxiliary measures. Liberation nationalism is the most democratic future system conceivable. It rejects imperialism, colonialism, totalitarianism of all kinds, national-socialism, racism, fascism and advocates the right of every nation to an independent state since according to Herder nations are "God's ideas". Religion constitutes the basis for any national culture and belief in God elevates every human being to the highest level of his existence. Liberation nationalism is based on the respect for human rights.

In view of the permanent Russian Communist offensive, the so-called peaceful coexistence must lead to war whereas the national liberation revolutions in the heart of the Russian empire will destroy the Russian prison of peoples, the Communist system and bring about a durable and just peace, if they are supported by the West.

4. There no longer exists a bipolarity between the USA and the

USSR with respect to nuclear weapons, for it has been replaced by a multipolarity with regard to technological achievements. The nuclear stalemate speaks for itself. Multipolarity in connection with nuclear weapons and technology indicates the process of organic differentiation of world development on a national basis implying that no superpower can any longer be assigned the role of watchdog in nuclear and technological matters.

In the history of mankind spiritual, ethical and ideal values have always prevailed in the long run. Consequently the **subjugated nations** will emerge from the present life-and-death struggle as a **victorious spiritual superpower** standing for the belief in God, the independence of nations, the rights of man as a godlike creature, for social justice and the national cultures of the peoples as opposed to militant atheism, imperialism, tyranny, slavery, injustice and misery, Soviet and Communist anticulture, and for national independence and a national basis of the future world order!

*Opening Speech at the Conference of the European Freedom Council,
Munich, Nov. 14th, 1975*

Dr. Carlo Barbieri, WACL Chairman

FOR INTENSIFICATION OF ACTION

The United States, in which many of our hopes were placed as far as the defense of Asia and the free world was concerned, has in the last years assumed a surrendering position towards the enemy that is now infiltrated within its own structures. The last world war, won by the Soviet Union, demonstrated where our enemy really is. Well inspired persons realized that Communism had to be fought, and while this position was maintained, the free world could fight for its own development, confident that somebody was defending its positions. Pacific coexistence and détente appeared, inspired by obscure persons and organizations. What has happened in our world since? Vietnam was handed over after years and years of strong fighting from its martyred people, Cambodia was converted into the hell of Asia, and many others are on their way to Communism, if they don't rely on themselves and their true allies.

The importance of Japan must be mentioned and enhanced here. Let us make it clear. The United States has left us alone, and in many cases, turned into our own enemy. Mr. Kissinger and his détente policy constitute the hidden hand of Communism, planning the way to make things easier for our invaders, to hand them with diplomatic acceptance, what is left of the world they once promised to defend.

Asia is a martyr continent, at this moment. It has been the victim of all kinds of treasons in the last years. The area lost to anti-Communism

will be difficult to recover. But, if we assume the conscience of defense and action method principles it will once again be free. Japan, devastated by a war was able to become the world power it constitutes today. This development, the fruit of effort and dedication of the Japanese people, gives them, together with the accomplished welfare, the responsibility of assuming its role in the defense of the Asian Continent. Japan is the industrial power of today. The raw materials found in the rest of Asia and, why not say it, in America, Africa, Europe and the Middle East, are every day achieving more economic and thus political importance. The achievement of a political stability must be accounted for in the exploration of all these facts. Statements in the press that, for example the increase of the oil price is the cause of world inflation, is just one more shot from Communist campaigns. It had been established for years and years according to the oil trusts, causing prejudice in the countries who based their economy on the sale of this product. The defense of raw materials coming from the developing countries, must be a focus of our struggle, in the sense that they will allow them to maintain a political stability which will, in the end, avoid Marxist penetration. This example is just to point out that an ideological struggle must be based on the unison in all areas, of those countries who fight for the same goals.

We are against the financing of Communism by the West. But, no victory will be achieved through fighting with words. Alliances are necessary in the defense of strategic points, but security will only come if these alliance are based on a unity of ideas.

We have to reformulate our positions, find our true allies and strengthen our own structures. Our youth must be ideologically formed, our enterprises must be politically advised, our Armed Forces must be trained to understand that wars are not only fought with guns, and that they may be invaded today, by a great army; the Communist penetration into the minds of its soldiers.

We know that Vietnam and Cambodia were handed over to Communism. But we also know that their people have not accepted their destiny imposed behind elegant French or American desks. Vietnam people continue to fight in the Eastern part of the country, and thousands of Cambodians are still being killed for not accepting the new dictatorship. We believe in them as we believe in the Chinese, who daily give up their lives in their country; as we believe in the people from the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union, some of them who, for a second generation, continue to maintain their resistance against the occupation. There is a ray of hope on our horizon. Sixty years after the establishment of Communism in the Soviet Union, only a heavenly power sends us the voice of the martyrs of the system who tell us that all is not lost; that as long as the free world pressurizes here is a chance of recovering part

of what was lost. I have come from Latin America. Fifteen years ago, our continent was given up as lost by those democrats who cried and did nothing to defend us. Today I can tell you with pride, that after most of our countries have passed through the Marxist experience, they have, by themselves, changed the ways of this machiavelic destiny, and strive for their development, some of them suffering the worst pressures from Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Kennedy, who never accepted the fact that Communism had lost another colony on our continent.

The World Anti-Communist League has to intensify its action. We have to meet to discuss, but victory will not be achieved in a congress room. While the World Anti-Communist League is strong here, it is still weak in many parts of the world. I have toured throughout most of the countries carrying the voice of anticommunism and the voice of our organization. I have felt the loneliness in which we have to fight. When I see all of you here, as in other conferences, I feel no longer lonely, but the important feeling is for those who are sacrificing themselves and risking their lives. It is us, everyone of us, that have to take up this important challenge.

We have to justify the lives of our martyrs, we have to fight. Let us be confident that the final victory will be ours.

(from the speech delivered at the 21st APACL Conference, Tokyo)

NEWS from WACL and AF ABN

I. On December 13th 1975 an important meeting of the Executive Board of WACL (World Anti-Communist League) took place in Seoul, Republic of Korea. The ABN was represented by Mrs. Slava Stetsko. Also represented were regional branches of WACL from all continents.

The Executive Board of WACL called upon leaders of the free nations to refute the policy of détente and to replace it with a policy of liberation and active opposition to Communism and Russian imperialism.

It has been decided to hold the 9th WACL Conference in Seoul on May 1-5, 1976, under the theme: "National Freedom Against International Communism!" All free nations of the world are urged to join the Americans in annually observing, a week dedicated to all the nations enslaved by Russian-Communists.

II. On December 20, 1975 a confer-

ence was convened in New York upon the initiative of the American Friends of ABN to discuss the possibility of organizing a joint bloc of various American groups, descendants from countries, which are presently in Communist-Russian slavery, with the aim of participating in and influencing the American election campaign in such a way that appropriate candidates be chosen. Delegations from organizations representing 8 national communities: Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Cossack, Cuban, German, Lithuanian, Rumanian and Ukrainian. It has been resolved to set up such a movement. A temporary executive committee has been elected, composed of the following persons: Peter Azuolas (Lithuanian), Dr. Anathole W. Bedriy (Ukrainian), Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgarian), Col. N. Nazarenko (Cossack), Dr. Nohemi Labrada (Cuban), Dr. Alexander Ronnett (Rumanian) and Dr. Karl von Zemenzky (German).

Present Western Policy From The Aspect Of The Captive Nations

We consider not only those who have been enslaved by Moscow since 1944 but all nations from whom the right to national independence has been withheld and have until now been forced to live under foreign rule subjugated.

As is known Lenin conceded to all the peoples of the former Tsarist empire the right to freely decide their future at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. This public declaration was in reality only a tactical manoeuvre in order to induce the nations of the Russian empire to take part in the struggle for the destruction of the Tsarist empire. However, as soon as the Bolsheviks had consolidated their power Lenin revoked the principle of self-determination which he himself had proclaimed, and initiated a counter-move aimed at re-enslaving the nations. Thus he ordered the Red Army to invade the territories that recently became independent to force them into submittance to Moscow. This is a typical example of the Communist way of thinking and acting, which proves that one cannot rely on declarations made and treaties signed by them.

Not only East Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs and Croats are subjugated peoples, but also Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Armenians, Turkestanians, Tatars, Northern Caucasians and many others.

The distinction between East European states and the nations enslaved within the borders of the USSR as suggested by some "experts" on Communist questions is absolutely artificial. The fate of the former in no way differs from that of the latter. Even in the countries represented in the United Nations as independent states and members of this international organization, terror beyond all bounds is practiced under the Russian signature. Mass murder, systematic starvation of the people and exhaustive forced labour are the order of the day there. We do not see any difference between Rumania where 2 million people have fallen victim to Communist tyranny and the peoples suffering martyrdom within the Soviet Union. We do not see any difference between the massacres carried out in Hungary of Croatia and the barrows of Katyn and Vynnytsia. The abolition of individual and national freedoms is a general trend, irrespective of the fact whether these nations are within the Soviet Union, i. e. "intra muros", or "extra muros" in the so-called satellite countries.

The states having Communist regimes are by no means states within the traditional and generally accepted meaning although they take part in international conferences individually and are represented by ambas-

sadors. These states are empty cartographical territorial structures which are tolerated by the Kremlin for tactical reasons only, to mislead western public opinion.

The politically empty structures lack two essential characteristics inherent to true states. Firstly, they have no access to any political life and are thus completely excluded from the life of their state.

The role of the people is conferred upon the CP which is nothing but an extension of the arm of the CC in Moscow. Secondly, these states are neither internally nor externally sovereign, for all their political decisions, 5-year plans and administrative apparatus are programmed and controlled by the Communist International in all details. So, what is left of the alleged independence of these states? The world witnessed what happened in Hungary when the Hungarian people wanted to recover its national independence. At that time it became apparent as to who has always been the true master of Hungary: not the Hungarian people but the Soviet Russian tanks. The independence of these states, called satellites — even if this term seems by far too mild for depicting their deplorable situation — is a sad joke, a misleading foreground and pretence behind which Moscow's plenipotentiaries are hiding. In fact it is they who rule these countries and the provinces of the immense Communist Russian empire.

Thus we cannot make a distinction between the subjugated nations within the official borders of the Soviet Union and the enslaved nations outside its borders which were de facto incorporated into the Russian sphere of power 30 years ago. For Soviet Russia it is only a question of time and expediency as to when it is going to end this farce of independent states and

without any scruples incorporate the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the People's Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Poland etc. directly into the Soviet Union.

Western politics in connection with the question of captive nations not only betrays freedom and democracy which the western states in the whole world allegedly stand for, but also — and this is far worse — revokes their own words and principles. Western civilization is characterized by ancient Greek culture, Roman law and Christianity as proved by many famous historians. The term West comprises not only the entire chain of states surrounding the Atlantic Ocean and the Caucasus. What will happen to Roman law taken over by all European states if the Bolshevik Leviathan does away with it refusing to comply with the rights of the individual and with "ius gentium", the international law? What will become of the European culture as the heritage of Greek philosophy when the so-called Socialist Realism eats away the national cultures and when even the term culture is abolished? What will remain of the 2000-year-old Christianity when the forces of Antichrist ruthlessly eradicate every vestige of Christianity, kill priests and pull down the churches? The poli-

cy pursued by the West vis-à-vis Communism which is characterized by abstaining from resistance against Communism and permitting it to unfold however it wishes is of no advantage to these countries. This policy jeopardizes its own continuance by destroying religion and moral principles on which this civilization has been established. The coexistence of the West with Communism implies that the West accepts its own ruin. When in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam the western leaders abandoned the East European peoples, they gave themselves up by resigning from their way of life and destroying their moral and spiritual equilibrium. Coexistence with Communism means that the West has detached itself from the principles of its own civilization, and all the evils, which mankind is suffering at present derive from there.

If we take military strategy into account we should recall that already Bullit had pointed out in his important work "The Great Globe Itself" that the West European states clinging to the Atlantic coasts would not be able to hold their ground in the long run in this precarious situation. The pressure exerted by the Euro-Asian glaxis is too strong to prevent the disastrous outcome, that is the incorporation of western Europe into the Soviet-Russian colossus.

A sound western policy ought to not only have rejected the scandalous bargain of Yalta and Potsdam but should in addition, after the end of the war, have mobilized entire Europe, the victorious as well as the defeated states, to start, together with the American forces a new campaign against Red totalitarianism for the final liberation of all peoples in the Russian empire.

The so-called "Final Act" of Helsinki — the term has been especially drafted for the Conference held in the Capital of Finland — deserves its name as far as its ratification culminates the policy of concessions and renunciations taken up by western powers during and shortly after the war. In its policy of concessions the West has now gone as far as to admit its complete failure, without even attempting to defend itself, despite the fact that it is stronger than Soviet Russia together with all the Communist ruled countries.

We should like to pursue and supplement this idea. We should not let ourselves be deceived by the meaning and the true implications of the Act of Helsinki. This Act affects the fate of the West and shows to what extent the Communist conspiracy has penetrated the domestic political structures of its countries. This Act is a test showing that the West suffers from a serious disease that might become fatal for it. The Act contains more than just a formal recognition of Soviet-Russian conquests in Eastern Europe as well as more than a confirmation and legitimation of the status quo in Europe. It has been admitted for the first time that the West has contributed to the incorporation of East Europe into the Soviet Russian sphere of power. The Act publicly and formally avows that the

policy of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam is maintained unchanged as being irrevocable and that it will hold on to its fatal course until the whole world has come under Communist rule. The policy of concession as adopted at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam cannot be attributed to the "mistakes" of the two American Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. It is part of the common scheme of both powers. The realization of this revised plan has been delayed due to setbacks, under the pressure of public opinion. The essence of the plan, however, has been retained unchanged. Never did the two powers Soviet Russia and USA abandon this scheme nor did they revise its core. The spirit of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam still inspires the foreign policies of the western states, defining them according to Roosevelt's understanding.

They policy of unilateral performances which are profitable for Moscow and Communism — this policy will inevitably lead the free world to disaster — is to be attributed to Communist infiltration in the American administration, as many authors have pointed out. Subversion has progressed so much that the American president can no longer oppose it efficiently. When President Johnson ordered that the untangible nerve and power centres in Vietnam be massively attacked with bombs he was opposed to such an extent that he was forced to cancel the order, admit his guilt and renounce another presidential candidacy. When President Nixon wished to prevent the above scheme from being carried out and wanted the White House to pursue an American, not a Soviet Russian, foreign policy he had to give up his post after a monstrous affair plotted against him. Not Watergate caused Nixon's downfall but his anti-Communist attitude jeopardizing the realization of the Communist plans. Helsinki is a direct outcome of Nixon's downfall.

This is the situation in the United States and there is little hope for any change except if the power is taken over by a team of true American patriots. However, it seems all the more shocking how superficially and dilettantishly the West European statesmen have dealt with the questions raised at the European Security Conference by ratifying the "Final Act". They have not only abandoned those countries which had previously been cut off from Europe, but have given up the security of their own peoples. In view of the document acknowledging Moscow's possessions in East Europe she no longer had to worry about the captive peoples and now disposes of the freedom of movement necessary for proceeding against the western countries.

As Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko repeatedly pointed out in numerous articles and pamphlets, the subjugated nations constitute the principal defence line of the West. The world is afraid of a possible war with Soviet Russia which, however, cannot wage such a war since it would be attacked from the rear by the captive nations. These peoples would make use of any opportunity, such as a war, to rise and restore their independence. The

Soviet Russian forces invading Europe would run the risk of being cut off from their supply bases. 250 million people in all subjugated countries are just waiting for such a fortunate moment to shake off Moscow's yoke. The Russians will certainly not wage a war in Europe being aware of the fact that they would be defeated.

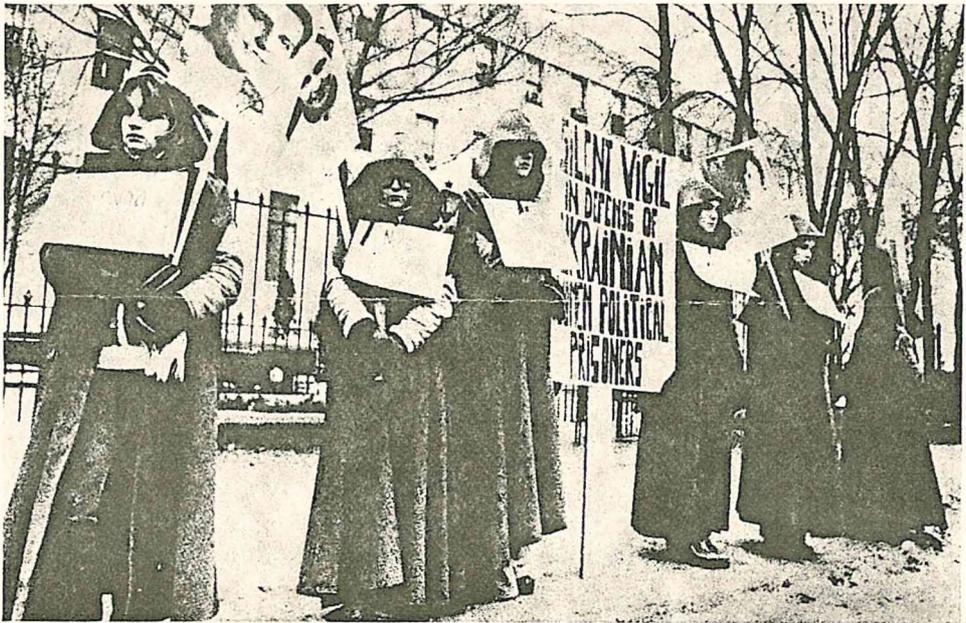
It is not a military war that menaces Europe but a completely different kind of warfare: a secret invisible war based on subversion, revolution and conspiracy wherein the Communists are not excelled. They owe their success to this type of warfare. The leaders of the western states should instruct the population in this direction, in order to induce it to openly resist Communist subversion, by which the death blow will be delivered.

The ratification of the Final Act of Helsinki by the West European states involves still greater risks than. Having got rid of the political burden in connection with the captive nations the Soviet Union can now accelerate the process of converting West Europe into satellite states by combined efforts of the Communist parties and their subversive apparatus. As is said "crime does not pay". However, "treason does not pay" either. The Bolshevik hordes have been kept in check by the bulwark formed by the captive nations up until Helsinki. Now, having got rid of these natural allies of the West they are free to act and will be able to deliver the death blow to the free nations.

From the Helsinki Conference it is apparent that the western nations have by no means attained the intended security in return for surrendering the East European peoples. Their situation — and this is even more momentous — has become more precarious. At present Europe can be divided into 3 zones of Communist control: 1) the subjugated peoples "intra muros", i. e. the captive nations within the Soviet Union; 2) the subjugated nations "extra muros", i. e. the peoples who came under Moscow's control after the second World War; and 3) the peoples which are now already potential slaves, still free but about to enter the insatiable stomach of the Soviet Russian Moloch. This danger has spread over all Europe and the security margin has been narrowed down so much that these nations are compelled to live in a state of alarm.

What can save Europe from this impending danger after the complete failure of the traditional liberal capitalist structures and their inability to prevent the Communist invasion? There is but one answer to this: only the nationalism of the enslaved nations. These peoples are like rocks, and the furious waves of Communist Russian imperialism are just broken up against them. They have remained intact despite all the tempests of history. Nationalism is the living force of the peoples, their moving and inspiring principle. It is the only possible alternative capable of resisting Communism, as has for instance been pointed out by the US Senator Jesse Helms.

All captive and free nations of Europe must unite their forces. The Europeans must realize that instead of settling their mutual conflicts they must combine their forces to secure their survival as the Romanic and Germanic peoples in the Catalaunian fields did, to fight against the invasion of the Huns. The Romanic, Germanic and Slavic peoples must form a unified front from the Caucasus to the Atlantic against the new barbarians from the East. All should turn against Moscow, against Communist black imperialism and against Russian Bolshevick colonialism!



Ukrainian women take up watch outside embassy

Sarah Henry, Citizen staff writer

SOVIET EMBASSY UNDER VIGIL

Seven women, clad in grey prison smocks, have begun a one-month silent vigil in front of the Soviet embassy.

The women, all from Toronto's Ukrainian community, are protesting the imprisonment of six Ukrainian women who are said to be in Soviet prisons for periods ranging from four to eight years for their dissident political beliefs.

Irene Bajer, spokesman for the group, said Tuesday that with "International Women's Year approaching its end we feel nothing has been done to better the plight of these women in political prisons — they have all been imprisoned because of crimes that aren't cri-

mes in the usual sense — their whole crime was in defending human rights."

Miss Bajer said the six female prisoners were chosen to symbolize other women jailed by the Soviet government for political reasons.

Among the six are a microbiologist, several authors and an artist, all of whom condemned, through writings or other protest, the Russian influence on the culture and history of their country.

The group, including several students from strikebound Toronto high schools, hopes the "silent vigil" will prompt the Canadian government to press for the release of the prisoners.

Ottawa Citizen, Ont.

An Active Policy Of Liberation

Mankind could devote the bulk of its reserves, its productive forces, its labour and financial potential to work out a happier life, unless a false doctrine had gained a footing in the centre of the Russian World empire which continues to carry ahead the Marxist Communist World Revolution in an aggressive manner.

With its claim to force human beings and nations into submission to this heresy it is the actual source of contention, militarization and violence in our age.

The devilish force of the dialectic elaborated by Lenin has turned this reality upside down with the aid of his "useful idiots" to its very opposite: those turning against usurpation and oppression by Sovietism are denounced as "cold warriors", "revenge seekers" and "fascists" and are brought into worldwide discredit. Not Bolshevism, but "Anti-Bolshevism" is arraigned, considered a term of abuse and a synonym for those allegedly acting against progress.

Pro-Bolshevik ogling is fashionable everywhere and has taken hold of many of our young people being left alone and helpless. It is inherent in the Leninist system to work towards a political goal not directly, but by using the dialectical device of deception. Only then such results are possible as have already been achieved. This device ultimately goes back to the classic formulation as analyzed by Lenin in his treatise "Leftist Radicalism".

"The highest devotion to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to accept any necessary compromises in practice, to shift, to come to terms, to zig-zag, to retreat etc However, as soon as we are strong enough to quash Capitalism we shall immediately grip it tightly".

In reality the strategy and tactics, the approach as a whole of Soviet Russian politics, and especially the Soviet Russian concept of Europe and Germany in the last two decades, derives from and can be explained by this thesis. The art of distortion originates in this thesis succeeding in deceiving a worldwide public through baits as long as to make it finally take over itself the language of lies.

It suffices to think of the main concepts of Soviet manoeuvring "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" to realize what could be achieved with this method. The ambiguous "policy of détente" has brought Europe and other countries to the verge of ruin since it fitted in the main thesis of the Pugwash advisers and the appeasement adherents of the Kennedy era, especially W. Rostow, assuming that Bolshevism would melt away in the course of the industrialization of the Soviet Union and thus disappear by

itself. This assumption has disarmed the western superpower intellectually and has rendered it as weak as it is now.

Elmar Zumfeld, recently still chief of the US Navy, emphatically, though too late made the following declaration (published in "Welt", dated November 13, 1975) together with his substitute Worth Bagley:

"It is high time that we should define détente directly and say that the Soviet Union uses it only as a diversion! . . . It is high time to realize that as a result of the continuous shifting of the balance is power promoted by this kind of détente the Soviet appetite is certainly growing. This policy bears the seeds of future wars."

Thus Admiral Zumfeld stressed that our liberty does not depend on a policy of détente, but on the **maintenance of the balance**, the key concept and the key problem of our age.

The maintenance of the balance of power is not only the main task in the field of armament with nuclear and conventional weapons but also applies to the confrontation of economic powers and legal positions. We ourselves should by no means supply the rope to be hung with tomorrow, as Lenin put it.

Giving up decisive legal positions we have — within the scope of the eastern treaties — opened a space into which Moscow is going to penetrate immediately in order to establish her own legal positions. Without striking a blow the Soviet world power has thus considerably advanced into central and western Europe owing to the weakness of the West.

The necessity of a possibly dramatic confrontation, however, will very rapidly force the still free part of the western world to use different methods.



At the presidium table (from left to right) Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, Dr. Walter Becher addressing the EFC Conference, Mr. Donald Martin, Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko, H. E. Bishop Kyr Platon Kornyljak and Rev. Father Dmytryshyn.

The point in question is to conduct **an active policy of balance** instead of yielding and permanently surrendering. This policy requires us to oppose the military and the politico-psychological pressure of the Kremlin by exerting a counterpressure and continuously unmasking the verbose deception used by the Kremlin for brain-washing. The working out of an active policy of balance in this sense implies consistently telling the truth.

It would for instance be appropriate to request Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union that they themselves first put into practice the "historical compromise" requested by Italy among other things: e. g. vis-à-vis the ecclesiastical power and the non-Communist parties prohibited so far! I suggest to organize protest actions not only against capital punishment practiced in Spain, but above all against the murders committed within the range of the Iron Curtain. I would repeatedly declare that the principles of the East German CP continue to be a dummy for Moscow's armoured Communism as long as the European borders are not opened for the free movement of men and ideas.

Some contingencies suggest, however, that it is perhaps later than we all may think. Or else, how should we conceive the editorial of "Pravda" connecting — shortly before the solemn state visit of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany Scheel — the wave of strikes of 1905 with the request made now in 1975 to eliminate the parliaments and to proceed to political strikes and armed revolts?

It is the more important to uncover the web of lies in the Soviet Russian diversion policy without fear. Let us persistently demand everything the United Nations and even the European Security Conference have admitted on principle for us too! Let us demand freedom and self-determination for all individuals! Let us demand freedom and self-determination for all nations: Estonians and Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Russians, the peoples of the Caucasus and Asia, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and Bulgarians! Let us demand reunification through self-administration also for the German nation in the heart of Europe!

Let us demand the right to self-determination and to a free fatherland not only where it suits the Soviet Russian concepts! Let us insist on this right also for the German refugees, for the 3½ millions of my Sudeten German compatriots who contrary to human rights were expelled from their homeland and expropriated completely thirty years ago!

EFC and ABN Conferences, Munich, November 14th - 17th, 1975

Poems Written by Prisoners in Ukraine,

published under the title "Balance of Silence" by
J. G. Bläschke-Verlag, Darmstadt, 1975, 80 pages.

Translated from Ukrainian by Anna-Halja and Katharina Horbatsch
Introduction by Katharina Horbatsch

Estonians on Trial

According to what has been learnt in the West, hundreds of people have been interrogated by KGB and many have been arrested in occupied Estonia. The names of five arrested are known. They are:

Artem Yushkevich, 43, Ukrainian, engineer, married, one daughter aged 16;

Mati Kiirend, 36, Estonian, engineer, married;

Kaljo Mättik, 41, Estonian, lecturer at the College of Technology, unmarried;

Arvo Varato, 40, Estonian, doctor, married, three children aged one, four and eight years;

Serghei Soldatov, 41, son of Russian father and Estonian mother, engineer and translator, married, one son aged 16.

Last March Soldatov and Mättik were taken to Serbsky Institute in Moscow in an attempt to break down their resistance with drugs like sulphazine, while the other three were held in Seevald mental hospital in Tallinn. But all five were able to survive "treatment" and were taken to the central gaol in Tallinn in June or July, 1975.

Originally it was scheduled the five would be tried in Tallinn in August for anti-Soviet propaganda which would entail punishment of up to seven years of imprisonment plus up to five years of banishment. But the trial was postponed until October and the charges altered to "a crime specially dangerous to the State or preparations for it, or organized activity with a view to establish an organization for such purposes, or participation in the activity of an anti-Soviet organization", the maximum punishment for which is death.

It is also known that the families of the five accused are under constant police surveillance and that letters from branches of Amnesty International to them have failed to arrive.

Soldatov who knows he may be sentenced to death has written a farewell letter a copy of which has reached Stockholm. It reads:

"I beg from the bottom of my heart that my mother and father forgive me that I have not always been able to be their obedient son, that I have criticized them in an inexcusable manner for their views and for their way of life. I thank my parents for all they have done for me and beg them not to condemn me.

I beg my 16 year-old son, Alexander Soldatov, not to think ill of me because my firmness and occasional strictness were due to my anxiety about his future. I hope very much that he will become a diligent and hard-working man, an example for others.

I thank all my friends and acquaintances for all the goodness they have shown me. I forgive all my enemies and persecutors — may God show mercy to them.

I hope that those who share my views will unremittingly continue our struggle for the victory of liberty all over the world, despite all sacrifices, deprivations and difficulties.

I want to thank most warmly my dear wife, Ludmilla Grünberg, who has given me so much love and with whom I have always been so happy. Her big and warm heart was like an inexhaustible wellspring which gave me the strength to endure and to act in the only way I found right. I beg all my known and unknown friends in Estonia to take care of her and to give her their support.

I wish to be buried in Estonian soil after my death. I wish also that my wife shall be buried at my side when her time comes,

Serghei Soldatov."

A painful disaster struck the Lithuanian nation again: the talented poet and scientist Mindaugas Tamonis perished under a train on November 5 of this year. Once more the mysterious hand of the KGB has destroyed a creative man and a noble spirit who was only 35 years old.

Last year, Mindaugas Tamonis, head of the chemical laboratory of the Institute for the Conversation of Monument's and a doctoral candidate in technology, released an open statement in which he expressed a fervent protest against the oppression of the Lithuanian nation and demanded that it be granted elementary rights. For this bold protest M. Tamonis was imprisoned in the Vilnius psychiatric hospital, Vasara street No. 5, and kept there for four months.

On June 25 of this year, M. Tamonis addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, voicing a warning about the threat of neo-Stalinism and protesting against the suppression of Lithuanian culture. On June 27th he was again forced into a psychiatric hospital. Unable to bear this misfortune of her son, his mother succumbed to a heart attack on June 29th.

A month later M. Tamonis was released from the hospital, but recently, i. e. prior to November 5th, he received another summons to report at the hospital, but he did not go there.

Throughout the entire period of his second return from the psychiatric hospital, M. Tamonis was ostracized and persecuted in various ways.

His family, i. e. his wife and two children, were left without a breadwinner; the nation has lost an idealistic patriot, a talented poet and scientist. Several dozen lines of courageous words of truth have cost M. Tamonis his life.

There are also other Lithuanians who have met a similar fate.

On 5 November 1969, exhausted by the constant struggle for the right to be a conscientious artist and a Lithuanian, the talented graphic artist Arunas Tarabilda died from a trauma. This artist, who was also

35 years old, was interrogated at one time and then drafted into a tank unit, where, it is believed, he was subjected to radiation. Such was the end of his meaningful art which he had dedicated to Lithuania.

In the fall of 1970, the talented scholar Dr. J. Kazlauskas, professor of Lithuanian language at the University of Vilnius, perished under enigmatic circumstances. This progressive and active scholar had also incurred the displeasure of the government for his daring theories in Baltic studies.

We could present additional facts of a similar nature.

The lips of the most talented and creative individuals who have not severed links with the nation, are sealed in Lithuania today. Silence is the price one pays in order to exist. And those who dare to speak out and to seek a brighter future for their nation face major troubles; their life thread is rather unexpectedly torn.

The raising and maturing of creative and assertive individuals endowed with noble aspirations is extremely difficult under the conditions of oppression and conformity. Therefore their loss amounts to the nation's disappearance. Physical genocide is no more possible under the present conditions. It has been replaced by a cunning, perfidious and consistent destruction of the creative personalities of the recent years; it is also confirmed by the destiny of M. Tamonis. The Lithuanian nation, which for centuries had its own independent state, has created an original culture and amassed considerable spiritual treasures, cannot be left at the mercy of the wilful processes of history. Lithuania wants to take part in the global progress, it yearns to enjoy those rights and freedoms that other nations possess.

Dear friends of Lithuania! Your works imbued with talent and humanism are well known in Lithuania, too. Your ideas have met with the fervent approval in the hearts of many Lithuanians. Your names are pronounced here with respect and with love.

We ask you: help us in our sacred struggle for the freedom of Lithuania, for its brighter future, for elementary human rights.

We ask you to protest against the wrongs that are being heaped upon us, against the suppression and cunning destruction of our intelligentsia, against the tragic destiny of M. Tamonis and other intellectuals.

Lithuanians

Editorial postscript: The letter lists several most painful events. The hand of the KGB has a very long reach and therefore it should not be surprising if we heard again that this or that individual who dared to voice the truth had perished "due to an accident". Nobody would be surprised if Tomas Venclova, the son of Antanas Venclova, who was described in the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Church" were to meet with the same fate.

The Horror Of Psychiatric Prisons

THE PRELIMINARY DECLARATION of LEONID PLYUSHCH
At the Press-Conference, Hold in Paris, the 3rd. of February, 1976

(Excerpts)

I am 37 years old, Ukrainian by nationality. I graduated from Kyiv State University a mathematician by profession. Up till 1968 I worked in the Institute of Cybernetics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian CCP. Officially I was dismissed because of a reduction in staff, in fact, it was because of a letter of protest sent to "Komsomolskaya Pravda" about the GINSBURG-GALANSKOV affair.

After that I was unable to find any work. In January 1972 I was arrested and accused of antisoviet propoganda.

What was I sent to prison and then to a mental hospital for?

In 1964 after the fall of KRUSHCHEV. I wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in which I put forward my ideas about the democratization of the Soviet Union. By chance the letter got into the hands of the KGB. The KGB talked to me and asked me to refrain from writing any such letters for some reason for two years. I retained my job and even continued as a propogandist, running a philosophy seminar.

From 1966 on I began to write articles for Samizdat. The articles were about the problems of the nationalities in the USSR.

As far as the nationalities are concerned the Soviet Union continues the policy of the Tsarist government.

Wishing to be of some practical help in the struggle for democratization samizdat collected information for the "Chronicle of Current Events" and "the Ukrainian Herald" which throw light on the fight for human rights in the USSR.

In 1969 I became a member of the "Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union" which legally protested against in-

fringements of the Soviet constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights.

On the 15th of January 1972 I was arrested and put in the investigation and isolation Prison of the KGB in Kyiv. I was charged with everything described above.

From the first day of the investigation I refused to make any settlement whatsoever. I knew that anything I said about my friends, even if it was in their favour, would only be used as an accusation against them. Neither the KGB, nor the Procurator's Office are interested in the truth. I told the investigators that I considered the KGB an anti-constitutional organization and that I did not wish to be a party to their crimes against the people.

As early as 1969, an acquaintance of mine, BAKHTIYAROV, was told during an investigation that I was a schizophrenic and that I was in a mental hospital. For this reason I was convinced from the first day of my arrest that I would be put into Dnipropetrovsk mental hospital. I understood that my tactics of silence during investigations increased the threat, but I did not want to go against my principles.

In May 1972 I was sent to the Serbsky Institute for a so-called in-patient forensic psychiatric examination. For 6 months I was in Moscow's Lefortovo Prison. The decision to send me for forced treatment was taken on the ground of several conversations with psychiatrists, among whom were some leading Soviet psychiatrists — Academician SNEZHERSKI, LUNTS, NADZHAROV, and the Morozova, I went before two expert psychiatric commissions. As I subsequently found out the diagnosis was "sluggish schizophrenia from an early age".

From July 1973 to the 8th of January 1976 I was in Dnipropetrovsk special

mental hospital. I underwent a "treatment" of Neuroleptics — Haloperidol and Triftazin — and was subjected to two courses of insulin therapy.

Most of those detained in the Dni-propetrovsk special mental hospital are mentally deranged — murderers, rapists, hooligans. There are about 60 political prisoners, in general mentally normal people.

People like PLAKHOTNYUK, YATSENKO, RUBAN, EVDOKIMOV, LUPYNIS who are there because of so-called "anti-Soviet activity" as well as those who leave for the West — "the border-crossers".

The horror of "psikhushki" (the mad house) gripped me from the start. In the ward there were more patients than beds. I was put as the third person on two bunks that had been pushed together. On the beds patients were writhing from Haloperidol. One man's tongue was lolling out, another was rolling his eyes, a third walked around unnaturally bent over. Some lay and groaned with the pain they had been given injections of sulphur. As they explained to me, they were being punished for bad behaviour.

All the patients walked around in their underclothes, which were without buttons. I felt embarrassed in front of the nurses as one man's genitals were visible in these "clothes".

Patients stood around the door and begged the male nurses to let them go to the toilet.

When I woke up next morning, I saw two male nurses beating up a patient. In the afternoon I was summoned for interrogation by Dr. KAMENETSKAYA. A male nurse came in and said that a patient had attacked some nurses and had then tried to hang himself in the toilet. She ordered him to be tied up and burst into the ward and started shouting at him.

The patients told me that he hadn't attacked anyone but they had beaten him up because he had asked to go to the toilet. But no one could make up his mind to tell the doctor about this

because they were afraid of being punished with sulphur. The patients began to make fun of the victim, but he told them: "they'll beat you up too, you know".

I arrived in prison with a group of thieves, who were feigning illness in order to "have a rest" and a good feed up. On the second day they all admitted that they were quite healthy — horrified by what they had seen.

A week later I was taken to another floor. Here the regulations were not so strict — hardly anyone was writhing in pain from Haloperidol; it was easy to get to the toilet, the patients wore dirty, ragged clothes; but they wore pyjamas...

They put me on a plank bunk between two patients — one man was seriously ill and had completely lost any resemblance to a human being (he was swollen, defecated where he lay and spent his time masturbating). As he was dying he was soon taken to an ordinary hospital. This is a common practice to "bring down" the death statistics.

The patients immediately explained to political prisoners that they shouldn't complain here. If you did you were given a reinforced treatment of Neuroleptics, injections of sulphur, they prevented you from going to the toilet.

You had to admit to the doctors that you were ill and renounce your views.

At the beginning I argued with them and then I came to the conclusion that they were right.

I met a journalist from Leningrad called EVDOKIMOV. We began to have ideological arguments. They broke us up, saying we were antisovietchiki. One of the nurses told the patients we were "yids". Several patients began to complain that we prevented them from sleeping during the day. I was put in another ward.

There was a political prisoner there as well. But the doctors warned him not to speak to me. He didn't.

One very sick patient who was known as "Mister" used to yell out

anti-Soviet slogans and asked me to correct his delirious letters to the Soviet authorities. The male nurses promised to secretly "smuggle them out" and in return took all his groceries. (Food received in food parcels from outside. Translator's note). He died after 2 months.

The male nurses in the hospitals are criminals serving out their sentences. They demand groceries, socks, etc. from the patients. In return they allow you an extra-visit to the toilet or they increase your ration of shag. If you refused to give them the bribe they might beat you up. They beat EVDOKIMOV up for this. I complained to the doctor and things got worse. They searched me several times a day, took away my shag. I had to give them the bribes.

According to the rules they take you to the toilets in groups six times a day and during three of the visits you are allowed to smoke. The patients try to smoke as much tobacco as they possibly can, hence people vomit.

I was prescribed "Haloperidol" in small doses. I became drowsy and apathetic. I became difficult to read books. I started to spit out tablets secretly.

After 3 months they put me in the worst department — n^o 9. Here the arbitrary rule of the male nurses is less evident but to make up for it the "treatment" is much more intense. You are under more strict supervision, the doctor's interrogation becomes more humiliating.

I was put in a so-called "supervised ward" where they put the violent serious cases — some fight, others writhe in epileptic fits, a third cries, a fourth roars with laughter, a fifth sings thieves' songs, a sixth describes his case and his sexual adventures in a loud voice, a seventh asks to go to the toilet — in short bedlam.

Then one of the "border-crossers" asks to go to the toilet. He is incontinent and has the doctor's permission to go to the toilet at any time. But the male nurses do not take this into account. So he urinates on the floor in

the ward. And he's not the only one who uses this form of protest . . .

In the toilets the picture is even more depressing — it's full of people, there's a fight for a place at the "peephole", people search for "fag ends", cigarette stubs among the used toilet paper. Some of the patients also eat their excrement or masturbate. I don't want to blacken the picture — this last did not happen very day.

I was considered as the most dangerous patient in the hospital. The male nurses and the nurses were forbidden to talk to me. The other political prisoners were warned that if they talked to me it would be the worse for them. When one male nurse started to take science fiction books from me he was told that he was associating with an "antisoviet-chik". For two days I sat next to a political prisoner in the dining-room. They moved us and put us at different tables.

Once I talked to a young murderer for a whole evening — about science fiction. The next day he was put in another ward. What is more, the doctors reproached me for making friends with another murderer which was completely untrue. At the same time they reproached me for not talking to any of the patients.

To keep me in complete isolation I was forbidden to go to the kitchen or into the yard in case I might, accidentally meet other politicals.

Even 8 months before my trial instructions were given to the Dnipropetrovsk prison that I was not to have any contact whatsoever with the doctor from Kyiv, PLAKHOTNYUK.

At the interviews, the doctors asked me about my contacts outside. I told them that these questions were interrogator's questions and refused to answer them. The interviews themselves were very painful for me as they discussed my beliefs and made humiliating comments about them. They commented on my letters and the letters of my relatives. When my wife complained about something in the behaviour of my eldest son and praised the younger one,

they told me that the eldest was on the right track whereas the youngest was schizophrenic. They hinted that my wife wasn't normal either. And as for a close woman-friend who wrote me affectionate letters — she was supposed to be my lover and so they would not give me her letters.

In general the doctors suggested I cease writing to all my friends as they were all antisovietchiki and my correspondence with them proved that on leaving the hospital I would continue my "antisoviet activities".

After the Yakir-Krazin trial they suggested I write a confession. I asked them, "surely you don't think that an adult can change his views so quickly. They must be lying".

The doctor agreed that they lied but continued to put pressure on me to recant.

But a confession was not enough, there had to be proof that it was genuine, and there had to be proof why I considered I was mentally ill. I answered the last question carefully, saying that I was not a specialist and that I could not express an opinion about my own illness. Here it must be taken into account that I did not know their diagnosis and did not know what I should be disputing.

A few words about doctors — their moral and intellectual level.

— ... a patient: — When will I be let out?

Doctor: — Not until I'm on a pension.

One of the patients called the doctors Gestapists. They prescribed injections of sulphur (After an injection of sulphur your temperature goes up to 40°, the place where you had the injection is very painful, you cannot get away from the pain. Many people get haemorrhoids as a result of sulphur injections). This patient groaned loudly for 24 hours, mad with pain he tried to hide himself under the bed, in despair he broke the window and tried to cut his throat with the glass. Then he was punished again and beaten up. He kept

asking everyone "Am I going to die?" And only when he really did begin to die and another patient noticed it, did they stop the sulphur. And for 2 days they gave him oxygen and brought him various medicines. They saved him. As I understood the use of sulphur was counter-indicated for him.

In a nearby section a patient, a common-law criminal, told the doctors that three political prisoners (one of whom was dumb) "are having anti-soviet conversations". These patients were suspected of plotting. When they searched the dumb one they found a note: "And how much do oranges cost?", this was regarded as a coded message. They began to inject into the veins of the "conspirators" hitherto unheard of in the hospital doses of Barbamyl. They were brought into the ward completely unconscious. At the same time they began to give them sulphur. And all this without explaining why. And then we heard about the "conspiracy" in a roundabout way.

Doctor E. N. KAMENETSKAYA, whom the patients called Illse KOCH boasted in front of EVDOKIMOV that she had bought Remarque". Someone reported the nickname. EVDOKIMOV was put on Haloperidol.

Doctor LYUBARSKAYA said to me: "You are just an ordinary person — why did you go in for politics?"

I explain that one of the ideas of the Communists was the involvement of all the working people in political activity. The Bolsheviks were ordinary people too.

Answer: "But you're not a Bolshevik" and explain: "your abnormality is shown by the way you have always, from an early age been concerned with things that were none of your business". (She was thinking of my activities at school when I took part in the Brigade which helped the border guards, then I was in the vigilantes who went after thieves, speculators and prostitutes — that is, I was an active KOMSOMOL member).

The following episode says a great deal about the professional standard of the doctors.

I asked the same doctor:

— "Why is psychotherapy not used in the hospital?"

Answer: — "There is no use for psychotherapy in psychiatry".

I have described what I heard and saw. But I was asked to describe what it was like before I was there.

The conditions for both the sick patients and the sane ones were much worse. The male nurses used to beat them up for the slightest thing, and they nearly beat them to death.

The doctor who was in charge of my case, Doctor LYUBARSKAYA was the head of a department. In her department the male nurses killed a patient. The incident was hushed up and the male nurses were sent off to a camp. LYUBARSKAYA was transferred to our department as a simple doctor.

At the beginning of the 1970's the male nurses beat out political prisoner GRIGORIEV's liver. He died.

Obviously such incidents led to "a relaxation in the regulations". I cannot check these stories, but I heard about this from political prisoners whose sanity I do not doubt and from ordinary criminals.

What is the aim of a "treatment" and regulations like this?

I saw this in my own case. The first days should break a person morally straight away, break down his will to fight. Then begins the "treatment" with neuroleptics. I was horrified to see how I deteriorated intellectually, morally and emotionally from day to day. My interest in political problems quickly disappeared, then my interest in scientific problems, and then my interest in my wife and children. This was replaced by fear for my wife and children. My speech became jerky, abrupt. My memory deteriorated sharply.

At first I felt it keenly when I saw the patients' suffering or learnt that some friends had turned traitor. Then I became indifferent to all that. The ef-

fect of the neuroleptics increased my isolation from the healthy politicals. I did not want to hear the cries, the fights, the laughter, the crying, the delirium. For whole days I lay and tried to sleep. The neuroleptics helped me.

I did not have a thought in my head. The only thoughts that remained were — toilet, smoking and the "bribes" you had to give to the male nurses to have an extra visit to the toilet. And one other thought:

... "I must remember everything I see here, so I can describe it later. Alas, I didn't remember a hundredth part of what I saw".

In spite of my apathy I was afraid that my deterioration was irreversible. I looked at the really serious cases, who, they told me, had been quite well a few years ago. You had been able to have some communication with them.

Several politicals broke down and gave in before my eyes.

I was very worried by the somatic health of EVDOKIMOV and PLAKHOT-NYUK.

I must emphasize that thanks to the protests of my wife and friends and the concern expressed by public opinion in the West great attention was paid to my physical health. I cannot say the same for the others.

I consider my statement and this press-conference as an opportunity to draw the attention of public opinion all over the world to the situation of political prisoners in the USSR and to call upon people everywhere to intensify their fight for HUMAN RIGHTS throughout the world.

Here in the West, I consider it a duty to me CONSCIENCE to join in the fight for the release of political prisoners from the prisons, camps and psychiatric prisons of the USSR.

At the moment the fight is going on for the release of my friends Vladimir BUKOVSKY, Siemen GLUZMAN and Valentyn Moroz.

I call on all honest people to join in this fight.

What the Free World Must Do to Remain Free

(Part II)

I. The Free World Must Not Repeat Its Past Mistakes

Mistake One was assuming that the Communists keep to their agreements

The historical record shows that the Communists have violated every major agreement which Joseph Stalin made with Adolf Hitler in August of 1939 which started World War II. Stalin was rightly fearful of Hitler's superior strength and not only kept his promise to supply Hitler with vitally needed raw materials, but exceeded the deliveries he had promised to Hitler.

The Communists have always followed Lenin's dictum: "Promises are like pie crusts, made to be broken." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 9, Russian, 4th ed. pp. 290, 291).

Joseph Stalin expressed it this way: "Words must have no relation to action, otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are on thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood."

(Stalin-Elections in Petersburg, Jan. 12, 1913, *Sochineniya, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1946, Vol. II. p. 277*).

Here are some of the more than 100 treaties and agreements violated by the Soviet Union:

December 4, 1917 USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of the Ukrainian Republic. December 24, 1918 — Recognition cancelled and Ukraine invaded.

February 2, 1920—USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of Estonia. June 16, 1940—USSR invaded and annexed Estonia.

April 12, 1920—USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of Lithuania.

June 15, 1940—USSR invaded and annexed Lithuania.

May 7, 1920—USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of the Republic of Georgia. March 17, 1921—USSR completed conquest of Georgia.

August 11, 1920—USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of Latvia. June 16, 1940—USSR invaded and annexed Latvia.

October 14, 1920—USSR signed treaty recognizing Finland and its boundaries.

March 12, 1940—USSR conquered Finland and annexed large portions.

December 2, 1920—USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of Armenia.

December 1920—USSR invaded Armenia and murdered 1,200 Armenian officers.

March 18, 1921—USSR signed treaty with Poland defining its boundaries.

September, 1939—USSR invaded Poland and annexed half of it.

June 5, 1922—USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of Czechoslovakia. June 29, 1945—USSR annexed part of Czechoslovakia.

September 27, 1928—USSR signed the Kellogg-Briand Treaty which provided that "the settlement of disputes should never be sought except by peaceful means." 1929—USSR broke treaty by invading Manchuria and seizing control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. September, 1939 - June, 1940 — USSR again broke Kellogg-Briand Treaty by invading Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Rumania.

November 16, 1933—USSR signed agreement not to disseminate Communist propaganda in the United States, not to permit formation of any group aiming for the overthrow of the United States, and promising complete free-

dom of worship for Americans in Russia in exchange for recognition. December, 1933 USSR violated this agreement by sponsoring Moscow meeting of Communist parties which resolved to overthrow by force the governments of the capitalistic countries, by publication of Communist newspapers in US, etc. June 9, 1934 USSR signed treaty for independence of all of Rumania. June 26, 1940 USSR seized part of Rumania. April 2, 1944 USSR seized all of Rumania.

February 6, USSR signed treaty recognizing independence of Hungary.

Vietnam, Cuba, Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam.

June 11, 1942 USSR signed Lend-Lease Treaty with USA binding the USSR to return all undestroyed ships and equipment worth \$ 800 million. No return but a vague promise to pay some time in the future.

February 4, 1945 USSR signed Yalta Agreement promising "free elections of governments responsible to the will of the people", 1945 to date no free elections have ever been permitted in the 22 captive nations.



**Meeting of Committee on the final communique during the APACL Conference
8th - 10th December, 1975, Tokyo.**

November, 1956 USSR invaded Hungary and executed its leaders who had been promised immunity.

September 15, 1934 USSR signed League of Nations Covenant and agreed "not to resort to war" and to have "respect for all treaty obligations". December 14, 1939 USSR expelled from League of Nations for invasion of Finland on November 30, 1939.

January 1, 1942 USSR subscribed to the Atlantic Charter, which provided that the signers "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other". 1944-1975 USSR took control of East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Mongolia, North

May 3, 1945 Molotov admitted in San Francisco that 16 Polish Government leaders promised personal safety by the USSR had been arrested. They were subsequently liquidated.

July 17, 1945 USSR agreed at Potsdam that "Germany must be treated as a single economic unit (and that) freedom of speech, press, and religion shall be permitted", June, 1952 to date — USSR violated Potsdam promises by isolating East Germany from West Germany. Construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 was another violation.

June 26, 1945 USSR signed UN Charter. In Article 25 it agreed "to accept and carry out the decisions of the Secu-

riety Council". June 25, 1950 — The UN Security Council called on all Member States to "render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution (to defend South Korea) and to refrain from giving assistance to the North War the USSR gave every assistance to North Korea and none to the UN forces.

July 27, 1953—Korea Armistice signed which forbade "the introduction into Korea of reinforcing aircraft, weapons and ammunition", and called for inspection by the Neutral Nations Commission. 1954 to date—USSR introduced advanced-type aircraft and weapons to North Korea and refused inspection by the Neutral Commission.

July 21, 1954—USSR signed treaty at Geneva which "prohibited introduction into Vietnam of foreign troops and armaments and . . . agreed to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

July 23, 1955—USSR signed agreement at Geneva that "the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people". 1955 to date—USSR has continually prevented free elections in East Germany and built the Berlin Wall to prevent reunification.

March 31, 1958—Supreme Soviet promised to stop further Soviet nuclear testing if other countries do likewise. US stopped nuclear testing.

December 30, 1958—Khrushchev announced USSR would not resume nuclear testing unless Western powers do so first. US continued its stoppage of tests.

September 1 to October 30, 1961—USSR suddenly resumed nuclear testing. USSR conducted more than 50 nuclear weapons tests, including tests of weapons many times more powerful than any tested by the US.

July 23, 1962—USSR signed treaty at Geneva "guaranteeing peace, freedom and neutrality of Laos". April, 1963 — by open warfare, Communist forces gained control of most of Laos. July 4,

1963 — British Foreign Office informed Gromyko that Russians were continuing to violate the Geneva Treaty July 18-25 1958 — 60 Russian made PT-76 tanks used in effort to take over Laos. Capital city of Luang Prabang under attack.

October 25, 1962—Khrushchev agreed in letter to President Kennedy for on-site inspection of his removal of Cuban missiles and to remove Soviet troops from Cuba. 1962 to date—USSR violated letter agreement by not permitting inspection and not removing its troops.

August 3, 1968 USSR signed Declaration of Bratislava guaranteeing the independence of Czechoslovakia. August 20, 1968 — troops of the Soviet Union and its satellites invaded Czechoslovakia and have remained there. This was in violation of said Declaration, the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter, and the Warsaw Treaty signed by the USSR on May 14, 1959, which pledged „respect for the independence and sovereignty of the states and of non-intervention in their domestic affairs“.

January 27, 1973— in the Paris accords, the Communists promised to respect the cease fire in South Vietnam and not to introduce new troops and new equipment into South Vietnam.

When the Soviet system was again about to collapse in 1933, it was saved by American recognition and new credits. From 1941 to 1945, \$ 11 billion of American tanks, airplanes and other military equipment saved the Soviet Union from defeat by Hitler. Despite all-out Soviet aid to the North Korean aggressors in South Vietnam, the United States furnished the following vital industrial equipment to the Soviet Union during the years these Soviet wars of aggression were being fought:

The Soviet T-34 medium tanks used in the invasion of South Korea were made in US built plants and all had US designed Christi suspension systems. The trucks used in this invasion were made at the Henry Ford designed and

built Gorki plant in Russia. The tractors which pulled the North Korean guns were exact copies of the US Caterpillar Model 60 made at Chelyabinsk, Russia.

The T-54 Soviet tanks used in the invasion of South Vietnam all had the US modified Christi type suspension furnished by the Wheel Tract Layer Corporation of USA. The GAZ trucks used on the Ho Chi Minh trail came from the Henry Ford designed and built Gorki plant. The ZIL-130 cargo trucks and the ZIL-555 dump trucks used by the invading North Vietnamese came from the Moscow truck plant built by Americans.

The largest iron and steel plant in the world was built in the Soviet Union by the McKee Corporation of USA. It is a copy of the US Steel plant at Gary, Indiana. A giant new steel plant has been built at Kursk, Russia by West Germany. Iron Age Magazine recently announced that the Soviet Union produced 137.6 million metric tons of steel in 1974, more than did the United States or any other nation. All Soviet iron and steel technology came from the United States and West Germany.

The Soviet Union has the largest merchant marine fleet in the world, about 6000 ships. All of these ships were built with Free World technical assistance, and two-thirds of them by Free World shipyards. Most of the identified 96 Soviet ships used to carry Soviet missiles to Cuba and Soviet arms to North Vietnam had diesel engines licensed by Burmeister & Wayne of Denmark, or by Sulzer Gebrüder of Switzerland, or by Fiat of Italy, during the years 1973, 1974 and the spring of 1975 when the Soviet-aided North Vietnamese were conquering Southeast.

On April 10, 1975 President Ford informed Congress that:

"The North Vietnamese, from the moment they signed the Paris accords, systematically violated the cease-fire and other provisions of the agreement. Flagrantly disregarding the ban on infiltration of troops into the South, they

increased Communist forces to the unprecedented level of 350,000. In direct violation of the agreement, they sent in the most modern equipment in massive amounts. Meanwhile, they continued to receive large quantities of supplies and arms from their friends."

Of course "their friends" who helped them violate the Paris Agreement with modern equipment are the Soviet Union and Red China. Elsewhere in the President's speech these treaty violators are tactfully referred to as "our adversaries".

The details of more than 100 Soviet treaty violations may be read in the Staff Study of the Senate Judiciary Committee entitled Soviet Political Agreements and Results and in The Treaty Trap by Laurence W. Beilenson, published in 1969 by Public Affairs Press.

The Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee wrote in his introduction to the Senate Staff Study:

"Since the Soviet Union came into existence, its Government has broken its word to virtually every country to which it ever gave a signed promise. It was violating the first agreement it ever signed with the United States at the very moment the Soviet envoy, Litvinov, was putting his signature to that agreement, and it is still violating the same agreement.

"I seriously doubt whether during the whole history of civilization any great nation has ever made as perfidious a record as this in so short a time."

Mistake Two is helping the Communists every time their defective economic and political systems brought the Communist countries close to defeat or revolt. *In the early 1920's Communism was a colossal economic failure and starvation and chaos swept through

* For documentaton see Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution and Military Aid to the Sovet Union, both by Antony C. Sutton, also East Minus West = Zero by Werner Keller.

Communist Russia. The American food relief missions saved the Communists from starvation. US technology built the Henry Ford Gorki tractor factory, the giant power plant on the Dnieper River. The Stalingrad tractor plant, the largest in Europe, which was designed by Albert Khan Inc. of Detroit, was built by the Austin Company of USA and produces tractors copied from International Harvester of Chicago.

In Asia, the US was financing, building and equipping the largest truck factory in the world on the Karma River in Russia. This plant occupies 36 square miles. During the same time, United States was financing, building and equipping the largest tanker shipyard in the world on the Black Sea, the largest fertilizer complex in the world at Togliatti on the Volga River, and a very large acetic acid plant at Severodonetsk.

Soviet oil drilling and refining technology have lagged far behind the USA. Gasoline and oil are vital to fuel the tanks and trucks used in the invasions of South Vietnam and Cambodia. So the United States has again come to the rescue of the Soviet Union.

Universal Oil Products of Des Plaines, Illinois is building late model refineries and petrochemical plants in Russia. Dresser Industries of Pittsburgh furnished \$ 3.5 million of oil exploration equipment; Reeder Pump Co. supplied 500 submersible oil pumps; Koomey, Stuart, Stevenson supplied 2.5 million of oil well blowout controls; Walworth of valves. On April 12, 1975 the United Press reported that the Soviet Union, for the first time, surpassed the United States as the world's leading oil producer.

In April, 1975 the US Government licensed the sale to the Soviet Union of 11 late model advanced design giant computers made by International Machine Corporation (IBM) for \$ 10 million. The Soviet Union has lagged far behind the United States in computer technology which is so vital in intercontinental ballistic missile guidance sys-

tems, nuclear submarines and other weapon systems. Until now, the United States would not approve the sale of late model IBM computers to Iron Curtain countries. On January 15, 1975 the West German government arrested nine men for attempting to turn over IBM computer circuits and manuals to the Communists. Now it's okay to let the Reds have IBM computer secrets.

On April 12, 1975 Servant Schreiber, the Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1972, announced that his clients Lazard Frères, Banque Nationale de Paris, Morgan Guaranty Bank of New York and 20 other banks were lending \$ 250,000,000 to the Soviet Union "with no strings attached to the loan". Also on April 12, the Bank of America announced that it has a syndicate ready to lend the Soviet Union \$ 500 million.

Earlier this year, the National Westminster Bank of London loaned the Soviet Union \$ 100,000,000. On February 18, 1975 Prime Minister Harold Wilson agreed to give the Soviet Union \$ 2 billion in low interest credits to acquire British plants and technology. * On April 10, 1975 President Ford told the Congress that Western Europe and Japan had extended \$ 8 billion to the Soviet Union in the last six months.

Mistake Three is the failure to expose and oppose Soviet psychological warfare.

The Communists are masters at destroying Free World opponents of Communism and advancing the careers of Free World supporters of Communism. Thus, Free World anti-Communists like Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General Douglas MacArthur, General Pinochet of Chile, General Francisco Franco of Spain, Syngman Rhee of Korea, J. Edgar Hoover, Congressmen Martin Dies, Walter Judd, Richard Ichord and John Ashbrook, Senators Barry Goldwater, Patrick McCarran and

* That is the amount Great Britain borrowed from the United States in 1946, in an interest free loan, and has since said she cannot repay.

Joseph McCarthy, Prime Minister John Vorster of the Union of South Africa, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany, etc. were constantly vilified and smeared not only by the Communist press but also by much of the non-Communist communications media.

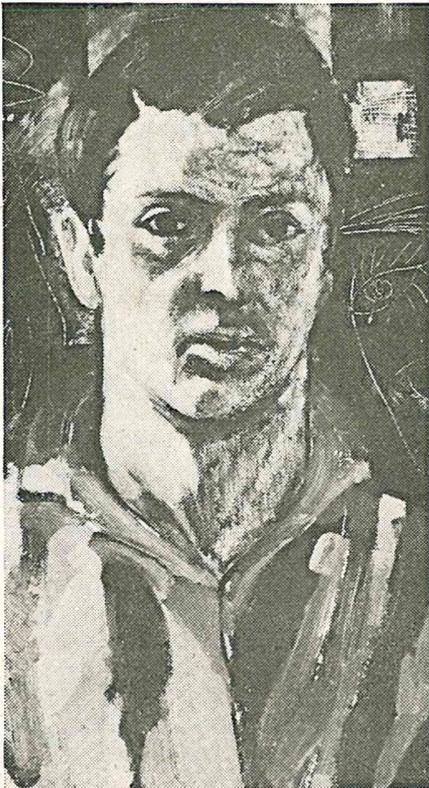
For example, the smear term "McCarthyism" was coined by Gus Hall, head of the American Communist Party, and was first used in the May 11, 1950, issue of the official Communist American newspaper *The Daily Worker*. The Communists are masters of character assassination.

Likewise, Communist-coined slogans are used to direct the thinking of people in the Free World. The slogan "Bring the boys back home" was invented by the Communists in the fall of 1945 in order to dismantle the American armies in Europe and Asia so that there would be a power vacuum for the Communist forces to move into.

The phrase "agrarian reformers" was used to persuade the United States that Mao Tse-tung and his followers in the 1940s, and Fidel Castro and his followers in the 1950s, were not ruthless Communists but idealistic social reformers.

Another clever Communist slogan popularized by Lord Bertrand Russell of England was "rather Red than dead". This slogan illustrates the fallacy of the false alternative. The Free World is not faced with the alternatives of being either Red or dead. It also has the alternative of "rather free than slave".

The Communists called for building bridges. So on October 7, 1966, President Lyndon Johnson said we will "build bridges to Eastern Europe". On October 12, 1966, President Johnson removed 400 items from the list of strategic products which for 20 years had been banned from export to Communist countries.



BORIS PENSON

The young painter Boris Solomonovich Penson born 1946 in Tashkent, Uzbek-SSR, was sentenced to 10 years hard labor in a concentration-camp for treason, during the "Leningrad Trial" in December 1970.

Penson's paintings were smuggled out of the USSR, and have already been exhibited in the Tel Aviv Museum, the Jewish Museum (New-York City) and in various other American and Canadian cities.

In 1964, as a result of a false denunciation, Boris Penson was sentenced the first time to five years in a concentration-camp. He was 18 years old.

Boris Penson is co-author with Vyacheslav Chornovil of "Diary of Mordovian Camps".

"Peaceful coexistence" and "détente" are two more effective Red word warfare slogans. The Communists have construed "peaceful coexistence" to mean they are free to capture Free World countries one at a time.

American labor leader George Meany explained "détente" to mean:

"The decision to provide the Soviet Union with Western technology... to bail out the Russian leaders and to save them the hard choice between production for war and production for people.

American capital investment in the Soviet Union goes way back. And so does technical assistance. An American firm, the McKee Corporation, built the world's biggest iron and steel plant at Magnitogorsk.

"What good did it do? Did it bring us any closer to peace? Our biggest corporate executives don't read history."

Time and space do not permit listing all the clever Communist propaganda falsehoods. Let us examine but one more.

The obituaries published on the death on April 5, 1975, of one of the greatest leaders of the twentieth century, President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China, illustrate the point Adolf Hitler made that if a big lie is repeated often enough, the people will believe it.

The New York Times obituary on April 6 contained numerous falsehoods such as repeating the false charges in the State Department White Paper of 1949 that no amount of US aid would have saved the Nationalist Government of China because it "had lost the confidence of its own troops and its own people", and that its government of Taiwan "was accompanied by repressive military rule".

The truth is the exact opposite and is splendidly documented in the scholarly books by Dr. Anthony Kubek. *How the Far East Was Lost* and *The Red China Papers*, and by the 15 volume report of the US Senate Judiciary Committee on the American pro-Communists who persuaded our govern-

ment to cut off aid to the Nationalist Government of China at the very time when the Soviet Union was giving massive military aid to the Chinese Communists.

Contrary to the New York Times obituary, President Chiang Kai-shek made Taiwan a showcase of democracy and prosperity. It has enjoyed unparalleled tranquillity and industrial and economic growth, and now has the second highest standard of living in all Asia.

In typical Communist fashion Red China smeared even the memory of President Chiang Kai-shek, calling him "the common enemy of the Chinese people". To the contrary, he ranks not only as one of the greatest Chinese but also as one of the giants of the twentieth century. Two million Chinese stood in line as long as eight hours to file past his remains to pay him honor and express their grief. We in America pay Chiang Kai-shek our highest tribute when we refer to him as the "George Washington of the Republic of China".

Mistake Four is the failure to win the wars fought with Communists.

The United States and Greece under the leadership of General James Van Fleet in 1947-49 won the war against the Communist armed guerrillas attacking Greece from Yugoslavia. The British under the leadership of Sir Robert Thompson (author of *Defeating Communist Insurgency*) were successful in defeating the Communist armed guerrillas in Malaya.

But in Korea, General MacArthur's great Inchon Landing, which broke the back of the North Korean Army, and General Van Fleet's successful counter-attack which left the Chinese Reds short of food and ammunition and surrendering by the thousands, were lost because the British persuaded Washington that victory over the Red Chinese in Korea might jeopardize Hong Kong.

In Vietnam American forces were not permitted to defeat the North Viet-

namese in eight years, although the US had defeated very powerful German and Japanese forces in three and a half years. All the normal means of victory were denied by American administrators. Use of the Navy to blockade the ports of North Vietnam dams and reservoirs was prohibited, landings in North Vietnam behind enemy lines, a la General McArthur, were ruled out. No football game was ever won by promising the opposition that your players would never cross the middle of the playing field!

Since North Vietnam was always assured of being immune from invasion, we were not surprised when President Ford reported to Congress on April 10, 1975 that:

„The North Vietnamese in recent months began sending even their reserve divisions into South Vietnam. 18 divisions, virtually their entire army, are now in South Vietnam.“

The Communists would not dare strip North Vietnam of all troops, even their reserve divisions, if they had not been assured for eight years that the United States would not itself invade North Vietnam nor would it permit South Vietnam to do so. It was a grave military mistake to give the initiative to North Vietnam and never to attempt a surprise attack against the lightly defended North Vietnam homeland.

The excuse given for the United States' failure to win the war in Southeast Asia is that Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford undertook too much and overestimated American capabilities. This is ridiculous. Only the most inept leadership could deny victory to the 550,000 soldiers and airmen and powerful naval forces which the United States had in Southeast Asia plus the very capable Korean Tiger Division.

With superior fire power, superior air power, superior manpower, superior mobility and superior resources such as equipment and repair facilities, it is plain that victory was denied because the United States leaders thought so

called "détente" with Red Russia and Red China was more desirable than military victory.

Now the fallout from losing the war in Southeast Asia is hurting the Free World everywhere. President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines and Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan are questioning whether the United States has the will and the capability to continue to guarantee their defense. The defeats in Southeast Asia were accompanied by Portugal's shifting from an anti-Communist government to a pro-Communist government and by the surrender of its former anti-Communist territories of Angola and Mozambique to Communist armed guerrillas. Truly as General MacArthur told the US Congress in 1951:

"In war there is no substitute for victory."

The Paris accords signed by Dr. Henry Kissinger in January, 1973, did not even represent a tie or stalemate with the Communist forces, such as the United States accepted in Korea, but a humiliating retreat of the United States land, sea and air forces.

Listen to the words of the great American labor leader George Meany on Southeast Asia and "détente":

"Can you imagine Harry Truman referring to the force which is smearing us and killing our friends as the 'adversary' (as did President Ford on April 10)? Truman would have laid it on the line. He would have specifically named Russia and Chinese Communists. Told them to stop arming the Hanoi armies. And threatened action if they didn't.

"Everywhere Communism is on the march. Everywhere the West is in retreat. Such are the fruits, the bitter fruits, of détente."

II. The Free World Must Make Itself Stronger Than The Red World

In October, 1962, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, the United States had about an eight to one superiority over the Soviet Union in deliverable

nuclear power. When Khrushchev's daring gamble to sneak 2000-mile-range nuclear missiles into Cuba and inside America's Northern Dewline radar defenses failed, the Soviet Union mobilized its psychological warfare experts.

Their task was to persuade the United States to stop developing new nuclear weapons and to stop development of dew delivery systems, such as mobile ICBMs to be mounted on moving trains

ment. They were frightened by the propaganda slogan "we must not run an arms race".

They forget the lesson of history, beginning with the destruction of Carthage by Rome, that wars usually start when a rich nation fails to run an arms race. They scrapped 1400 B-47 nuclear bombers. They closed down the US bombers bases which ringed the Soviet Union. They scrapped many B-52 bom-



At the Tokyo Conference from left to right: Wasfi Mirza, former defense minister of Jordan, M. T. Rifai, Osami Kuboki, APACL Chairman, and Elias Tartara.

and ships (which would not be knocked out by a surprise attack) recommended by General Thomas Power, Commander, US Strategic Forces, and a new supersonic bomber to replace the old subsonic B-52s. In addition, their task was to block deployment of the great Anti-Ballistic Missile System then being perfected by USA.

The word-warfare campaign of the Soviet influenced propagandists was clever and effective. US Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, and their Secretaries of Defense, were persuaded to ignore President George Washington's advice that "the best way to insure peace is to be prepared for war." Instead they were persuaded that the way to peace is by unilateral disarmament.

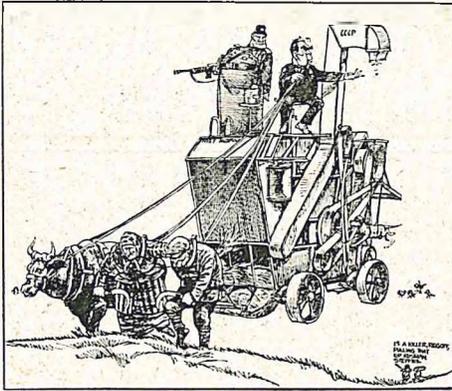
They did not build any new strategic bombers. They cut our Navy in half. They disregarded General Power's advice to build mobile ICBMs.

Even after the Soviets tested four new super intercontinental missiles (the SS-16, SS-17, SS-18 and SS-19) while the US was testing none, and deployed many new Delta super nuclear submarines, while the US Trident is yet to be built, American leaders were persuaded that détente and the SALT agreement forbade America not only strategic superiority but even parity.

But the masterpiece of Soviet psychological warfare consisted in persuading Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Ford and their Secretaries of Defense to cancel the 20 great Anti-Ballistic

Missile Systems (ABM) designed to defend the whole country from enemy missiles, to agree with the Russians not to build more than one ABM, to scrap the others being built, and even to agree not to permit any of our allies to have this marvelous system of defending itself from Red missiles.

This is called the MAD strategy. The acronym stands for Mutual Assured Destruction. It is truly mad. If the Communist strike first, and they usually do, the United States will have nothing left with which to strike back.



Before going to Moscow and signing SALT I, President Nixon said:

"No President with the responsibility for the lives and the security of the American people could fail to provide this (ABM) protection."

Most important is the fact that the men in the Kremlin do not believe in Mutual Assured Destruction, which they persuaded American leaders to accept. The Soviet Government estimates that because of its favorable geography, dispersed population, and far greater missile megatonnage, its forces can destroy about 60 percent of the American population but the United States can destroy only 6 percent of the Russian population. The Russians regard a 6 percent population loss as well worth victory over the Free

World. Both the Russian Communists and the Chinese Communists killed much more than 6 percent of their own people in establishing and maintaining their Communist systems.

In his speech to Congress on April 10, 1975, President Ford said that "the United States cannot escape history". But a continuation of the present policies of détente, disarmament, and huge credits for Communism will lead either to the disappearance of the Free World, or to a new leader such as Brazil.

On March' 20, 1975, the New York

Russian Harvest

Toronto Star, Dec. 75

Times quoted a Ford Administration document as showing that, for the years 1972, 1973 and 1974, Communist aid to North Vietnam totaled \$ 1.2 billion, \$ 1 billion, and \$ 1 billion respectively. US aid to South Vietnam during those same years was less, totaling \$ 805 million, and \$ 1.3 billion respectively. Although the Soviet Gross National Product is only about one-half that of the United States, Red Russia and Red China were willing to help Hanoi more than the United States helped Saigon.

In his speech to Congress of April 10 President Ford said: "We will not permit détente to become a license to fish in troubled waters."

Fine words and we applaud them. The reality is that during all the 27

months since the Paris Accords were signed by Dr. Kissinger, détente has been permitted to become a license to fish in troubled waters. President Ford conceded that North Vietnam "flagrantly violated" the Paris Accords from the beginning.

President Ford's speech was silent on Portugal. Here are troubled waters where the Soviet Union is spending millions to capture important "fishes" — control of NATO bases in the Azores, the Madeiras, and Portugal itself.

What must we do? Pray, plead, and work for the following actions by President Ford and other Free World leaders:

1. Stop the deadly policy of détente and cancel all Soviet credits. Why finance our adversaries while they are killing and enslaving our friends?

2. Reverse the disarmament policies which the Wall Street Journal of December 6, 1974, said caused a decline of US investment in strategic weapons (in terms of 1974 dollars) from \$ 19 billion in 1961 to \$ 6.8 billion in 1974.

3. Build the ABM so that the Free World is safe from Soviet pressure and blackmail by nuclear threats.

This involves renouncing the made-in-Moscow SALT I agreement which US Senators charge the Soviet Union has already violated. Robert Hotz, editor of the authoritative *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, wrote that once the missile defensive system is installed it "would eliminate any possibility of a Soviet first-strike capability .

4. Adopt the missile-launch-on-verification-of-warning strategy described by Admiral Chester Ward and Phyllis Schlafly in their 846 page nuclear weapons book *Kissinger on the Couch*. This strategy is approved by the prestigious American Security Council under the name "Assured Retaliation."

5. Take advantage of the best allies the Free World has, the one billion

members of the captive nations. They are eager to free themselves from Communist tyranny.

6. Take advantage of the inability of Communism to provide for an orderly transfer of power. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Leonid Brezhnev are elderly and not in good health. Already the power struggle to be the successor to these men is acute. Shelepin and Lin Piao, once named as successors to Brezhnev and Mao respectively, have been purged. When Brezhnev and Mao die or are incapacitated there will be great opportunities for freedom, just as there were great opportunities at the time of the death of Lenin and then of Stalin.

In closing this unhappy review of Free World mistakes I am pleased to report a personal victory over the forces of Communism.

In 1970 Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian operator aboard a Soviet fishing vessel, leaped to what he thought was freedom on the deck of the US Coast Guard vessel *Vigilant*, anchored alongside. To his dismay, and to America's shame, the Coast Guard permitted Soviet thugs to board the *Vigilant*, beat Kudirka to unconsciousness, and carried him back to the Soviet ship.

Lithuanian Americans and I became interested in his case. Research developed that his mother was born in Brooklyn, New York. I wrote the brief which persuaded the State Department that although Kudirka was born in Lithuania and never lived in the United States, he was under American and international law an American citizen. My good friend, Frances Knight, head of the Passport Division of the State Department, issued a passport to Kudirka. Arrangements were made for his release from a Siberian slave labor camp. I had the great thrill of being part of the joyful group which welcomed Simas Kudirka when he, his mother, his wife and two children arrived in New York from Russia last December.

Nations Demand their Rights

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) held in Munich on November 15-16, 1975, adopted the following resolutions:

1. With the signing of the final act of the Helsinki Conference initiated by Moscow for the alleged aim of establishing peace, security and co-operation amongst European nations, the political world crisis became even more acute. The sanctioning of the present state has in fact, legalized on our continent the practices of Russian Bolshevik colonial rule in the countries concerned, together with the notorious Brezhnev Doctrine, simultaneously engaging the Western democracies to scrupulously restrain themselves, and tolerate any kind of Communist diversion and infiltration activity in the Free World. In this connection, Moscow, expressly reserved the right for herself to an unyielding so-called "ideological struggle", thus securing under this guise an outlet for practising Bolshevik world aggression in the political respect, even more audaciously and successfully than before. Thus at the present time, all European countries still free, are being threatened with the danger of falling under Communist tyranny, and Russian rule, within a short space of time because of red terror, stirring up of class struggle, so-called "peoples front" governments, and even, in the extreme case, civil wars. Indications of this can be seen clearly in present developments in Portugal, and also in the systematic provocations against Spain, which has up to now been the bulwark against Communist aggression at the southwestern flank of Europe.

2. The acute danger hanging over the European continent stems not only from Communism as a socio-political system, but primarily from its symbiosis with traditional Russian imperialism sustained by an excessive messianism and thirst for conquest which appeared

in the development of history first in the guise of Panslavism, subsequently in the robe of Orthodoxy and now in the sheepskin coat of World Communism and its treacherous slogans of peace, freedom, progress and security for all mankind.

3. The so-called Soviet Union today dares to act as an advocate of "national liberation movements" on other continents unopposed and play the part of protector and liberator of dependent nations from imperialism and colonialism while simultaneously denying the national concept from the ideological aspect, as being anti-Marxist, exercising the most brutal colonial rule over numerous civilized nations in Europe and Asia of all times, mercilessly nipping in the bud any aspirations to protect their identification from Russification, in particular their national and state independence, under the pretext of "reactionary bourgeois nationalism". The international public is shamelessly adapting itself to this practise of denationalization, gradually becoming accustomed to using the term "Soviet" people's state and accepting the theses of the so-called "socialist nations" in Russian colonies, as is for example being done by Honnecker, in applying it to the so-called "German Democratic Republic" so as to separate approximately 20 million people from the German nation.

4. Opposition and resistance within the Soviet Russian sphere of power are far from being solely directed against Communist despotism but also, if not most of all against Russian foreign rule which in the long run aims at the assimilation and Russification of all captive nations. The Russian intervention in the Hungarian Liberation Revolution of 1956 as well as in the "Spring of Prague" incident by means of armed forces of the Warsaw Pact was not meant to save the Communist system,

but primarily to preserve Russian rule and authority over these countries. The national idea and the striving for national independence in fact constitute the main components for future national liberation revolutions in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of power, these revolutions being inevitable will explode in conformity with history. From this aspect the captive nations emerge as the world power proper and the decisive historical factor for the solving of the present world crisis without nuclear war thus preserving mankind from self-destruction.

5. The generally accepted view as to the bipolarity of political power is increasingly being superceded by the process of development. The appearance of China on the world political arena as a competitive power and the untenability of a monopoly of nuclear weapons also oppose the cosmopolitan tendency from forming any kind of "world state", and suggest a process of national differentiation of the future world and pacification on the basis of mutual respect with the national interests of every nation, thus leaving open the possibility for the formation of regional or even continental communities on a voluntary basis.

6. From this aspect any adaptation of the Free World and its forbearing readiness to make concessions to Mos-

cow, which is becoming clearly evident in the recent veering round of the Washington Government is not only useless and senseless but also disastrous. The policy of détente practised so far, crowned by the Helsinki agreements is paralyzing the captive nations' spirit of resistance and simultaneously encouraging Moscow to intensify terror within her own sphere of power and expand aggressively into the West. She will certainly not shrink back from plotting civil wars within the scope of the hallowed "ideological struggle" or even conducting feigned "national liberation wars" as was the case in Vietnam yesterday and which might perhaps be repeated to-morrow in West Germany. According to Moscow's version such occurrences may be integrated quite legitimately into the reservation of "ideological struggle".

7. Communism as the Trojan horse of the Russian empire and pioneer of foreign rule is not fully recognized and misunderstood by the Free World. Therefore Western democracies leave gates and doors open to Marxist-Leninist teachings and activities, allowing Communism to present itself as the carrier of conjectured progress and illusive social justices, thus alluring the bulk of politically immature youth and smoothing the way for Russian expansion and domination firstly over the

Dr. h. c. Franz Josef Strauß, Chairman of the CSU (Christian Social Union) M. P.

Munich, October 17th, 1975

Greetings to EFC and ABN Conferences

Disillusion with the policy of détente and the failure of the German eastern policy, must not cause the peoples of free and democratic western Europe to submit — for this would be the beginning of the end of our freedom. The politico-ideological offensives of the Soviet power cannot be encountered with apathy but with an offensive policy and spiritual combat against totalitarianism and a categorical demand for the human rights. The free part of Europe must finally act by raising its political will in order to confront the Soviet striving for hegemony and preserve its own identity. Therefore, European unification is our primary goal. We want a free and democratic Europe that will contribute towards the preservation of peace and recognition of human rights.

whole of Europe. Tolerance towards the false Communist doctrine and its hypocritical slogans has resulted, despite the bankruptcy of the Communist practise behind the Iron Curtain and the millions of refugees who risk their lives in seeking salvation from the Communist hell in the West avoiding to uncompromisingly acknowledge anti-Communism, combatting Communism as an absolute evil in all its forms and proclaiming the defeat of Communism as the most important cause of our era. Every decisive struggle against Communism that demonstrates the strength of will for national self-assertion and elemental self-conservation, is alternatively — according to Soviet Russian terminology — branded and discriminated as "Fascism", at the same time accepting the insidious slogans of Antifascism issued by the Bolsheviks which paralyze the domestic political activity of the Western democracies and their will to defend themselves, in order to prepare them, step by step, to their capitulation before Moscow.

In the light of this threatening world situation, marked by a defensive attitude of the West together with an unrestrained aggression of Russian Bolshevism in all spheres of life, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations turns to the international public, especially in the direction of the governments and parliaments of the Free World with the following appeals:

I. End the policy of appeasement and détente vis-à-vis Moscow once and for all, and suspend all co-operation with the Soviet Union and its satellites, to prevent the actualization of Lenin's statement about the "useful idiots" in the West who will provide their own hanging rope, for the Bolsheviks to use.

II. Stop material, financial, technological and moral aid to the Soviet Union and its satellites, which helps the Kremlin masters to push Bolshevik aggression, threatens the freedom of western countries and is a betrayal of our captive nations. Break off all relations

with Communist trade union organizations which in any case, do not protect the interests of the workers, but their slavemasters, serving their enforced economic system and the fulfilment of their plans.

III. Put the Soviet Union to the pillory and disclose Russian foreign rule camouflaged by so-called World Communism as a brutal colonial empire, constituting an anachronism in our age of decolonization, thus depriving itself of any right to exist. Meet the hypocritical slogans of Moscow directed against colonialism and imperialism with counter-slogans directed against Russian Bolshevik Neocolonialism in Europe and Asia, and force Moscow to release the captive nations both within and beyond the Soviet Union's boundaries, thus making them independent.

IV. Demand that the Kremlin despots comply with the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the 1960 UN Declaration concerning the Decolonization of the World, and respect the fundamental human and civic rights. Force them to release the thousands of political prisoners languishing in prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals within the Soviet Russian sphere of power by threatening to exclude the Soviet Union from the United Nations and breaking off diplomatic and economic relations with her.

V. Meet the "ideological struggle" proclaimed by Moscow with the initiation of an offensive liberation policy on psychological, ethical and political levels in order to strengthen the morale and the resistance of our nations oppressed by Russian foreign rule and enslaved by the Communist power regime. Only in this way can a contribution be made for the recovery of the political atmosphere and its will of resistance, in the Free World, less it should fall under the scourge of the Bolsheviks.

VI. Admit the representatives from the exiled organizations for the captive nations under the Bolshevik Russian sphere of power, thus securing them

the right to vote — as in the case of the Palestine Liberation Organization — enabling them to represent the true cause of their silenced nations, and that they may unmask the hypocrisy of the Soviet Union and its accomplices before the entire world, as chief witnesses.

VII. We demand the liquidation of the Soviet Russian colonial empire and the restoration of our nations' sovereignty, as being the basic conditions for détente, true security and lasting peace in Europe and the entire world!

Today, under Russian colonial rule and Communist tyranny, robbed of their national sovereignty live the following nations: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Turkistanis, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs, Croatians, Slavs, Albanians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidzhanians, North Caucasians, Poles, East Germans, Vietnamese, North Koreans, Cubans and many others continuously demanding national independence and freedom, which they will sooner or later obtain!

Rev. Alexis U. Floridi S. J.

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International Situation and WACL Policy

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

of the WACL Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting, Seoul,
Republic of Korea December 13, 1975

At a time the free world is becoming increasingly aware of the failure of its détente policy, and as the international situation is characterized by the increasing determination of people everywhere to win, safeguard and enhance freedom, the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) successfully met in Seoul, Capital of the Republic of Korea, on the forefront of Asian anti-Communist endeavor, on December 12-13, 1975. With the participation of all members of the Board, representing all regions of the world, the Meeting powerfully demonstrated the WACL spirit of endeavor in unity to win freedom for all mankind.

The Executive Board, after closely examining the continuing confrontation between the forces of freedom and the Communist forces, reached a consensus on the following points:

The continuing international turmoil is due to two major factors: (1) the free world aims at a détente with the Communists through negotiation and repeated concessions, instead of confrontation and unbounded resistance; (2) the Communists use the détente policy for stepped-up united "front operations". WACL has consistently pointed out that the confrontation between freedom forces and Communist forces is fundamental and can by no means be removed through talks or attempts at peaceful settlement. Facts have repeatedly proven that détente with Moscow has helped the Russians to reach out so much that the United States of America are no longer as capable of defending peace and freedom as they used to be. Similar attempts have permitted the Russian and Chinese Communists to create havoc at the UN and in Asia, Africa and Latin America, continuing their infiltration and subver-

sive moves almost at will. In particular, President Ford's visit to the mainland of China for secret negotiations last week constituted an infringement upon the rights and interests of America's free allies. Therefore the trip was disappointing and distressing for freedom-loving people inside and outside the Iron Curtain.

— The Russian and Chinese Communists share the ultimate goal of world communization and enslavement. This goal will not change even though there are contradictions, disputes and internal power struggles between the two regimes. International developments have constantly testified, and will continue to regard, the UN as their major target. Both regimes are creating and aggravating unrest at the UN and in many parts of the world for the final attainment of their communization goal.

— Man's will power and striving for freedom are increasingly apparent everywhere. This change is taking place against the continuing Red attempts at internal suppression and external expansion. The people in North Korea are opposed to Kim Il Sung's belligerent dictatorial attempt to be at the head of a monolithic ideological structure. Massive anti-Maoist and anti-Communist unrest involving intellectuals and working masses continues on the Chinese mainland. Numerous intellectuals have risen and liberalization and independence movements such as the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Georgian and others are seriously pushed by the captive nations in the Soviet Union and the satellite states. Successful anti-Communist moves in Chile and Portugal, new political developments in Australia and New Zealand, South African steps against Communist aggression,

and the establishment and growth of anti-Communist organizations in South America are also to be noted, proving that while the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain are more and more strongly opposed to their oppressors, the free world is also taking steps commensurate with its growing awareness of the need for anti-Communist unity. Freedom campaigns are surging forth as the main current of our time.

In view of this newly emerging situation the WACL Executive Board resolved to advance the call „National Freedom against International Communism“ as the theme of the 9th WACL Conference in 1976. People throughout the free world and behind the Iron Curtain will be urged to wake up and bring about a grand unity in strenuous joint endeavors for a final victory of freedom. For the present world situation, the Executive Board also has resolved to issue calls for actions in the following directions:

1. Resolute Opposition to Power Politics and Secret Diplomacy:

It should be noted that President Gerald Ford's visit to the Chinese mainland last week for talks with the Maoists counteracted the prevailing wishes of freedom-loving people in Asia and elsewhere. Due to this trip the rights and interests of America's free allies are jeopardized anew through further Red Chinese utilization of the US policy of détente. Strong opposition to power politics and secret diplomacy with Communist aggressors should be registered. The US Government must be urged to strictly observe treaty obligations and defense commitments with respect to their free allies.

2. Asian-Pacific Island Chain of Defense:

In view of the increased strategic importance of Northeast Asia and the Taiwan Straits in the global efforts to check Communist aggression following the fall of the three Indochinese coun-

tries, positive support should now be given to the staunch anti-Communist efforts of the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and other free Asian-Pacific nations. This is all the more important because of the mounting belligerent aggressioniveness of the North-Korean Kim Il Sung and his treacherous underground Tunnels underneath the demilitarized Zone. In particular, it is hoped that Japan will remember that, in the eyes of the Communists, she is a major target of infiltration and subversion, and that she will therefore positively cooperate with the other free nations of the region to check Communist aggression and expansion. What is even more important, the United States ought to be requested to take keen note that security, positive support for the free Asian endeavors to defend their lands, and help for building a solid Western Pacific island chain of defense, with Northeast Asia and the Taiwan Straits as pivots in an effective shield for US defense are inseparable.

3. Unity of Middle East Nations for Anti-Communism

It is believed that the free nations in the Middle East, now exercising increasingly greater influence on the international situation, will make an ever growing contribution to human freedom and global prosperity. These nations, therefore, should be requested to guard tightly against Russian and Chinese Communist international united front schemes of division and conquest, and working for the common goal of freedom and security, seek unity for anti-Communism and for an accelerated development of peace everywhere in the Middle East.

4. Support to the Gallant Latin American Anti-Communist Efforts:

Sincere appreciation should be expressed for the constant heightening of anti-Communist vigilance on the part of the free nations and peoples in Latin America and for their efforts to

strengthen their anti-Communist unity. It is imperative that the embargo against the Cuban Communists be continued, that the freedom-loving Cubans be positively assisted in their heroic actions against Castro's regime, that strong support be given to Chile's anti-Communist policy, and that the Latin Americans in general be encouraged to establish a regional anti-Communist alliance for the enhancement of freedom, independence, progress and prosperity.

Besides, Latin America continues to face the permanent Soviet-Russian, Maoist and Trotskyist aggressions, as well as the serious problem of some influential circles in the US Congress and Department of State, applying the détente policy to Latin America to safeguard the tyrannic regime of Fidel Castro in Cuba, precisely at the moment when its political and economic failures are leading to its disaster, to resume full relations with Cuba and, particularly, to lift the economic sanctions applied against her since 1964, so that Cuba may receive considerable economic aid, which Castro won't use to improve the living conditions of the Cuban people, but to consolidate his oppression and to increase his capacity for launching subversive guerrillas to Latin America, Africa and other regions of the world.

This danger is being faced, successfully until now, by the increasing alliance of the anti-Communist forces the Latin American anti-Communist Confederation represents and encourages, but it is required that all the forces gathered in WACL and WYACL explain to the American Government the dangers of her policy, to make this country refrain from helping Cuba as she now helps the Soviet Union.

We regret the passing of General Francisco Franco who defeated Communism in Spain in 1939 and kept Spain free for 40 years. All necessary efforts must be made to avoid that the Communist Portuguese influ-

ence be extended to the entire Iberic peninsula.

5. African Vigilance Against Red United Front Schemes:

Great concern should be expressed over the fate of Africans exposed to all-out Communist attempts at infiltration and subversion, such as Russian, Cuban, North Korean and Red Chinese interference in Angola. Free African nations should be urged to make strict precautions against Communist manoeuvres, known united front tactics to bait them away from the rest of the free world and into the "third world" trap. Instead, the African nations should stand firmly on the side of the free camp and seek stronger cooperative ties with the free world for economic development and social prosperity.

6. Refusal to Admit Results of Russian Aggression in Eastern Europe as Established Facts:

The recent Helsinki Conference on so-called "European security and cooperation" was nothing but a Russian plot to destroy the North Atlantic Treaty organization and bring irreparable damages to the freedom and security of Europe. The results of Russian aggression in Eastern Europe should never be accepted as unchangeably established facts. Positive support should be given to the captive nations in the Soviet Union and so-called satellite states in their determined struggle to re-establish their national independence and the freedom of choosing their own way of life.

The WACL Executive Board stands for a policy of liberation. The Free World based on the UN Charter, the UN Declaration concerning "national independence" of 1960 (confirmed in 1972) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and finally on the US Congress Public Law of 1959 concerning the nations enslaved by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism.

The policy of liberation, i. e. dissolution of the Communist system and

Russian imperialism from within, with a view to restore the national independence and statehood of the nations enslaved within the USSR and the entire Communist sphere of power leads to a lasting and just peace.

After the Helsinki Conference acknowledging the present borders of the Soviet Union in Europe and Asia the terror applied against the captive nations has been intensified.

The WACL Executive Board appeals to the governments and parliaments of the free countries in the world to defend the prisoners repressed for their national, political and religious convictions, such as Valentyn Moroz, Y. Kravitsky, Iryna Senyk, Iryna Kalynech, Stefania Shabatura, and request the abolition of concentration camps, political prisons and psychiatric establishments intended to break the will power of the political prisoners.

7. Support to Anti-Communist Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain:

Positive timely support should be given to the anti-Communist struggle of the people of North Korea and the Chinese mainland as well as to the anti-Communist national recovery efforts of the people of the three newly subjugated Indochinese countries so that fights against slavery and for freedom will truly grow as a torrent of time.

To deal further heavy blows to the aggressive Communist forces and to bring about a greater unity of freedom forces in all of the world, the WACL

Executive Board has resolved to hold **the 9th WACL Conference in Seoul, the Capital of the Republic of Korea, on May 1-5, 1976.** The Board also duly took note of the decision of the 21st Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League to hold the 22nd APACL Conference at the same time in Seoul. Members of the Board are determined to do everything possible to assure the greatest possible success of the Conferences of the two leagues. Efforts also will be redoubled for directing the world towards a victory of freedom.

To promote further unity of the younger generation for dedicated joint endeavors to win freedom for all, the WACL Executive Board has furthermore decided to hold an enlarged 7th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League in Seoul simultaneously with the 9th WACL Conference. More young blood will thus be injected into the growingly vigorous WACL Movement.

Acutely aware that the security of the Republic of Korea and the entire Korean peninsula is essential to the security of Asia and therefore of the whole World, the participants of the Executive Board Meeting respectfully salute the Government and people of the Republic of Korea for their staunch stand and courageous spirit. Sincere appreciation goes to the WACL Korea Chapter for its competent preparation to make this Meeting successful and for the generous hospitality accorded to them.

Documents about Encroachments upon Human Rights in the USSR

published by **Amnesty International (AI), January 1976**

Section of the Federal Republic of Germany,
registered association
2000 Hamburg 76, Stückenstr. 70

TORCH OF FIRE

1. *Where,*
 O my brother,
Is your
 Wenceslas Square?
Where
 is your torch of fire
 your young flesh
 burning
Romas Kalanta?
Where now
 does your daring soul
 cry aloud
for freedom
 for Lithuania?
2. *Kaunas,*
 my brother,
Is my
 Wenceslas Square
There
 was my young flesh burnt,
 My soul,
 my scream, fell silent,
 As yours in Prague,
Jan Palach,
Took on
 the yoke of silence.
3. *Can the square*
 of Wenceslas
 pass
 — my brother —
From one land
 to another?
On the way,
 mountains
 were crushed
 oceans
 filled in
 walls and frontiers
 torn down.
O Romas Kalanta
In every land
 must young flesh burn
- Till man throws down*
 his chains to the ground?
4. *Freedom's flame,*
 my brother,
Burned in Rome
 still brighter
Great Rome,
 whose tyrants knew
 freedom's power.
Whose victims, soaked in pitch,
were set ablaze
 to feast the eyes
of the idle rabble,
 the idle rich.
The world itself,
 Jan Palach,
Is now that square
 of Wenceslas
The world is now
 one scream of fire
 — freedom!
5. *The dawn of judgement*
 my brother,
 remains unseen,
The cry of despair
 remains unheard
The servants of tyrants
 are blind
The priests of gold
 are deaf
Our flesh
 must still be a torch
The cry
 of our souls a witness
An eternal witness
 to unborn generations
 to the future
Our cry
 — freedom!

Margarita Ausala

(From the Latvian translated by
Marite Sapiets.)

Soviet Russian Imperialism in Turkestan

Part IV

The spirit that animated this struggle is exemplified in the figure Junaid Khan in Khiva, a gallant old man who fought the Russians steadily since 1873 until 1929 when he was forced across the frontier into Afganistan.⁶⁹⁾

It is high treason now for any admirer to refer to Khan Junaid. Or there was Haji Sami, on whom Enver's mantle fell, and Ibrahim Bek who was only captured and executed in July, 1931, after two years of renewed bitter fighting.⁷⁰⁾ In 1933-35 there was an uprising in Karakum under Quagabai (*Milli Turkistan*; Ieer 3, 1944, 58, 40-43), the destruction of Russian regiments in Tshatkal mountains, and the general rising in the Nurata mountains.⁷¹⁾

1936: Uprisings occurred in the Badakhshan district, Narim-Tal, and Karakum (with new outbreaks in 1937).

1937: Arrangements were being made by Turkestan's party and government officials for a massive uprising, but it did not materialize because its leadership was arrested. Only the Tshatkal mountains rebelled once more. (*Milli Turkistan*, Ieer 3, 1944, 55, 25-32)

1938-41: Recurrent assaults on military commissaries in every garrisoned town were frequent. The pretext was mobilization. If this may not have had a direct connection with the Basmachi as such, the movement, however was

active in the Peshawar border as late as 1941.⁷²⁾

1941-45: Uprisings and attacks on military posts in Tashkent, Piskent, Bukhara, Kagan, Namangan, Akmolla, Andidshan, Kokand, Aktube, Fergana, Ashkabad. (*Milli Turkistan*, Ieer 2 (6) 1950, 68, p. 22 and Hayit, Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert, p. 346)

On June 23, 1943, for instance, more than ten thousand men and women, armed only with sticks, attacked the Tashkent garrison. The Red Army opened fire and killed in the neighbourhood one thousand five hundred people (Hayit, Turkestan im XXX. Jahrhundert, p. 346).

ABN Correspondence carried on its front cover a photograph of Usman Batur, the "Commander of Turkestan's Insurgent Forces 1940-51", and on the reverse side of the cover a brief note reading

"Usman Batur, the leader of the fight for freedom of the Turkestanians during the years 1940-51, who organized and waged an armed fight incessantly against Soviet Russian and Red Chinese rule in Turkestan. Captured by Chinese Communists at the beginning of 1951, he was hanged in Urumtchi (sic) on April 28, 1951."⁷³⁾

Unfortunately the details of this struggle in the post-World War II period are scant or unknown at the present time, but nevertheless some fragmentary news about full scale uprisings in Turkmenistan, the Fergana district and in the Pamir Mountains under the leadership of Rakhmankul as late as 1950 (*Milli Turkistan*, year 2 (5) 1950,

⁶⁹⁾ Caroe, p. 127.

⁷⁰⁾ Hostler, p. 163; Ioshua Kunitz, *Dawn over Samarkand*, New York, 1935, p. 67 et al.

⁷¹⁾ V. Kajum-Khan, "Turkestan", *The Eastern Quarterly*, III, no. 4 (October 1, 1950, p. 38 (London): The Norven Press Ltd., 1948 to 1955) cited by Hostler, p. 164.

⁷²⁾ Caroe, p. 101.

⁷³⁾ ABN Correspondence, XIII, no. 3 (May-June 1962), front cover

66 33. 1950. 70-71 A2) managed to pierce the curtain of imposed silence.⁷⁴⁾

Although the military history of the Basmachi struggle is a separate topic, the question of numbers of Basmachi troops involved is of great importance for the assessment of the scope of this unofficial Russo-Turkestanian war which was in full swing for about sixteen years from 1918 until 1934.⁷⁵⁾

Vasilevski, the Soviet historian of the Basmachi movement, states that due to economic disruption an army of three hundred unemployed farm hands in the Ferghon Valley alone (the district where the movement took shape) supplied the Basmachi with recruits.⁷⁶⁾ In view of this statement, Dr. Hayit's figures of 60,000 armed Basmachi soldiers and a reservoir of 224,000 unarmed men seem to be fairly accurate if not conservative.⁷⁷⁾ A somewhat higher figure is suggested by a Soviet military man Jakov Arkad'evich Mel'kumov in his book *Turkestanty* (Turkestani). Mel'kumov fought in Turkestan from 1920 to 1934, was absolutely trusted by Frunze and other Russian commanders, and himself commanded a Soviet Cavalry brigade. He wrote that according to Frunze, the number of Basmachi

fighting men under such **Kurbashes** as Sher Muhummed, Tojtschi, Parpi, and Hall-Khadza in Fergana totalled about 30,000 (*Turkestanty*, p. 30). Other leaders like Fuzajli Makhsুম had 1,000 men, (*Turkestanty*, p. 63); Abdu Hafiz, 2,500 (*Turkestanty*, p. 64); Daniyar-Bek, 3,000, (*Turkestanty*, p. 88); Quari-Abduljan, 15,000 (*Turkestanty*, p. 89); Enver Pasha, 17,000 (*Turkestanty* p. 108); Halbuta, 1,000, (*Turkestanty*, p. 143); Ibrahim-Bek, 3,000 (*Turkestanty*, p. 148). These troops totalled about 72,000 armed men. Aside from this, Dr. Hayit also maintains that under the command of Dzhunaid-Khan, Aman-Palwan, Muhammed Amin-Bek, Ergash-Qorbashi, Islam-Kul, Iakshi-Geldi, and others, there were 80,000 men which Mel'kumov failed to mention.⁷⁸⁾ Although the exact figures may never be known, those that are available suffice to suggest that the Basmachi movement can only be measured on a national scale. [For population figures, see Appendix. (Tables 1 and 2)].

The socially universal character of the movement is confirmed by Soviet sources as well. Thus, Vasilevski states that the Basmachi ranks were composed of:

- a) Feudalists and clergy, aristocracy and officialdom of the Emir of Bukhara... tribal leaders who played the role of heads (Kurbashes) of the Basmachi "gangs"; Mullahs were in charge of propaganda.
- b) Native bourgeoisie, aiming at independence in the capitalist sense of the word.
- c) Kulaks in the villages who supplied the movement with food, forage and arms.
- d) Peasants (**Dekhans**). At the beginning the Turkestani peasants were so enraged with the Soviet mistakes that they supported the movement *en masse*.⁷⁹⁾

⁷⁴⁾ The above data has been compiled partly from the information provided in Hayit's *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert*, p. 188, note 530.

⁷⁵⁾ Robert Conquest, *Agricultural Worker*, (London, 1968) pp. 19-32. et al. After that period of long struggle, lack of material means, collectivization; famine; disease; mass arrests and executions; deportations and mass emigration of Turkestani across the Chinese border, limited at that time the possibility for the continuation of armed resistance on a larger scale.

⁷⁶⁾ Vasilevski "Fazy Basmacheoskogo dvizhenia v Srednej Azii" (The Phases of the Basmachi Movement in Central Asia), *Novyj Vostok*, book 29, (1930), pp. 126-128. Cited by Hostler, p. 164.

⁷⁷⁾ Hayit, *Sowjetrussischer Kolonialismus* ... p. 21-22, especially fn. 4.

⁷⁸⁾ Hayit, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁹⁾ Vasilevski, *ibid.*, p. 129. Cited by Hostler, p. 164.

Disregarding some elements of Soviet jargon, Vasilevski's assessment is quite accurate.

In spite of the rivalry of individual **kurboshes** and tribal feuds the Pan-Turkist background in the Basmachi movement is clear, since it pitched all Turkestanians into a struggle against their common enemy. The Basmachi movement mobilized the tribes, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Turkmens and Tajiks, the young intelligentsia of the cities, West Turk officers, many Afghans and Tartars (like Osman Bey Tokambet, Enver's secretary) and Bashkiri (like Togan) and Enver Pasha. The struggle in which they were engaged was not between Communists and anti-Communists, but between Russians and Turkestanians. The Basmachi was a native Moslem Turkestanian movement and the "Soviet" troops fighting them were metropolitan troops of exclusively Russian nationality.⁸⁰⁾

After the resistance had officially ended, the Russian press lamented the losses caused to the rebels in the fighting, which they said had led to a significant diminution of the population. While many thousands may have fallen in battle throughout the years, it was of less significance than the hundreds of thousands who died in silence thanks to the **Pax Sovietica**. The Russians in fact — says Caroe — "adopted the Roman process; it was

their peace which made a solitude and was more deadly than their war".⁸¹⁾

Although the Basmachi movement is known for its political and military efforts, its organizational capability is of no less importance. Thus, in the regions under Basmachi control, public order was introduced and local administration functioned well. Each locality was under a local Basmachi representative, pillage and banditry stopped, collection of taxes was reintroduced and permission for the free movement of all foreigners, with the exception of Bolsheviks, was granted. Castagne illustrates this operation with the following detail:

The Russian workers, the engineers in charge of the works of irrigation enjoyed complete security in the zone occupied by the Basmachis. In an article published in the **Roul** of Berlin (February 13, 1923), Dr. Ross asserted that it was easier to obtain the necessary native workers for the crews in charge of the irrigation and other works through the Basmachi leadership than through arrangements of the Soviet authorities.⁸²⁾

With respect to the Basmachi movement Caroe asked whether all that endeavour was in vain and has Togan — the historian — to provide the answer:

The events of 1918-1924 (the height of Basmachism) were greater than anything I hoped for. The educated, intellectuals and others, along with peasantry and tribesmen, showed such a spirit of self-sacrifice as to throw themselves into a forlorn hope in the firing — live and die a hero's death. The Basmachi who hitherto, if they fought at all, would only fight for their own district, and knew no fatherland beyond the limits of their own homes, were led to fight for all Turkistan... The Basmachi movement showed that

⁸⁰⁾ As late as in 1927, for instance, Uzbeks accounted for less than five per cent of Soviet troops in Turkestan, while Kirghiz, Turkmens and other natives numbered altogether even less than that. Thus, up to 1926 — during the crucial years of the struggle — the percentage of native soldiers in the Red Army was practically nil. Conclusions based on data from **Vtoroi Vseuzbekskaia s'ezd Sovetov... Stenograficheskaia otchet** (Tashkent Tsik Sovetov Uz SSR, 1927), p. 131. Cited by Michael Rywkin, **Russia in Central Asia** (New York, 1963) p. 57.

⁸¹⁾ Caroe, p. 129.

⁸²⁾ Castagne, pp. 16 f. Cited by Hostler, p. 165.

the Turks of Central Asia were not a dead, corrupt nation as had been written, it was the best training ground for them, the start of a new period in the life of Turkistan, a period in which they began to fight for their existence, weapons in hand... In future Turkistan will never again be a mere looker-on at world events; it will play the part proper to it.⁸³⁾

World War II and After

The outbreak of World War II rekindled once more among the Turkestani the hope for a new opportunity to rid their country of Russian tutelage. Aside from a series of uprisings and guerrilla warfare at home already discussed in conjunction with the Basmachi movement, the anti-Russian political and military attitude of the Turkestani was also evidenced by the several hundred thousand Turks from the USSR who served in the German Armed Forces against the Russians. The bulk of these volunteer troops were recruited from among deserters and prisoners of war, who had fallen into German hands,⁸⁴⁾ and later investigation established that there were well over half a million of these men.⁸⁵⁾ These men were first placed in prison camps in Poland under appalling conditions and treated as brutally as the Nazis treated all prisoners from the East. Starvation diet was the rule, and there was no medical care. A typhus epidemic attacked the camps, and more than half the prisoners died of hunger, fever and hardship, reported Caroe.

The 162nd Turk Infantry Division, commanded by a Well-known German

specialist in Middle Eastern affairs, General Oscar von Niedermayer, was assigned the task of organizing them into combat battalions. This activity was implemented by Army Group South which was largely in Central Ukraine. Thus, a "top secret" memorandum dated December 30, 1941, directed the High Command of the Wehrmacht to set up among other, "A 'Turkestan Legion' consisting of members of the following nationalities: Turkmenians, Uzbeks, Kazkachs, Kirghizs, Karakalpaks, and Tadjiks "⁸⁶⁾

By the end of the war as many as 180,000 men from various parts of Turkestan were put into one or other formation of the Wehrmacht or the Waffen-SS. Although the larger part of these men were placed in labour, guard, ordnance and supply formations, there were at least 40,000 combatant troops. In addition to the 162nd Infantry Division — mostly made up of men from Turkestan, there were nineteen independent battalions and twenty-four infantry companies of which the rank and file consisted entirely of Turks and Tajiks from the east of the Caspian Sea. There was also a Waffen-SS formation known as East Turkish Armed Formation composed of four regiments, one of which was Turkestani.⁸⁷⁾

The prime political aims behind this rather large scale Turkestani military attempt was to fight for the restoration of their independence. Veli Kayum-Khan⁸⁸⁾ — leader of the National Turkistan Unity Committee and Commissioner for Turkestan appointed by the German Ostministry — made it clear

⁸³⁾ Togan, pp. 472-4, cited in Caroe, p. 130. About the Basmachi movement see also: Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan zwischen Russland und China* (Turkestan between Russia and China), Amsterdam 1971.

⁸⁴⁾ Charles W. Hostler, "The Turks and Soviet Central Asia", *Middle East Journal*, XII (1958), p. 266.

⁸⁵⁾ Caroe, p. 246-7.

⁸⁶⁾ Nuremberg Trial, unpublished document NG-4301. Cited in G. Fischer, *Soviet Opposition to Stalin* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 48.

⁸⁷⁾ Caroe, pp. 247-8

⁸⁸⁾ Kayum Khan, like Mustafa Chokai, had been held prisoner by the Nazis until the end of 1941. After Mustafa Chokai's death from typhus in 1941, he was succeeded by Kayum Khan. (Caroe, pp. 343, 347).

from the outset that Turkestan should not become party of any future "Russian Federation".⁸⁹⁾ The Germans, however, enlisted these men for the struggle against Communism making no precise declaration of their war aims as far as the fate of Turkestan was concerned. The Turkestan volunteers were asked to fight **against** something which was not enough because they wanted to fight for something. Hitler, and his regime with his contempt for the peoples of the East, cared for nothing else but willing service without conditions and looked forward when the German yoke would merely substitute the Russian in the "liberated areas". Although Turkestan leaders were unofficially allowed to propagate the idea of independence among the Turkestan troops as the war went on and German forces began to sag, this variance between Nazi high politics and Turkestan national aims persisted almost until the end of the war, when it was too late to reverse the course of Rosenberg authorized to declare the independence of Turkestan,⁹⁰⁾ and the Turkestan troops were established as units of the Turkestan National Army.⁹¹⁾

In spite of all the mistakes of principle and practice, and the crudity of methods on the German part with respect to these troops and their national aspirations, the Turkestan served gallantly to the end, for in fighting, as such, they seemed to have found an honourable way out, a consolation. The three battalions from Turkestan that fought to the last man in Stalingrad; the six battalions which held up the Russian advance in front of Berlin; the battalion that had broken out of a Russian pocket

⁸⁹⁾ Veli Kayum-Khan, "Recollection of the Last Years of Mustafa Chokai", *Milli Turkistan*, no. 70 to 71B., March 1951, p. 21, cited by Hostler, p. 177.

⁹⁰⁾ Caroe, p. 249.

⁹¹⁾ Hayit, p. 346, footnote 989.

near Kharhkov (Kharkov) and re-entered it in order to rescue the body of their German commander who had won the affection and respect of his men; or the case of Ghulam Alim, a former Red Army sergeant who had won every possible German decoration for bravery, including the Iron Cross⁹²⁾ give plenty of evidence of their worth.

In the end they suffered losses of 50,000 men, and 12,000 disablements; and most of those who survived were handed back to the Russians by the Allies, and disappeared.⁹³⁾ Caroe, in praising these men tells why they fought in spite of all the odds against them:

They disliked the Russian mentality and felt aggrieved. Those who were better educated had in mind the purges and the waves of arrests and banishments which followed any demonstration of national pride; the rank and file recalled bitterly the deprivation of lands and flocks which had gone with collectivization. Those Russian cruelties they would never forget, the bloody eyes⁹⁴⁾ of Skobolev, Kuropatkin and the Commissars were for them the eye of a single ogre, who would not leave them in peace.⁹⁵⁾

He goes on to say that it was fortunate for the Allies that the Germans were heavy-handed, and that they did not deserve to have had such men as comrades in arms. The Germans attempted to use them only for German purposes as they wanted to do with all the other non-Russian nationalities of the European East and Asia; and when these peoples could not resist the on-

⁹²⁾ Caroe, pp. 249, 251-2. G. Alim, in the end, out of frustration with German policy fled with 200 men into the Sovakian mountains where he was killed by Communist partisans.

⁹³⁾ *Idem.*

⁹⁴⁾ An allusion to Skobolev's nickname, *goz kanli* — bloody eyes.

⁹⁵⁾ Caroe, p. 152.

slaughter of two tyrannical forces — Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia — and fell, they dragged down at least totalitarian Germany with them.

It was most unfortunate that the Turkestanians — like many others — in World War II were used as pawns in the struggle of two contending empires. In such a contest the aims of those fighting men, however noble, could not be realized.

Another important phase of the Turkestanian resistance was their participation in the foreign units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the military arm of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN),⁹⁶⁾ which carried on a struggle against both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Consequently Berlin and Moscow quickly realized that the growth of the Ukrainian national force, on the one hand was undermining the German position in the Ukraine, and on the other, was posing a threat to the unity of the already badly mauled Soviet Russian Empire. Thus the OUN-UPA became targets of both German and Russian counter-action reflected in their respective propaganda materials. German leaflet No. 43/7/G. 24, distributed in the Ukraine, declared:

Order and secret directives that have fallen into our hands show that the Jews in the Kremlin are in contact with the OUN, which says is fighting Bolshevism... The OUN and Bolshevism are the same and that is why they should be annihilated...⁹⁷⁾

Khrushchev, on the other side, in an appeal distributed from Kyiv (Kiev) on June, 1944 accused the OUN-UPA (banderovtzi)⁹⁸⁾ of being German agents:

⁹⁶⁾ For extensive information on OUN-UPA consult Roland Gaucher, **Opposition in the USSR 1917-1967**, New York 1969, p. 351-373.

⁹⁷⁾ For complete copy of text see Appendix 1.

⁹⁸⁾ After the name of the Leader of OUN — Stepan Bandera.

Your enemies are not only German bandits. Your enemies are also the bands of German-Ukrainian nationalists. They are all those **banderovtzi** who have sold out to Hitler and are helping him to subjugate our people, our Ukraine... These mercenaries pretend to fight against the Germans... the Ukrainian Nationalists are in reality accomplices of Hitler. They want to break the fraternal bonds that unite the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, to sever the Soviet Ukraine from the family of Soviet peoples.⁹⁹⁾

The attitude of the Ukrainians in the face of such accusations was stated in the resolution adopted in the Third Congress of the OUN leaders, held in secret from February 17 to 21, 1943. It was the intention of this resolution to express complete opposition to both Nazi German and Soviet Russian imperialism:

In opposition to the reactionary and antipopular aims of the Russian and German imperialists who, having launched the current war, continue to wage it at the costs of the sufferings and the lives of millions of human beings and who, under the cloak of lying phrases such as **the new Europe** or the **proletarian revolution**, are seeking to achieve the lasting subjugation of the peoples of all Europe... We propose the idea of independent national states composed of all the European peoples within their ethnic borders, which is the most progressive idea of our epoch, the idea of order based on the principle of freedom for peoples and for man...¹⁰⁰⁾

(To be continued)

⁹⁹⁾ Text appeared in **Les Problèmes actuels de l'est européen**, No. 13, January 1963, cited by Roland Gaucher, **Opposition in the USSR, 1917-67**, (New York 1967) p.358.

¹⁰⁰⁾ *ibid*, No. 12, December 1962.

80 POLITICAL PRISONERS STAGING HUNGER STRIKE

Moscow — According to information given by the dissidents of Moscow more than 80 prisoners detained in the USSR who call themselves political prisoners are staging a hunger strike throughout the 25th Congress of the CP of the USSR. Letters which are said to have been smuggled out from the Vladimir prison and two camps in the Ural and Siberia, which have become available to western correspondents on Sunday (February 29, 1976) state that the prisoners' action aims at an improvement in food rations and "putting an end to the persecution of dissidents". A declaration of 32 prisoners of the Vladimir prison has been signed by the critic of the regime Vladimir Bukovsky, by the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz and by the former assistant of Solzhenitsyn, Gavriel Superfin, among others.

Another letter from Vladimir states that mentally sound prisoners are transferred to psychiatric departments, citing eight cases. The 25th Party Congress

impending, the Soviet press officially denies that there exist political prisoners in the USSR. Only those persons are supposedly sentenced who have committed offences. One day before the opening of the Congress of the CP of the USSR the peace Nobel prize winner Andrej Sakharov and four other prominent critics of the regime had requested in a joint open appeal to the delegates of the Party Congress an amnesty for political prisoners detained not only in the USSR but also "in many other countries" (according to dpa).

TELEGRAM TO THE EFC AND ABN CONFERENCES

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*Ukrainian Liberation Front
Dr. R. Malaschuk, President*

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Correction To Vol. XXVI. No 3/4 p. 51

1) **published:** "... and learned that many of our Suvorov graduates fighting in Hungary defended the Hungarians instead of our soldiers." This **should** read: "... and learned that some of our Suvorov graduates had fought in the Soviet Army in Hungary and had probably been killed there. But many of us students, in discussing the events, defended the Hungarians instead of our soldiers."

2) **published:** "We used to invite him..." This **should** read: The people where he lived used to invite him..."



NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

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UKRAINIAN HERALD

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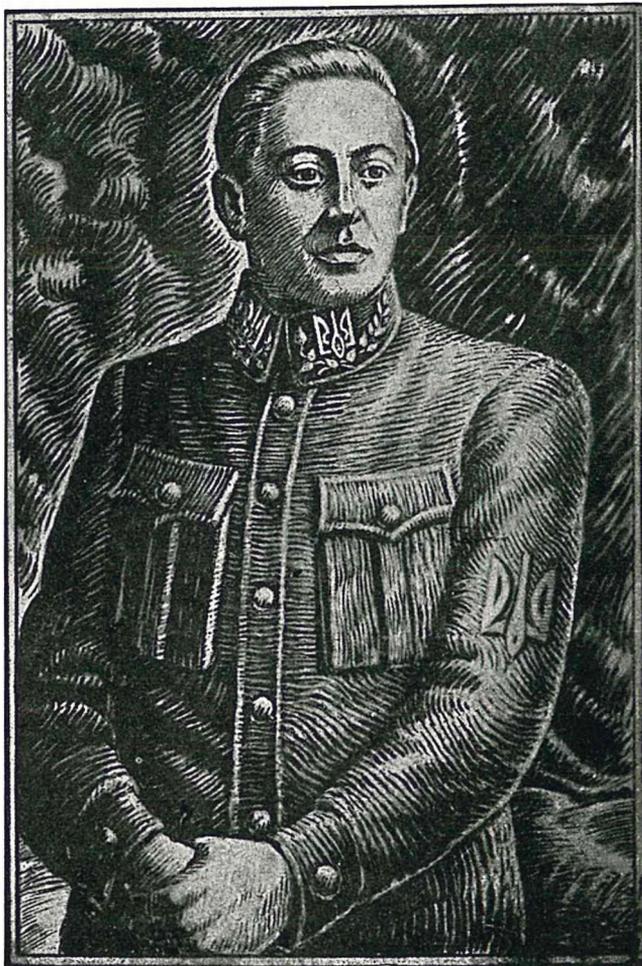
Containing details on the trial of Valentyn Moroz and the brutal murder of Alla Horská, unpublished poems by Vasyl Symonenko and news of repressions against the Ukrainian intellectuals. Poetry translated by Vera Rich.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

President Of The Ukrainian National Republic Murdered By Moscow



(May 23, 1879 - May 25, 1926)

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine):

Stop Russian Rule

The era of colonialism approaches its end. Multinational empires based on oppression and exploitation and chained together by terror and permanent armed occupation are breaking down and disintegrating. Imperialism is agonizing. It is dying slowly, but the crime of oppressing entire nations will never triumph again. We face the dawn of a new era: the revival of the nation enjoying human freedom and national independence.

It would be absurd to assume that the assault echelon of anticolonialist national liberation would stop at the boundaries of the Russian colonial empire. The presumption that the colonial peoples in the USSR and the satellite nations might have reconciled themselves to the Russian yoke is unrealistic, almost grotesque. If western colonial empires have broken up, why should of all empires the Russian prison of peoples survive? Peoples possessing millennial cultures are living in the USSR in the state of forced occupation, national incapacitation and social exploitation, but their striving for asserting themselves as nations, for their national liberation and for the renewal of their national statehood is stronger than ever! 30,000,000 Turkestanians and 50,000,000 Ukrainians have declared war on the status quo of enslavement. In a not too distant future the Baltic countries will comprise a free Estonia, a free Latvia and a free Lithuania, and in the Caucasus those proud and brave Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians and North Caucasians will possess independent totally sovereign states. An independent Byelorussia, a free Cuba, an independent Croatia, a free Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia and a free united Germany will come into existence. At present human rights are referred to so often. However, the basic prerequisite for the realization of the human rights of the subjugated peoples in the USSR and the satellite states is the attainment of their statehood and national independence with a democratic order, namely true democracy based on the rule of the people.

There has not existed in history a single colonial empire wherein an enslaved people could make use of its human and civic rights. The primary human right of every national of an oppressed people is his right to his own independent state. The enslaved nations in the Russian colonial empire will never be able to enjoy the human rights as long as the empire has not been dissolved and the prison of peoples — USSR — has not been replaced by a fraternal community of free and independent national states! What is essential is not the ideological camouflage of imperialism. In the case of the USSR the true danger resides in Russia's imperialist and colo-

nialist drive, the alleged mission of the Third Rome. Terror and chauvinism, Russification and genocide have originated from this permanent drive for aggression and annexation.

Yesterday this happened under the Tsarist eagle and with the blessing of the Moscovite popes, today under the Red banner and in the name of Marx, but again with the blessing of the Moscovite Orthodox Patriarch! Russian imperialism has always been consistent.

The tsars, the kulaks and the capitalists of Petersburg were replaced by the Bolsheviks: the Russian practice of enslaving peoples and annexing lands did not change at all.

Therefore, what is decisive at present is not the so-called democratization of the Communist system, but the decomposition of the Russian colonial empire, the complete decolonization of Europe and Asia, deprivation of the antidemocratic and antinational Communism of its power base. Communism constitutes a danger to mankind as long as Russian imperialism persists. The elimination of Russian colonial rule will entail the disappearance of the Communist state terror all over the world.

The western peoples and their freely elected governments are bound to jointly support the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism in their national liberation struggle politically, psychologically, morally, and also materially. This is, by the way, in the democratic West's very own interest.

When mobilizing and developing a politico-psychological offensive combat against Russian imperialism and Communism we can base ourselves on a series of valid international texts, stipulations, agreements, vested rights, such as the UN Charter, the UN Declaration concerning World Decolonization (1960), the Universal Human Rights Declaration and finally the US Congress Public Law of 1959 which acknowledges the necessity of supporting the national liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism, mentioning among others the following colonial and satellite nations:

Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Latvians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Estonians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Chechens, Slovaks, Central and East Germans, North Caucasians, Croats, Poles.

Moscow has not given up either her political or her ideological goal of aggressive expansion. Just recently the Russian political scientist Prof. Wozlensky declared in Essen that the so-called peaceful coexistence does not preclude "national liberation wars and civil wars". Ponomarjow, another ideologist of Russian Communist colonial imperialism, recently requested to form Communist-directed popular front governments utilizing the democratic mass media, to infiltrate the cadres of the western armies and the leading bodies of the western trade unions.

It is clear that since the time of the tsarist autocrats nothing has changed. Russian imperialism still remains imperialism, involving wars, conquests, annexations, expansion of the sphere of their hegemony, which continue to be the goals and methods of this imperialist power. Nevertheless, this same power is mortally threatened by the striving of the colonial peoples for freedom and independence!

The Western peoples and their governments have the obligation, but also a real possibility to form a common liberation front with the peoples subjugated in the USSR and the satellite countries. They should support the national liberation movements and nationalism not only by means of resolutions but above all by means of action! Practical auxiliary measures are necessary as well as actions inspired by an international cooperative spirit! The ideals of liberation nationalism are democratic ideals that will be realized in the future. Liberation nationalism rejects chauvinism, fights against imperialism and colonialism, and opposes any kind of totalitarianism, Antisemitism, racism, National-Socialism and hatred of foreigners.

Liberation nationalism defends the right of every people to an independent national state proceeding from Herder's epochal perception according to which the peoples are "God's ideas". In the liberation nationalism born in the course of the heroic liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples the nation, national culture, democracy and religion constitute an indestructible unity. Liberation nationalism stands for freedom based on respect for human and national rights.

The sole political and moral force capable of destroying the Russian prison of peoples and Communist terrorism from within is the national liberation revolution of all subjugated peoples. Such a revolution can bring about a durable and just peace besides preventing a new world war provided that the Western peoples will join the enslaved peoples as ally.

Only by a timely revolution inside the Russian empire a formidable war of the Russian aggressors and imperialists against all nations and races, with mass destruction weapons can be precluded. This is the true historical task of the nations of this world, the free nations as well as the peoples **fighting** for the freedom they are deprived of.

In the history of mankind ultimately spiritual and ethical values have always prevailed. Armed revolutions were preceded by moral revolutions. Already now the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism constitute a spiritual superpower and they will undoubtedly be victorious in this international historical struggle for the survival of freedom, of the nation and of democracy, for moral values, national independence and inalienable human rights, for social justice and for the development of national cultures. This life-and-death struggle is directed

against tyranny and slavery, against social distress and oppression, against injustice and cruelty and against the devastation of cultures by Soviet Russia and Communism! It is a fight for God and against aggressive Communist atheism!

Although the Russian colonial rule is permanently violating the principles of the United Nations, the UN Charter, the Resolution concerning Decolonization and the Declaration of Human Rights the USSR continues to be a member of the United Nations. An enemy of nations and men in the United Nations — what a mockery of mankind! Social enslavement, deportation of peoples and genocide are typical methods applied by the Red Tsars of Russia — but in spite of this they are enthroned in the United Nations! The United Nations does not object to a member torturing political and religious prisoners in the most cruel way by physical, chemical and psychiatric means as used in concentration camps, prisons and mental institutions.

On behalf of the subjugated peoples and tortured men and women I call upon the participants of this international solidarity rally to severely condemn the Russian-Communist colonial barbarity. I appeal to the General Assembly of the United Nations, especially its non-Communist and anti-Communist members to admit all revolutionary liberation organizations of the colonial peoples of the USSR to the UN as its members vested with the same rights the Palestinian liberation organization PLO now enjoys!

To this right are entitled: the Organization of the Ukrainian revolutionary Nationalists, i. e. the OUN or Bandera Movement, and the national liberation organizations of Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians, Germans, and Mongols. We request that the national liberation organizations of all peoples enslaved in the Communist ruled states, such as Chechens, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Rumanians, Central and East Germans, Croats, Poles, Slovenians, Serbians, Albanians and Montenegrins be admitted as members to the United Nations!

The right to UN membership includes the right to human freedom and national independence!

In numerous heroic uprisings, strikes and popular revolutions since Stalin's death in 1953 these peoples have proved their irrepressible striving for freedom and independence. Kaunas, Budapest, East Berlin, Posen, Vorkuta, Kingir, Karaganda, Kolyma, Temir Tau, Odessa, Kharkhiv, Kyiv, Donbas, Rostov, Novocherkask, Reval, Minsk, Tiflis, Tashkent, Baku, Erevan, Dnipropetrovsk, Kryvyi Rih, Dniprodzerzhinsk, Vyatka, Norylsk, Sofia, Warsaw, Danzig, Gdingen, Stettin, Kattowitz, Bautzen, Halle, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Leuna, Rostock, Zagreb, Belgrad, Prague, Bratislava, Pilsen, Mordvinia, Perm etc. testify that there is a permanent national and social liberation struggle in East Europe, the Balkans, Siberia and

Central Asia, in the Caucasus and in the Far East, that is to say in the entire Russian and Communist sphere of power. In countless camp revolts, bloody mass demonstrations, general strikes, street battles, barricade fights and glorious popular revolutions the enslaved peoples have contended, politically and morally, all along for their right to national self-determination and to a sovereign national state of their own — by the blood shed and not a plebiscite on paper.

The nations of the non-Communist world, their governments, parliaments, parties, youth associations, trade unions, democratic mass organizations should finally acknowledge this **reality**. Moreover, we request all advanced humanistically-minded men and women to do everything possible to obtain the release of the political prisoners detained in the USSR and the satellite states: men and women sentenced to 15, 25 or even 30 years of forced labour or imprisonment for defending national, social, human and religious rights of their respective peoples and continuing to defend them even behind barbed wire fearlessly and uncompromisingly, thus sacrificing everything including their own lives, as for instance the Ukrainian heroines in Kingiri crushed by Russian tanks or the victims of the hunger strike in the Lama camps and the Morvinian jungle.

The following names stand for hundreds of thousands: the historian Valentyn Moroz, the lyric poet and writer Zynoviy Krasivsky, the literary critic Ivan Svitlychny, the couple Iryna and Ihor Kaly nec — both poets, the lyric poet Vasyl Stus, the artist Iryna Senyk, the writer and Shakespeare translator Sviatoslav Karavansky, the writer Nina Svitlychna, the biochemist Nina Strokata-Karavanska, Yuriy Shukhevych — the son of the General (sentenced to 30 years of imprisonment for refusing to denounce his father), the writer Mykhaylo Osadchy, the student Ivan Hel, the historian Yevhen Sverstiuk, the journalist and writer Vyacheslav Chornovil, the lawyers Lev Lukianenko and Ivan Kandyba, the priest Rev. Wasyl Romaniuk, the mathematician Leonid Plyushch, the artist Stefania Shabatara, Yevhen Pryshliak, Leoniuk, Hasiuk, Ilchuk, and Khrystynych . . .

As patriots, democrats and fighters against colonialism Ukrainians are languishing in slave and death camps, fortress cellars and mental asylums together with Armenians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Tatars, Georgians, Latvians, Jews, Germans, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, North Caucasians and others.

Nations possessing such martyrs cannot be defeated!

Let us manifest our **solidarity** with the young Ukrainian historian V. Moroz sentenced to 14 years imprisonment and exile who has become the symbol of Ukrainian regeneration and all fighting colonial peoples and whose immense love for his people and all who are oppressed has given him the force' to survive 145 days and 145 nights of hunger strike. An act of courage and sacrifice — unprecedented in European history!

We demand freedom for Valentyn Moroz and for Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Taras Chuprynka, the legendary Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who died 25 years ago in battle against Stalin's MVD forces — for the freedom and independence of his fatherland. Y. Shukhevych has been refusing since the age of 14 years (when imprisoned for the first time) to denounce his father and condemn his ideals although amnesty and privileges had been offered to him, should he betray his father. This son of a national hero is also a hero, a patriot and pioneer of the great future revolution!

In the name of the dead and the living revolutionary heroes I appeal to the participants of this rally to accept symbols like Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych and acknowledge them to be shining models to an enthusiastic youth fighting against colonial barbarity and similar performances aiming at the release of Moroz and Shukhevych. Only by fighting freedom will triumph: this holds true for everybody.

Down with Russian Communist colonial imperialism!

Long live solidarity with the subjugated and fighting peoples!

The national liberation idea must triumph!

For a strong Europe consisting of free countries, united fatherlands and independent states!

We shall achieve the victory!

(Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

Munich, November 14th to 16th, 1975)

SLOVAK WORLD CONGRESS HELD AT ROME

(brilliant symposium about the Slovak culture)

The first general assembly of the Slovak World Congress (SWC), founded in New York in 1970, was held in Rome, on European territory, from June 18 to 22, 1975 under the motto: "The heritage of our forefathers shall preserve us, Lord!"

Since the present regime in Slovakia prevents the Slovak citizens from participating in such an event "to the extent one of the oldest Christian peoples would like to", the Slovaks living abroad "have the moral obligation to represent their people as long as it is condemned to silence and its freedom is restricted".

About 170 delegates, 120 individual members and 200 guests participated in the general meeting: not only from Europe, but also in large number from the United States and Canada, as well

as Australia, Argentina and Brazil. The Federal Republic of Germany was represented best with about 70 participants, whereas about 50 delegates and members from Switzerland, Italy, the United States and Canada each participated.

Stephen Román was unanimously elected President of the SWC for the first 3-year term.

A scientific symposium about Slovakia, very well organized by the University Professor Jozef M. Kirschbaum from Toronto, in which also non-Slovak experts were highly interested was one of the highlights of the meeting. The semi-official Vatican paper "Osservatore Romano" gave the symposium extensive coverage in its 28th June issue: more than a quarter of a page.

Dr. A. Bedriy (Ukraine)

Against Détente

At the Helsinki "Conference on European Peace and Security" the free Western nations legitimized the Communist-Russian colonialist occupation of neighboring nations and relegated tens of millions of freedom loving people to continued bondage under a totalitarian power. Flushed with its easy victory at that conference, Russian imperialism, being an insatiable aggressor, is already actively perpetrating new aggressions, such as in Portugal, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa, the Middle East and some Latin American countries. Another indication of its expansionist intentions is the rapid advance of its military power, as exemplified by the frightening growth of the Russian navy, rocket forces, and deployed in Central Europe.

In addition to diplomatic successes and increasing military predominance, the Russians have engineered many of the free world's current economic difficulties by encouraging their Arab client states to both wage war against Israel and, in its aftermath, to export huge price hikes on vital oil shipments. Their subversive fifth columns and extensive espionage network are continuously endangering the stability, progress and security of the free nations.

These and innumerable other examples from various fields of international relations show that despite the propagated policy of détente or renunciation of the cold war, the Russians have not stopped their expansionist drive and continue to pursue, without interruption, an aggressive policy, while the West really believes in the spirit of détente and has begun dismantling its defensive cold war apparatus. Even a casual observer cannot help but notice the marked relaxation of anti-Communist tendencies, and the resultant public apathy towards the ever more threatening barbarians.

The governments of the free nations do not show any interest in the fate

of the freedom-loving nations which were conquered and enslaved by Russian aggressors nor in their anti-colonial struggle for national liberation. Nevertheless, these captive nations are continuously giving heroic indications of resistance to the genocidal and exploitative policies of the oppressive regime of the colonialists. They constantly educate militant liberation movements in the "republics" of the Soviet Union and the satellite states. Consequently, thousands of freedom-fighters of Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Latvia, Croatia, Slovakia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Armenia, Poland, East Germany, and others are prisoners of Russian imperialists or their puppet regimes.

In addition to the lack of interest of the free governments, this struggle of the subjugated nations is complicated by a distorted understanding by Western countries of the nature and intent of the so-called Soviet dissidents. Western public opinion generally favors the so-called dissident movement as a useful brake on Moscow's aggressive policies and as an acceptable seemingly "democratic" and future substitute for the present Communist regime in the Russian empire.

But, in fact, such overwhelming popular acceptance of the concept of a more "liberal" regime neglects a much more fundamental issue; i. e. is the empire to be preserved, or are the occupied nations entitled to their sovereignty? No Russian dissidents have bothered to refute Russia's conquest and enslavement of dozens of formerly independent nations and none have expressed a willingness to close ranks with the national liberation movements, many of which are represented in the ABN. This preponderant bias in favor of Russian dissidents to the virtually complete exclusion of non-Russian nationalist freedom-fighters is not only a historical anachronism but also a great

injustice to the freedom-loving nations enslaved and exposed to genocide by ruthless Russian messianistic racism and chauvinism. Examples of such favoritism are the awards of Nobel prizes, "best seller" advertisements etc. to Russians, while the leaders of the non-Russian nations, who are imprisoned and persecuted for defending the basic values of Western civilization, are ignored.

The intervention of Western public opinion and diplomacy has never been applied to nations subjugated by Russian colonialism. The widely-acclaimed Resolution on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted in 1960 by the United Nations General Assembly "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations" and to that end declares that "subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation. "Unfortunately, despite such bold and noble phrases, the decolonization of the world has not been completed. For, many nations of Central and Eastern Europe, North Asia, and good people of Cuba remain under the Russian-Communist colonial yoke. To the Ukrainians, the Baltic nations, the Caucasian nations, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, Cubans, Croats, Slovaks, Czechs, East Germans, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and others, anti-Communism means nothing less than the destruction of the Soviet-Russian empire. For Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchov, and now for Brezhnev, Communism has always been merely an instrument for the expansion and aggrandizement of the Russian empire into a super-power, established on the bones of millions of slaves of the conquered nations, as e. g. the tens of thousands of non-Russians, who are presently forced to build the Baykal-Amur

Railroad (BAM) in order to enhance Russia's military posture vis-à-vis China, Japan and the USA.

We, the representatives of the national liberation movements of peoples enslaved by Russians and Communist aggressors and exploiters, appeal to the free nations of the world to heed the lessons of the past decades, namely that half-measures are insufficient to defend freedom-loving peoples from Communist-Russian aggression. Note the experience of Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba, and before that of Czechia, Poland, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Finland, and even before that of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Finland, and even before that of Ukraine, Turkestan, Mongolia, Georgia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North-Caucasus and others.

We appeal to you to lend your full-hearted support to the scores of nations struggling under the banners and ideas of national freedom, independence and unification, theistic religion — be it Christian, Islamic, Jewish, or any other, — and unconditional hostility to Communist totalitarian doctrines of all brands.

We appeal to you to resist subversion and to repel the enemy's many-sided offensive against the free world. Free peoples must deflect Russian efforts to transform Portugal into another Cuba, must withhold any recognition of Castro's Cuba as a partner in the community of free nations, because then the West will have a Trojan horse in its camp. We appeal to freedom-loving people to prevent the genocide of the Kurdish nation by Russian arms in the hands of a brutal regime. We appeal to Americans and the free nations of the Pacific area to give any and all assistance needed by the Korean people to destroy Communist attempts at enslaving the whole country. We appeal to all free nations and the World Anti-Communist League so that they would expand and strengthen their activities.

We appeal to all freedom-loving people, in the tragic aftermath of the Helsinki Conference, to renew their efforts at spreading and activating the Captive Nations Week concept all over the world. The summit conference of Heads of the major free democratic states should issue a declaration of intent to renew efforts at exposing the evils of Soviet-Russian colonialism and totalitarianism, should call upon the Russian people to renounce their inhuman peace- and security-endangering colonialist system, and should publicly proclaim support for freedom-seeking captive nations in achieving their national independence, democratic freedom, and reunion with the world community of peaceful and sovereign states.

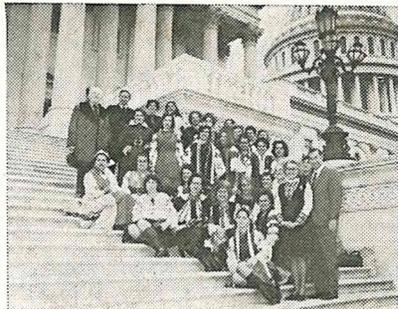
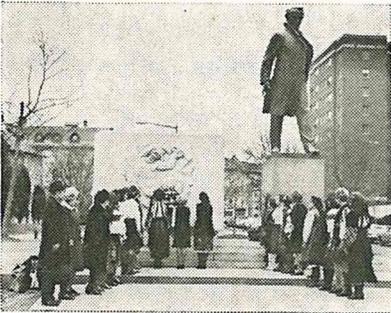
We appeal to the free nations to initiate a policy of broadcasting through

public and private radio-stations messages of inspiration and support directed to the subjugated peoples and to the Russians to renounce the racist and colonialist policies of their government.

We appeal to free nations all over the world to place on the agenda of the United Nations the question of Russian colonialism in many nations and the necessity to refute and destroy it. The national liberation movements should be admitted as permanent observers to the United Nations, while those regimes which are merely puppets of Russian imperialists including "Ukrainian" and "Byelorussian" SSR's should be ousted and their seats turned over to the respective governments-in-exile of the captive nations or the representatives of the national liberation movements.

In the Defense Of Ukrainian Women

The Delegation from the Women's Organization in Defense of the Four Freedoms for Ukraine visited Washington, D. C. in order to request the help of the American Congress for the defense of Women imprisoned in Russian concentration camps and for support in actions for the release of women prisoners in the Russian Empire.



Reasons For a New American Policy

The United States is involved in a profound domestic and international crisis.

The South-East Asian debacle made Americans realize that for the first time in its history the US lost a war.

The oil crisis with implicated financial consequences shook the American economic system.

The constantly increasing Soviet-Russian military power in relation to that of the US nourishes a steadily growing erosion of confidence in the American military might.

The growing power of nationalism on all continents brings forth national independence as the main principle of international order, replacing cosmopolitanism based on superpowers and the concept of a non-national human being.

As the result of the signing of the Helsinki declaration, the Russian colonialist enslavement of many nations within and outside the Soviet Union will increase.

In consequence of a détente policy democracy is put on the defensive on all continents.

Trade with Russian totalitarian colonialists a) gives them technological know-how which will later be used against the West, b) increases the power of the oppressors and aggressors while it weakens the resistance of the enslaved peoples, c) nourishes inflation in the US and d) debases moral values of free people because of deals with tyrants and imperialists.

The unending inflationary spiral prevents the recovery of sound economic optimism.

The Watergate affair shocked the Americans and made them more insecure as to the trust in their government.

Overemphasis on material and pragmatic things weakens spiritual and mo-

ral values, thereby indirectly assisting Marxist-Communist encroachments.

New Political Initiative

Due to the above mentioned trends and developments millions of Americans, especially those whose origin is traced to nations which are presently under Russian and Communist domination, are increasingly restless, dissatisfied, because of the growing conviction that they are being neglected by the major parties, are underrepresented on the national level, omitted from the process of formulating foreign and domestic policies.

Such processes make large segments of the American society realize that all of them should unite in order to have a better chance to influence the national parties and to strengthen their voice in national affairs.

As a result, a broad coalition of American organizations of various ethnic origins is being established. We will not be treated as second-class citizens any more.

Foreign Policy

Our foreign policy, in accordance with our democratic and republican traditions, should be one designed to advance freedom, justice, security and national independence of the US and throughout the world, especially on the bicentennial of gaining national independence by the United States.

This policy should refute and oppose imperialism, colonialism and racism.

Communist totalitarianism and dictatorship, in particular, as an ideology and organization should be unwaveringly opposed and exposed.

We believe that only on the basis of the preceding principles a lasting international peace will and can be established.

The principles of national unification, self-determination and independence are unresolved in many areas of the world. Therefore, the US should further their fulfillment.

Europe

It has to be always emphasized that Europe is presently divided into an area of free nations and an area of freedom-loving nations, which however linger in colonial slavery of Russian imperialism and Communist dictatorship.

The most blatant example is a formal recognition and support of the division of Germany into two allegedly sovereign states.

Portugal is today another in a long series of cases of constant aggressiveness of cooperation with imperialists and Communists.

The support of freedom-forces should take precedence over détente "Realpolitik" of cooperation with imperialists and Communists.

The US government should always stress that the Soviet Union is an empire, in which the Russian Communists rule over all the conquered nations, which were turned into slave colonies in the so-called USSR.

We should deal in a cooperative way not with usurpers, oppressors and colonialists, but with forces in those nations which strive to achieve national independence, unification of the respective homelands, self-determination, human rights and truly democratic systems.

Favorable attitude should be taken towards the national liberation movements within the Soviet-Russian sphere of rule.

A just peace can only be founded on the basis of free nations and free people, but not on the basis of the "peace" of the conqueror over the conquered.

It must clearly be stated that the peoples of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Geor-

gia, Byelorussia, North-Caucasia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine have been robbed of national independence and civic freedoms.

The peoples of Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia do not have national independence nor democratic regimes and are more or less under Russian rule.

The United States should assist all these peoples in regaining their lost freedoms and independence.

Minorities in the Russian empire should receive proper consideration by the US government, because they are persecuted; in particular the Jews, the ethnic Germans and the Tatars.

The fate of the Churches in the atheistic Russian empire should receive increased attention. Eastern Catholics, Catholics, Orthodox, Protestant and Buddhist religions are ruthlessly persecuted.

The United Nations

Within the United Nations the US should propagate ideas of national independence for all peoples in the world, especially for those in Europe, Asia and Latin America, which were robbed of it by Russian Communist imperialism.

A constant campaign should be carried on to expose the puppet delegations of the conquered nations, which do not represent the will of sovereign peoples but the policy of the colonial occupation regimes.

The US should expose Russian racist imperialism, which aims at the extermination of many enslaved nations as well as the Communist totalitarian regimes.

Since the Palestine Liberation Organization obtained in the UN the status of permanent observer, the US should demand a similar status for all the national freedom-aspiring liberation movements of the peoples under Russian and Communist rule.

On Nato

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization served the West-European and North-American nations in the past as a good organization of defense.

The present requirements are more demanding in the face of an all-embracing Communist-Russian offensive, which includes subversive activities, fifth columns, ideological warfare and class warfare and the use of military power for political blackmail.

The NATO should be turned into a bloc of dynamic freedom-defending forces, increasing its military capabilities.

On Asia

Asia is divided similarly to Europe into an area of free nations and an area of nations under Communist and Russian occupation and domination.

The following nations lost national independence and human freedoms or both: Turkestan, Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet, China, half of Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The still free nations are increasingly being threatened by the insatiable aggressors from the north. In the first line of endangered countries are: South Korea, the Republic of China, Thailand and Malaysia.

As in Europe, the US should support free nations and freedom-striving forces in the enslaved nations of Asia.

On Central and South America

The United States should continue to emphasize that Cuba is an enslaved country under Russian colonialism. Assistance should be given to freedom-loving Cubans, who aspire to liberate their homeland.

It should stress the constantly looming threat to all Latin-American countries from Communist-Russian imperialists. Past years' events in Chile should remind us of the ever-present possibility of new grabs by those aggressors.

Freedom-loving peoples of the American continent should be drawn into a worldwide struggle against imperialism and Communism. Only on the basis of such a universal coordination of freedom-forces will peace and security be achieved on this continent.

On the Middle East and Africa

The abandonment of the Kurdish people by the free people to genocide by means of Russian arms is a crime.

The resolute attempt of Moscow to make Angola a Russian colony should be prevented at all costs.

Establishment of Russian military bases in Somalia and some Arab states is another attempt to encircle the Western nations, which has to be counteracted.

Russian support of the civil war in Libanon and of such Arab forces which are bent upon destruction of Israel requires the US to change its policy in such a way that Russian imperialism has to be proclaimed the primary enemy in this area of the world. Moscow's policies have strong roots in Czarist imperialist designs there. We support the sovereignty of Israel and all the peoples of the area as having the same right to national independence as every other nation.

In order to assist such a policy the US government should not only strengthen Israel militarily but conduct activities which would recognize Russia as the main power, feeding the anti-Israeli and Communist Arab forces with hate propaganda, arms, economic assistance and diplomatic efforts. We, therefore, believe that all those, who wish to implement these principles of independence and freedom, should turn their efforts primarily against Russia.

National Defense

In an insecure world strong military power is a guarantee of a position of strength, firmness and determination.

Russians spend on the growth of their military might as much effort, as they can, in order to achieve the position of absolute military superiority on earth. Such an attitude cannot be described otherwise than aggressive and imperialist. This power is needed to keep in slavery the many conquered and dominated nations in the Soviet Union and the satellite states, to suppress all the national liberation movements and attempts by these nations to gain independence, as well as for further expansion in Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia or even America.

Our national leadership should draw lessons from the lost war in South-East Asia where Russian military support of local Communists and the strategy of insurgent warfare combined with conventional military tactics brought victory over the American military and political strategy. It was the repeated performance of events that happened years ago in Cuba.

The lesson follows that the US should support just national liberation forces, which are fighting against Communism and Russian imperialism for national independence and free democratic systems.

The range of means defending freedom should not be construed, as it was done up till now, very narrowly as a static military defense. All irregular and unconventional both military and

non-military means should be employed for embracing and expanding the sphere of the free world.

Foreign Trade and Aid

Trade and aid should be considered differently in regard to friendly and free nations and differently in regard to Communist regimes and the Soviet Union.

In regard to Communist and Russian governments no aid and assistance should be given at all.

Trade with Russians and their satellite regimes should not be considered from the point of profit alone but it should be a tool against oppression and colonialism, as exemplified by the unwise wheat sale for Russians releasing thousands of political prisoners, stopping racist cultural policies and genocide.

Technological know-how given to Russians and Communist regimes will only serve them to threaten the free nations more and help them to suppress internal opposition.

Aid should be given to forces of freedom in the subjugated nations, which can be arranged on a wide scale through various media at a time when Russia assists Communist and subversive anti-Western forces within the free nations.

*New US-Citizens from Countries
behind the Iron Curtain*

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
by John Kolasky

Peter Martin Associates Limited
35 Britain Street
Toronto, Canada M5A 1R7

Jonas Jurashas (Lithuania)

The Persecution of the Lithuanian Nation

IONAS YURASHAS — Born 1936, by profession a stage-manager. In December 1974 he emigrated with his family from Wilna. From 1967 to 1972 he was engaged as chief stage-manager in the Dramatic Theater of Kaunas. He staged plays in several towns of the USSR. After the events in Kaunas 1972 he was dismissed from the theater and was for two years not accepted for any kind of work. His wife Aushra-Maria Slutskaite-Yurashas is a literary critic and essayist. She has been blacklisted by the authorities and nothing by her has been printed during recent years, and she has been subjected to intellectual prosecution, cfr. the annexed article concerning the persecution of creative work in Soviet Lithuania "I can testify only of suffering".

This deposition contains only a fraction of the whole bitter truth about the decades of continuous destruction, occupation and genocide of a nation of three millions.

I

The Soviet regime has now for 35 years with the aid of its powerful propaganda machine endeavoured to conceal from the conscience of the world the seizure by brute force of the Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—and the ensuing results of this persecution, which have been a regime of terror, the destruction of the will of these nations to be free and nationally independent through force and perfidity. To-day, from this chair, from which the voice of truth, let us hope, will not get lost in the wilderness, it is appropriate to recall that already on 23 August 1939 a grave had been dug for the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. This was the date of the secret agreement between Ribbentrop and Molotov by which the spheres of influence

were defined between Nazi-Germany and the USSR. This agreement immediately broke to pieces the treaty of non-aggression which had been signed between Lithuania and Soviet Russia on 28 October 1926 and was in force on paper until 1945.

But already in October 1939 Moscow demanded to bring into Lithuania 20,000 of its armed forces and to establish military bases, pretending to protect the country's security.

On 14 June 1940, owing to the fabricated accusation concerning the death of two Soviet soldiers, came Molotov's ultimatum demanding the surrender of the members of the Lithuanian government for trial, the entire reorganization of the government, and the admission of Soviet military units of the most strategic points. But Moscow refused to approve the proposed candidates for the new government and sent vice-commissar Dekanozov to Lithuania.

On 15 June 1940 twelve divisions, i. e. 250,000 men, crossed the border of Lithuania.

Dekanozov appointed as prime minister his protégé Yustas Paletskis, dissolved all political parties, and forbade all newspapers, all cultural, religious and public utility associations. The Communist Party, which until then had consisted only of less than 700 members (and these being rather of their own than Lithuanian nationality), was henceforth declared to be the only legal party.

On 14 July the elections for the National Assembly were carried out in the manner of the Soviet election forces. Nine days were spent on preparations, there were exactly as many candidates as there were constituencies, and three days before the election mass arrestations and deportations of the leading politicians of the nation were initiated. A foreigner, Felix Baltishis-Zhemaytis,

was appointed commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian army.

On 21 July 1940 the puppet National Assembly of Lithuania proclaimed the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, and its decree No. 2 was a petition addressed to Moscow for the integration of Lithuania into the USSR.

Actions of the same nature were in those days going on in Latvia and Estonia.

II

Over the whole country there arose a spontaneous will of resistance. Leaflets were distributed urging for a boycott of the elections etc. In the course of the military actions of the partisan movement there were captured documents from the NKVD which testified on the nation-wide resistance.

The "Lithuanian Action Front" was established, being an organization which united all resistance units and which emanated from the two university centers Wilna and Kaunas.

On 23 June 1941 a nation-wide insurrection broke out, in itself an evidence of the fact that the annexation of Lithuania had been carried out by a mighty power as an act of force and aggression on a peaceful western neighbour. During the insurrection the State Broadcasting Station was occupied, and the leader of 100,000 soldiers, Leonas Prapoulenis, returned to his country with a proclamation. During this fight for freedom about 4,000 insurgents were killed. The temporary government, headed by Professor Ambra-

zevishyus, succeeded in staying in power for six weeks.

The partisan movement of Lithuania from 1945 to 1952 might serve as an unprecedented example of a struggle for freedom in our own century. The Lithuanians reckon that their losses in this unequal fight amounted to more than 30,000 partisans who gave their lives for the future of their country. There are three periods of this partisan insurrection in Lithuania indicating its dimensions:

1. Until the spring of 1946 the mass movements of armed fighting took place in which three strong underground organizations participated spontaneously: "The Iron Wolf", "Kestulis" and the "Lithuanian Liberation Army".

2. 1946 to 1949: the period of the Movement for General Democratic Resistance.

3. 1949 to 1952: the main activity was exercised by the Lithuanian Movement of Fight for Freedom.

The Lithuanians are confident that some day in the future, History's Court of Justice will raise its accusations against the occupants and read aloud the names of the victims, unknown at present, of this liberation war who were captured in the forests, shot in the dungeons of the security police, victims of lies, shame, and oblivion. Although 1952 is considered as the final year of the active resistance, it is difficult to assess to what year it continued, because the spirit itself of the resistance changed in character and assumed new forms as it penetrated

INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT

by VALENTYN MOROZ

In 16 languages: — Ukrainian, English, French, Bulgarian, Croatian, Slovakian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Hungarian, Flemish, Dutch, Persian, Turkish.

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into ever deeper layers of national life. In 1956 the Soviet authorities proclaimed an amnesty, knowing only too well that the main forces of the movement had been destroyed in this unequal fight through the infiltration of secret agents, informers and traitors. They knew that the nation had grown tired and was deprived of all aid and all hope. The sleepless nights and troubled days, the smoky sites of conflagrations, the gun-shots in the woods, the corpses lying in the city squares as a warning to those who still refused to be enslaved, all this had its effect. Even when the representatives of the partisan movement broke through to the West in 1948 they did not succeed in causing an awakening of the Western world from the shock created by the victorious USSR. What, they asked, could possibly be the objective of such a senseless struggle. Better to applaud the strong victorious conqueror lest he might attack us!

The following occurrence is worth mentioning: In 1970 a unit of the secret police in the township of Shemoulyai, district of Shirvintai, discovered Henrik Kayota, who had been hiding in a bunker which he had constructed himself under his mother's house for 26 years. This did not happen in the jungle, as had been the case recently with a Japanese soldier, but in the midst of Eastern Europe!

III

The object of this excursion in my deposition into the recent past is to testify how, and to what purpose, Lithuania or rather all three Baltic states, were united "voluntarily" with the USSR. If time allows, I shall try through my, by no means exhaustive information to show the other side of the medal which the Soviet propaganda has imposed upon the world. I shall try to convince the all too credulous general public into realizing what bliss has been brought upon my country by socialism smeared with blood.

It would be beyond the power of

one single witness, or even of an entire team of witnesses, if such might arise by a miracle in our divided society, to put together at short notice and on one single sheet of paper the facts about the crimes perpetrated against a whole nation. With great care our persecutors hide, disguising themselves, and at the very first modest attempt of uncovering a grain of truth under the thick layer of their lies, severe punishments are administered. But, as the Russian literary critic A. Belenkov said, the mole of history digs with unnoticeable slowness". In Lithuania of our times, the Catholic Church has taken upon itself to act as this mole, and it has done so, aided by its enormous and invincible congregation of believers.

In March of this year, three years have gone since the publication of the first copy of the Lithuanian self-edited periodical "The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church". This underground publication has now in the three years of its existence become a document of supreme impartiality in respect of contemporary life and gives expression to that spirit of independence and character-building of a nation which was about to be devoured by the ferocious jaws of a totalitarian regime. The 'Chronicle' came into existence as a successor of the "Chronicle of Current Events" and after the alarm-tolls for truth had been ringing from the books of A. Solzhenitsyn. Together with these it gives expression to the revival of faith in the final triumph of truth and justice. The 'Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church' is published in spite of the efforts on the part of the authorities, which are dominated by collaborationists, to discredit it from within. In the Chronicle the bare facts, registered in a dispassionate manner, are the most hope-inspiring source of information about the methods by which the fight against the Catholic Church is being conducted, how the freedom of conscience and conviction is growing stronger, how the basic human rights are being crushed, how censorship is

harassing the press which has been turned into a State monopoly, and, as a consequence of all this, it shows how in fact the genocide of the Lithuanian nation is carried out.

The fifteenth issue of the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" contains the following circular:

"The Soviet authorities intend by means of the criminal code and the Committee of Public Safety to destroy not only the 'Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church', but also the Lithuanian Catholic Church itself. We, the Lithuanian Catholics, however, are fully resolved to fight with the Divine help for our rights. We still cherish the hope that the Soviet authorities will understand that they are making a great mistake in supporting atheists who are in a minority, while arousing against themselves the Catholic masses.*) The Catholics of Lithuania beseech our brothers who have emigrated, and all friends of Lithuania all over the world to inform a wide general public as well as governments about the repression of human rights in Lithuania."

The 'Chronicle' publishes letters from its readers. One of the letters contains the following account:

"Recently we learned through the 'Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church' about the arrest of the Doctor of biology Sergei Kovalyov. We, the Lithuanian Catholics, pray to God that He will endow this scientist with all spiritual and physical strength. What the world needs most urgently to-day is love. Jesus Christ said: "There is no greater love than in giving one's life for one's friends. We are confident that the sacrifice of Sergei Kovalyov and others will not be in vain..."

The 'Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church' constantly publishes lists of the victims of persecution, of persons interrogated by the KGB, not only for their religious conviction. The Catholic Church has by means of its underground periodical become the only reliable source of information avail-

able. It is therefore only natural that the KGB is trying with such desperate hate to destroy the 'Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church' and stamp it out to the roots. The waves of arrests, the almost epidemic actions with the aim of breaking up this form of resistance from within by means of collaborationists and informers, and the draconic punishments for distributing the periodical, all these measures are put into effect. But so far, fortunately, without any noticeable results. It may be hard to understand the reasons for this success, but the obvious reasons are above all truthfulness and faith.

The 'Chronicle' collects testimonies from the most remote corners of Lithuania and informs its readers about unjust perpetrations committed by certain authorities, defining the limits of the authorities' rights in a spirit of legality and acting in this respect strictly in accordance with the rights guaranteed by Soviet legislation and the Soviet Constitution.

The 'Chronicle' has bravely acted in defense of the Roman-Catholic priests A. Sheshkevitchyus, Y. Zdebskis, and P. Bubnis, who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for having provided religious education for children and for their catechization. But in the eyes of the general public it was not the servants of religion, as the authorities wished, but rather the brutal Persecutors of the Church, who were guilty, since these priests had been constrained to commit these „perpetrations" owing to the laws of their consciences and the entreaties of parents.

IV

In Lithuania priests are forbidden to exercise their most urgent duties, which are the instruction of children, their catechization, to attend to the sick and the dying, and to administer funerals. All these duties are severely prohibited for them, and, in fact, freedom of conscience which is guaranteed by the Constitution, compels them to carry out these duties as underground activities.

Thus the Lithuanian Roman-Catholic Church, the traditional bulwark of national identity, is reduced to the same state as the first Christians, who had to assemble in the Catacombs. Our persecutors do not realize that in this country faith is irradicable, and persecution will only strengthen it.

In Lithuania it is not possible to enter a clerical seminary without the approbation and consent of the Communist Party and the KGB. A testimony of this was made in the speech of Virgilius Yaugelis during his trial in case No. 345. Amongst other things V. Yaugelis in his defiant address to the court, pleading not guilty to the indictment, confirmed his strong faith which he had

nurtured already from his early youth. He was confined to a forced labour camp together with hardened criminals who beat him into a state of confusion. He fell seriously ill, contracting a cancer, but still refused to allow the prison doctors to carry out a complicated operation on him. Rumors from the camp say that V. Yaugelis will not live until the end of his term of imprisonment in 1976.

In Lithuania it is prohibited to publish, print or distribute books, booklets or newspapers dealing with religious matters. The few official publications with a ridiculously small circulation can in no way satisfy the needs of the believers. A large part of the prints of the Holy Scripture and of the Prayer-

Ukrainians set a different scene outside



Demonstrators depict a Russian concentration camp from a truck outside the Capitol Theatre last night.

Ukrainian Liberation Front in Australia

Book is sent to the West for propaganda purposes. Some believers, trying to make amends for this shortage by taking matters into their own hands, were severely punished. On 3 September 1974 sentence was passed in case No. 345 on persons who had prepared and distributed Prayer-Books and religious literature. P. Plumpa-Plyuiras was sentenced to 8 years, P. Petronis to 4 years, V. Yaugelis to 2 years, and I. Stashaitis to one year of imprisonment. I myself was a witness to people being fired from their jobs by a telephone call from the KGB, who did not even attempt to prove these persons' guilt, — that of having prepared photostat copies of an old Prayer-Book.

In Lithuania it is not permitted to repair Roman-Catholic churches, nor to build new ones. Many of those built long ago are closed, or are used as storage halls, museums of atheism or as "palaces of culture". In the town of Klaipeda it was decided by Moscow, after many years of efforts from the believers, to build a church on funds collected from the parishioners. The church, having been built at the price of incredible efforts, was appropriated by the municipal authorities on the day before its consecration and turned into a concert-hall. The population of the town has until this very day refused to enter this "cultural institution". From the actual proceeds, unreasonably large excises are charged. Thus, for example, there is a double charge for the use of electricity.

Monuments and national relics of a religious character are being systematically destroyed in Lithuania, even those of an artistic value. In the past the country contained an immense number of carved crosses decorated with sculpture of a unique character. Out of the Lithuanian national popular sculpture there grew a distinct school of professional plastic art. But the organized campaigns of the Komsomol have wiped away from the face of the earth this glory of many generations. A few specimens are locked up in quite inaccess-

ible museums or have been handed over to the unbelievers for ridicule. The story of the Hill of Crosses at Shyaulai is remarkable. After the insurrection against the tsarist regime from 1861 to 1964, the Russians in this place drove the insurgents into a chapel and buried them alive by covering the chapel with earth. To this Hill the people have since then for a century been carrying beautiful crosses, indicating in this way one bloodstained path in their country's history.

In the summer of 1961 Soviet soldiers who had arrived recently destroyed a few thousand crosses during one night. The orders for this destruction were given by the representative of the Minister of the Supreme Soviet, comrade Dirzhinskaite-Plyushchenko. But after every destruction new crosses were erected in the place of those destroyed, and every year the Hill is laid waste again. During this year the people have brought new crosses to the Hill three times to replace those that had been destroyed.

V

A recent event, horrifying to all who have not lost entirely their human feeling of compassion, was the suicide of Romas Kalantas, who burnt himself to death in Kaunas in 1972. This tragedy also touched upon my personal life, but in the consciousness of everybody it created either unrest, or faith, or fear. The funeral of Kalantas took place in secret outside the city, but this cruelty on the part of the authorities, indeed worthy of a tyrant like Creon in 'Sophocles' tragedy, served as a signal to what almost amounted to a revolt. To crush it, strong detachments of raiding troops from the regular army as well as units from the KGB and the regular police were employed. All these forces were directed against the unarmed crowds. The town was for one week cut off from the world, and came to look most of all like a besieged fortress. There followed a wave of secret prosecutions lasting for several years, and the ensuing punitive actions which

were carried out in the open, affected all spheres of everyday life in Lithuania, especially the cultural life. Even today the young people of Lithuania are prosecuted for having taken part in that peaceful demonstration. In this way the Soviet authorities have shown once more what liberties they have given to the Lithuanian people, having brought to them the sun of the Stalinist Constitution on the points of their bayonets.

In the frosty light of this sun one should see also the Lithuanian barracks of the universal Soviet GULAG camp. Eduard Kuznetsov in his „Diaries“ has established a document which is horrifying in its intensity and strength, a letter from the political prisoner Lyudas Simutis. There follow some figures: Seven Lithuanians in their camps amount to appr. 6 per cent of all prisoners. Against this stands the figure of Lithuanians among the whole population of the USSR, which is 1 per cent out of a population of 240 million. The seven prisoners are altogether serving sentences amounting to 182 years, which gives 26 years to each, and of these years each one of the prisoners has served 18 years in average. Their average age is 46 years. They are all Catholics. „The impression is created“ — Eduard Kuznetsov writes — „that in relation to the citizens from the Baltic states and Western Ukraine — and surely it is in these regions that the Soviets most openly demonstrate their true character — the Soviets are acting most harshly in keeping with their merciless and revengeful laws, which prescribe that anyone who is not prepared to creep on his knees, will end up in prison. Correspondingly harsh will be laws of hatred on those who have caused these diere sufferings.“

In Lithuania the term of 25 years imprisonment has until now been called among the people: „the Lithuanian term“.

On this day in the Archipelago of the wide country of the Soviets hundreds of guiltless Lithuanian citizens have been sentenced for their refusal to lie down on their knees before the occu-

pants. The lists presented at the Hearing of 243 political prisoners are by no means complete.

But having suffered their terms during years of astronomic length the former prisoners are refused to return to their country. In January of 1971 a secret ordinance of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania on the non-registration in the Lithuanian territory of persons having served sentences, as well as of all persons who might be termed as „bourgeois nationalists“, soldiers of the Liberation Movement or members of the Lithuanian Government, was published. All these were compelled to find a place of residence outside their country. I know for certain about some of the forty similar cases of gross injustice: Balis Gayauskas, a former inmate of the prison camps of Kazakhstan and Mordovia for 25 years, may not at present be registered in Lithuania, and therefore he cannot live nor work there legally. Povilas Pechyulis, Leonas Laurinskas and many others are doomed to perpetual vagrancy and the risk of persecution by KGB. Persons belonging to this category of outcasts do not even have the elementary right to emigrate from the USSR. I know of cases where persons on the most tentative expressions of such a desire have been quietly and unnoticeably confined to the psychiatric hospitals of the KGB. My personal friend Kestutis Yakubins, having served two sentences of 10 years each and endlessly haunted by interrogations, domiciliary visits and threats, applied for a permit to emigrate from the USSR, but received a refusal in which no reason for the decision was given in July last year.

At present the KGB is searching all over Lithuania for evidence in case No. 345. Criminal cases have been brought up against the following persons who were sentenced to various terms of confinement in prison-camps: P. Plumpa-Plyuria, P. Petronis, I. Stashaitis, B. Yaugelis, Y. Grazhis, B. Kulikauskas, I. Ivanauskas. The poet Mindaugas Tamonis was forcibly confined to the psy-

chiatric hospital in Vasaros Street in Vilna, where the white-coated torturers subjected him to experiments which ruined his health.

Case No. 345 assumed all-union dimensions, the investigations and interrogations being undertaken with the aim of destroying the 'Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church'. It is especially alarming that the KGB without any evidence in this case are persecuting persons who are by no means involved in this matter. Already for half a year Sergei Kovalyov has been interrogated in his solitary confinement by the KGB in Vilna. Other persecuted persons are his wife L. Boitsova, Andrei Tvyordoklebov, A. Plyusin, Galya Solova, Malvina Land, Irina Korsunskaya. Their participation in the 'Chronicle' has not been proven. The best evidence of this is the fact that new editions of the 'Chronicle' keep on appearing in Lithuania and in the West even after their arrest. Not long ago the 16th issue appeared. Moreover the Catholics of Lithuania are convinced that the case is unlawful even by the standards of Soviet legislation and the Constitution. Hence strictly, the 'Chronicle' is operating within the limits even of Soviet law. It does not print any unconfirmed information, and it defends the freedom of conscience which is guaranteed by that Constitution.

The 'Chronicle' questions the way in which the law has been applied concerning the separation of the Church from the State and the instances of circumstantial and biased application of ordinance No. 143 of the Lithuanian SSR.

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VI

In the light of this problem, and conceived within the framework of the laws of the separately occupied countries, the following open letter from engineer V. Vaichyunas addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania and to the editors of newspapers is instructive. The heading of the letter is "The Law and the Conscience of a Believer". In the letter he states:

"The believers of Lithuania are nearing the crossroad on which the signposts indicate." To the right: Area of the Law, to the left: Christian conscience. It is necessary to make a choice. Direct your attention to the tragedy of those compatriots who have come here. The question which I am afraid of asking is: Will the historians arriving one day in the future at this place set up a third signpost: Tomb of Lithuanian Morale?

This is by no means a purely academic question, since their burning moral problem penetrates all sectors of society: either to swim with the current in the foul gutter of immoral laws which have been imposed on us by force, or to live in accordance with the eternal laws of Conscience, of Morality, of Good?

We apply this question not only in the spiritual life of society, where it is at its most sensitive, but also in economic, scientific and other creative activity, in fact wherever the striving for progress collides with the deaf walls of insensitive laws, deceit, injustice and force.

I have myself by my personal example been compelled to come to a decision in this dilemma. Having reached the summit of my creative progress in my career, and perhaps even of my mystery, I could no longer make any compromise with my conscience and bargain for my own soul at the price of so-called inevitable concessions which annihilate the character of the individual, rendering me entitled to mere crumbs of the genuine manifestations

of the soul and to live a kind of double life. Even if such had been the dictates of lofty ideals, whose aims were nothing less than rescuing the dying culture of one's nation, there would at times, through the streams of lies, be a whispering of truth, half-truth, quarter-truth, thus gradually crumbling to unidentifiable grains of dust which, mingled with yet more mendacity, become transformed into the basest of substances.

Thirty years of Soviet-Russian occupation have conferred upon the people of Lithuania unrecoverable damage. Tens of thousands led to deportation, pining in the Soviet-Russian forced-labour camps the "building sites of socialism", the destruction of the traditional Lithuanian agriculture by means of a senseless forced collectivization of the soil, the establishing of industrialization which is quite unequal to the natural resources and its only objective being the assimilation into the unlimited waste-lands of the Soviet-Russian empire, turning Lithuania into its colony in which the basic rights of man are trodden under heel: freedom of information, of mobility, of the press, of elections, of conscience, and many others. This is a list by far not complete, which ought to be transmitted to the occupation authorities of Lithuania, or rather of all the Baltic states.

The horrible consequences of the occupation are that today my people of three millions is broken up into three bleeding factions: the first living in a voluntary or imposed exile, waiting for the hour of freedom, the second, by far the largest, leading an existence of abject slavery in their own country, bereft of hope and faith in the justice of the world. The third are already in the void of silence, their bones resting in the unknown far-away quarters of the enormous archipelago of suffering, and their most real prospects of being reunited with their brothers and sisters are on the other side of our existence.

Lithuania has been shattered from within owing to the efforts of the oc-

cupants during the three decades during which they have changed the very essence of Lithuanian identity into an utterly false concept of the "Homo Sovieticus". Formerly, in Stalin's days, they acted more directly, by destroying lives. At present they destroy the spiritual concept of national identity. This concept - as we understand it in the genuine sense, has been changed by the horror-phantom of class struggle.

The occupation has brought damage not only upon the Lithuanian people, but also upon minorities of other nationalities which until 1940 had lived peacefully, in Lithuania, where there had been no internal strife, no pogroms had taken place, and no Nazi ideology had been in existence. Even during the Nazi-German occupation was Lithuania the only one of the occupied countries where no SS-legion had been set up, because the Nazis did not dare to attempt to smear our hands with blood. The Soviet-Russian oppressors were more successful in this respect, as they did not even need the assistance of Lithuanian traitors, having disciplined their units into the stature of those who are able to hold the noose tightly round the nation's neck.

VII

But there are people who love their homeland more than their lives. The following are at present real martyrs for freedom:

Pyatras Paulaitis, who has been suffering the "Lithuanian term of imprisonment" since 1947.

Pyatras Paltarokes, suffering the same term since 1950,

Klemensas Shirvis, — since 1952,

Lyudvikas Simutis, — since 1955.

The biography of each one of these might serve as an example of a literary, moral or political analysis. Take the example of Lyudvikas Simutis, a member of the national underground movement, who as a boy participated in the unit of the "Forest brothers". Confined to his bed during a serious illness (tu-

berculosis of the spinal column), he was brought to a hospital. Here he was arrested and indicted before a court. During a special deliberation he was sentenced to death. This sentence was then commuted to 25 years of imprisonment in a camp. In 1958 a medical commission established that his illness was incurable, and proposed that he should be set free at once. Nevertheless he is a prisoner this very day. There are still six years left until he has served his sentence. He is an invalid, and yet the administration forces him to work.

Pyatras Paulaitis, born 1904, received his education in philosophy in Italy, worked in Germany and Portugal until 1938. Back in Lithuania he taught Latin. In 1940, at the arrival of the Reds he went to Germany and returned 1941 to Lithuania then occupied by the Germans, and joined the underground anti-Nazi movement. He participated in the editing of the illegal newspaper "For Freedom", wrote articles against the crimes perpetrated by the Nazi administration. For this he was arrested by the Gestapo, but managed to escape during a transportation and went into hiding. After 1944, when Lithuania came into the hands of Soviet-Russian administration, Paulaitis stayed on in the national underground movement and edited the newspaper "The Voice of Freedom". 1947 he fell into the hands of the Secret Police. The investigations

against him lasted for nine months, during which lieutenant-Colonel Zakharov used his basic persuasive powers: torture. There followed the traditional sentence, that of 25 years. And just recently they have brought him back to the 19th district for strict regimentation. In 1963 a certain major Svyatkin of the MVD proposed to Paulaitis to write an article in a paper on "The Resistance against the Liars from the South", upon which he would be granted a reprieve. When Paulaitis refused, Svyatkin declared: "You'll rot in this place. You'll never gain your freedom, you just believe me!" The prisoner is now 70 and he has nine years left of his term. Certainly Major Svyatkin can be believed.

VIII

According to the most recent statistical data there are at present 3.3 million inhabitants in Lithuania.

Without genocide the population would have been 5.5 million inhabitants in 1959 not including the natural growth.

As a result of the genocide, the population of Lithuania has become halved.

In a period of 20 years Lithuania has been bereft of 1,239,000 citizens.

During the period of the Soviet-Russian occupation from 1941 to 1959 alone the losses amount to 1,090,000.

Out of these:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1941: Deportations to the Soviet Union | 5,000. |
| 1941: Evacuated to the Soviet Union | 1,200 |
| 1941: Killed by the Soviet-Russians | 1,200 |
| 1942 to 1945: Killed during the War | 25,000 |
| 1945 to 1958: Deportations to the Soviet Union | 260,000 |
| 1944 to 1953: Partisans killed in fight with the Soviet Russians | 30-40,000 |
| 1945 to 1959: Transferred to other republics | 30,000 |

Altogether 400,000 Lithuanians were brought to Russia during 1948 to 1949. In Germany, having lost the war, the increase of the population from 1939 to 1959 has been 4.3 per cent, in the Netherlands 29.9 per cent, in the USSR 10.1 per cent. In Lithuania it not only

did not increase, but actually decreased by 13.7 per cent!

The bloodshed and sacrifices of human lives for the inextinguishable idea of freedom have been enormous. My strangulated homeland does not entertain any hope for help from outside, nor

even for the most basic attention of compassion from the outside world. **Our hope lies in our young people, in the maturing spirit of freedom, in the unification of all oppressed nations.**

After the long years of darkness and, as it seems, of shameful subservience, the nearly quenched flame of freedom is of a sudden blazing with an unexpected strength. Through the dark night of despair there of a sudden shone the torch: Romas Kalantas. He burned himself, his 19-year-old life, in order to lighten up the way for his young contemporaries who were born under the conditions of serfdom. Crowds of thousands of young demonstrators during the spring of 1972, surrounded by soldiers who were beating them with batons, shouted the slogan, "Freedom for Lithuania".

IX

The heroic way of the young generation

In the 'seventies' a new epoch of Lithuanian resistance has begun. Its banners are Dignity and Faith.

During 1971 a speech pronounced by the sailor Simas Kudirkas was transmitted from mouth to mouth, like an overwhelming vision. In his speech, which has attained the force of an indictment against the regime, he refuted the accusation of having betrayed his country, because his country was Lithuania. The Soviet Socialist Republic, like the creation of a guilty empire, was a lie and an injustice. The fate of this daring man became known in the whole world.

In 1973 the organs of the KGB brought up for trial the Lithuanian society of Local Lore Students, a trial which by its dimensions was comparable to the prosecution of the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church". On 27 March 1973, at eight o'clock in the morning, more than 100 persons were arrested in the three towns of Wilna, Kaunas, and Riga, all members of the Society of Local Lore

Students. After the investigations had dragged on for 11 months, as a result of which the whole Society was destroyed, five persons were sentenced to various terms: These were

S. Zhuhaukas, born 1950, a former student of the sixth course of the Faculty of Medicine, six years in a severe penal camp;

A. Sakalauskas, born 1938, a teacher at the Polytechnic Institute, 5 years;

V. Povilonis, born 1947, a technical engineer, to two years in a severe penal camp;

A. Matskevichyus, born 1949, a student of the Institute of the Communist Party, to two years in a prison camp;

I. Rudaitis, born 1911, a physician, member of the underground anti-Nazi movement, who had saved hundreds of Jewish children in his clinic during the German occupation and had provided medicines and other medical aid to Soviet soldiers, to 3 years in a strict prison camp.

The place of confinement is Solikamsk in the district of Perm.

During his trial Zhukauskas also made a speech similar to the one made by Simas Kudirka. He explained to the adamant court the history and the origins of the colonization of Lithuania and declared that Russia still to this very day remains a prison of nations. Zhukauskas said that all nations fight for their freedom and independence and that all progressive forces of the world support them. In which way, he asked are we Lithuanians worse than others? He characterized the trial as a farce and concluded with the poet's words: "The enemy forces us with iron hands, but there is no dearer word than Freedom!".

According to unofficial sources it was established that on the 14 May 1972 a Latvian and an Estonian intended to take their own lives together with Romas Kalanta, but they were arrested on the train on the way to Kaunas.

In the summer of 1972 after Kalanta had burned himself to death, another 10 Lithuanians of various ages killed

themselves in the same manner. The objective of such self-immolation was to direct the attention of the world's conscience to the oppression against the Lithuanian people. The sources of this information are inofficial, since they are hiding carefully, but they were affirmed to me by an official at the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic who was dealing with the inquiries of the waves of self-burnings. In all these cases the conclusion was the stereotype "psychic illness", and the funerals were effected in absolute secrecy.

In the autumn of 1972 an ideologic commission came to Lithuania. The commission demanded the strengthening of ideologic work and the replacement of the chief officials in the domains of cultural life and ideology. Amongst others I myself was removed from the post of chief stage manager of Kaunas Dramatic Theater and was deprived of the right of working with any Soviet cultural institution. The formal pretext for this measure was my letter of protest which had gained a wide circulation through samizdat.

On 19 March 1972 appeared the first issue of the self-published periodical "The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church".

This year which had been so full of events, was not uneventful for the enemies of the Lithuanian nation. AFFAIR No. 345, which had such an enormous impact, was started. Four trials were arranged:

In March 1974 — 5 persons were tried.
In May 1974 — 3 persons were tried.

In December 1974 a third trial took place, in which the following four persons were sentenced: P. Plumpa, V. Yaugelis, P. Petronis, and I. Stashaitis.

In March 1975 — the trial of Grazhis

Niyolye Sadunaite is confined to prison, and the cases against Kovalyov and Tvyordokhlebova are being prepared.

In the psychiatric hospital of Tchernyakovsk the student Pyatras Sindzik from Wilna State University is being harassed. The former political prisoner B. Gayauskas affirms that P. Sindzikas at one time was kept there together with General Hryhorenko. His health is endangered.

The Lithuanians are uniting their not always very loud, but sincere voice with the voices of all nations of good will, of those who are not indifferent to good or evil, righteousness or injustice, freedom or slavery. We beseech you to intercede with all available means in favour of Sergei Kovalyov and Andrei Tverdokhlebov. Having done so, we beg you to intercede in favour of us, the oppressed, and perhaps even for yourself. Therefore that terrible phantom, which was sent into this world a century ago by irresponsible minds, and which has become a perfidious seducement for credulous minds, still in our own days hovers over Europe.

(The International Sakharov Hearing/
Copenhagen 1975)

TELEGRAM FROM FEMACO, MEXICO

Previous commitments prevent my attendance at ABN conference deeply appreciating your invitation. Please convey Mr. Stetsko and all conferees my sincere wishes for success in labor that will undoubtedly be for the bene-

fit of the world freedom cause and particularly will advance toward recovering independence for the nations subdued under Soviet tyranny. Regards

Prof. Raimundo Guerrero
(Femaco Chairman)

Mr. Chon, Consul General of South Korea in Munich

Russian Intervention in Korea

I am very pleased to be able to attend this Conference and thank you very much for your invitation, Mr. Stetsko. Simultaneously I express my cordial greetings to all participants of the Conference.

I have been watching this Conference since yesterday and gather from the individual speeches and the ensuing discussions that all participants are equipped and elated with a strong anti-Communist spirit.

In connection with the Anticommunist Movement in Europe I should like to briefly point out our problems taking into special consideration the Soviet Union and make some proposals.

As you certainly know Russian policies in the East have aimed at retaining Russia's eastern ports which are free from ice, its treasures of the soil and its strategic bases there. For this purpose Russia also invaded Korea at the 39th degree of latitude seeking the support of imperialist Japan. However, Japan declined feeling strong enough to conquer all of Korea. As you know — this conflict resulted in the Russian-Japanese War (1904 - 1905), Japan gaining the victory.

Following this precedent the USA and the Soviet Union divided Korea, the Soviet Union proposing the United States to divide Japan as well. It is apparent that what the Russians had in mind was that then they automatically could seize Korea. However, when they did not succeed in conquering the whole Korea Russia induced its puppet regime in North Korea to attack South Korea, that is to say it incited a civil war inconceivable in terms of humanity: the world-famed Korean War of 1950 to which about 4 million people fell victims in a most brutal manner.

In this connection I should like to thank all countries which participated in the Korean War and thus helped to overcome Communism in South Korea. Unless Communism had been surmounted in South Korea, I could not deliver my speech here today. At that time the American and especially the European conceptions about Anticommunism were so reactionary that they even were unable to do away with the originator of the Korean War. The ego-centered Europeans thought that Asian Communism had nothing to do with Communism in Europe. The Americans followed the European ideas presuming that the basic interests of the USA were not centered in Asia, but in West Europe. Thus they agreed to the division of Korea.

The puppet regime of the Soviet Union in North Korea was indoctrinated by the Soviet Union to the effect that its so-called double strategy consisted in externally speaking for the Korean peninsula, on the one

hand, and in internally enforcing its goals and the reunification of Korea, on the other.

South Korea, a country poor in raw materials and thus hardly able to attract the attention of the international public cannot but accept Anticommunism as its basic policy and ideology for the sake of its survival, especially owing to the above-mentioned historical conditions.

Since the Korean War we have instructed our children at school at the age of 6 years already along the lines of Anticommunism referring to examples in history in order to show by what tactics and strategy Communism could be defeated. It should be recalled that our territory which was annexed by the Russians after World War II has never been returned.

Due to the Korean War and the permanent military, political and diplomatic infiltration of North Korea, on the one hand, and the thorough anti-Communist education in South Korea, on the other, more than 99 percent of the South Korean population are strongly opposed to Communism. In this respect the situation in South Korea is completely different from that in South Vietnam.

Silence is our enemy, but speaking out the truth is not sufficient; what we must do is act against Communism — our President Park Chung Hee said.

If we want to achieve something we must carry it through without giving up half-way. Nothing can be gained this way, but much can be lost! Having outlined our problems I should like to propose the following:

On behalf of the Korean people I request the free world community

- 1) to identify itself with our common fight against Communism;
- 2) to systematically educate our youth in line with Anticommunism in order to promote the anti-Communist spirit in the world for abolishing inhumanity and defending the dignity of man; and
- 3) to provide and publish materials informing about the true Russian intentions in the Korean War in order to attain our goals.

(EFC and ABN Conferences in Munich, Nov. 14th - 16th, 1975)

Documents about Encroachments upon Human Rights in the USSR

published by **Amnesty International (AI)**, January 1976

Section of the Federal Republic of Germany,
registered association
2000 Hamburg 76, Stückenstr. 70

For an Independent Armenia

My testimony will concern the facts of violating the rights of my nation as such as well as of the rights of individual citizens in Soviet Armenia. The following facts, in my opinion, are incompatible with moral and legal norms common to all mankind!

1. Forcible establishment of Soviet-Russian power in Armenia.

The Independent Democratic Armenian Republic was overthrown by the 11th Soviet Army on December 2, 1920. The leaders of the former republic were killed with an axe in the Erevan prison.

2. Destruction of the brain of the nation.

The best representatives of my nation — prominent military leaders, scientists, poets and writers, politicians and workers in the field of art were systematically liquidated in the cellars of Cheka since 1934. To give the complete list of the victims of this genocide one would require much more time than we have at our disposal. As a result of this "genocide" the nation was deprived of its intellectual elite and irreparable errors were made in all spheres of national life.

3. Violation of the constitution with respect to the sovereignty of the republic.

The republic lacks such institutions as the ministry of foreign trade, its own army, ministry of defense, ministry of foreign affairs etc. This deprives the republic of the right to be considered sovereign as stated in its constitution. None of the republican newspapers has its own correspondents abroad, that is exactly as many as in Armenia itself. And the life of Armenians abroad has a distinct national character both socially and politically. But there is nobody who could inform the citizens of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic about the life of their countrymen abroad. The only source of information is broadcasting by Radio Liberty. Violating its own constitution which includes the right of a Union Republic to leave the USSR, in 1974 the Supreme Court of the Armenian Sov. Soc. Republic sentenced Paruir Airikian, Bagrat Shahverdan, Ararat Tovmassian, Ashot Navarsadian, Anait Martirosian, Kadjik Arakelian, Levon Badalian, Azat Arakelian, Rasmik Markossian, Samved and Norik Mortirosian, Gagik Arakelian, Konstan Karapetian, and Rasmik Zagrabanian to terms of imprisonment from 2 to 7 years with subsequent deportation. These young people were accused of organizing the party "National Unity" which defended the right of the republic to leave the USSR. But if this right is stated in the constitution does it not also imply the right to propagate this idea?

4. Lack of a national economy.

Armenia is completely deprived of a national economy of its own, that is such an economy on which the economic well-being of the nation is based. The living standard of the people does not at all depend on the productivity of Armenian enterprises or on the natural resources of Armenia. Besides this the natural resources of Armenia are ruthlessly exploited. Armenia has four times less land per each inhabitant than the Soviet Union on the average. Nevertheless in Armenia several huge concerns have been built — such as the chemical group of enterprises, aluminium enterprises, enterprises of Kadjaran, Kafan, Alaverdy and many other huge plants which pollute the "tiny" Armenia and give her nothing in exchange.

5. Russification policy.

The strict policy of identifying "Russian" and "Soviet" in the Republic created such conditions under which priority is given to the Russian language, Russian schools, Russian culture etc. Just as a result of this policy the USSR has no Russian capital, no Russian Communist party etc. This policy gives rise to the hostility of Armenians towards Russians.

6. Lack of freedom of movement and information.

The lack of these freedoms is acutely felt in Armenia. As already stated two and a half million Armenians are living abroad — they want to meet their relatives and often they want to reunite the families. But all kinds of obstacles prevent this. I may cite my own example — I left my wife and three children in Erevan. My mother, father and two sisters are also there. I do not have any contacts with them. Letters do not reach them, things sent through tourists are confiscated at the border. I have sent my wife through the Red Cross an invitation to come to visit me, but she has not got it yet although more than a year passed. I attach as a document the letter of the Red Cross and the postal receipt for this document.

ON BEHALF OF MEXICO AND ITS PEOPLE

Our people don't want to be imposed upon by a totalitarian system run by the Communists, and like you fight every day for the legitimate ideals of true liberty. I only want to add a few words to those said so far. We must realize that the forces of Communism are advancing not because of their capacity and confrontative skill, but because of their system of information and propa-

ganda based on lies and deformations. "Victory has no substitutes" MacArthur said.

Our victory depends on the unity and the daily work which each one of us will perform.

The important thing is "Let us work together; With the help of God we shall win".

Martha Gil, Mexico

KGB Try to Kill a Georgian Writer with Poison-Gas

The following is the text of a declaration made by the Georgian writer Mr. Zviad Gamsakhourdia on 25. September 1975. The text is a translation from French which first appeared in *Cahiers du Samizdat* of January 1976.

„As the persecutions of which I am a victim increase daily I am compelled to make the following statement:

On 4 July, the Examining Magistrate of the KGB S. Maskaoukas arrived at Tiflis from Lithuania. I was summoned by him with others to give information regarding the Kovalev affair, but we refused to submit to his interrogations, and on 10 July I was dismissed from my appointment as Lecturer for American Literature and the English language at the Tiflis University.

The following were also requested to attend the inquiry; the writer N. Tsouleiskiri, the poet N. Koberidze, the students R. Siradze, Ov. Gabitashvili and others. Under threats they were requested to disassociate themselves entirely from me. Colonel Sh. Zardalishvili, former criminal and murderer and promoted to direct the ideological section of the KGB showed himself particularly zealous in his duties in this respect and his actual remark on my account "Break off all relations with him, his days are numbered" deserve particular attention. My "crime" consisted solely in defending the rights of man and editing a literary journal entitled "The Golden Fleece".

I was searched twice by KGB agents in the Moscow airport of Domodedovo, under the pretence of "criminal actions". In August I was summoned to appear before the Procurator (Attorney General) of the SSR of Georgia. I refused to attend without being informed of the charge, which was eventually specified as the Djanguiana and other affairs relating to tortures of prisoners. I again refused being by no means involved in this matter: in fact it seemed

to me that the summons was actually an attempt to involve me in the charge.

The last date given for my appearance before the court was 19 September. I did not appear on principle and two collaborators of the prosecutor, L. Talakvadse and M. Kouradze, informed my wife that I would be subject to legal proceedings in any part of Russia.

After this decision, the KGB invented a new method of persecution. On 20 September they subjected me to a poison-gas which gravely affected my heart and temperature and from which I almost died.

In fact, Tass had announced only a short time before that "a poison-gas was available which could render a person unconscious and lead to death" and, in fact it was precisely to these results that my wife, my sister and myself were exposed in our house in Tiflis (an isolated house in Rue Galaskaya) where only we were conscious of some poisonous effects in the atmosphere. In the morning we experienced some discomfort, but towards noon my wife, on a visit to a neighbouring town fell to the ground. Her pulse greatly accelerated, she was conscious of extreme giddiness, and hardly managed to return home. At precisely the same time I was similarly afflicted and my wife's sister complained of stinging, biting and other acute skin trouble.

It is also essential that I refer to the death of my father on 15 July 1975. The well-known Georgian writer Konstantin Semenovitch Gamsakhourdia, member of the Academy, died of a form of suffocation with pulse acceleration.

To continue, on 21 and 22 September I had a heart attack and 23 September whilst paying a visit in my car I was almost surrounded by members of the KGB. I must assume that this provided an opportunity to convey a new dose of esphyxiating gas, as in the evening I felt unwell, particularly in the nape

of the neck, accompanied by weakness and a sensation of extreme cold in my limbs. My pulse was severely affected and I fainted. Eventually I was able to take various medicines, but on the subsequent day my condition deteriorated and on the advice of my doctor an ambulance took me to the nearest hospital where two doctors expressed their astonishment that an ordinary healthy person like myself (and a non-smoker) should be so suddenly and almost mortally affected by hypertension and heart trouble, and this led them to the conclusion that my condition was attributable to some other factor. Food poisoning as a possible cause had to be eliminated.

It was at this stage that I recalled the ominous words of Zardadishvili "my

days were numbered". I should also mention that some animal members of my household were also affected.

On 4 September upon returning home from a visit, all three of us almost immediately fell sick with various pains in the forehead and burning sensations in the eyes.

I should add that the conditions described by the writer Voinovitch poisoned by gas in the spring of this year whilst staying in the Hotel Metropole in Moscow which he related to me in prison were similar.

I am making this declaration as it is probable that I shall be the victim of a further discharge of this harmful substance and shall then no longer be able to communicate".

SPEECH OF PROF. DR. ALBERTO WANG (HWA-YU) S. J.
of the Fu Jsen Catholic University in Formosa on the Feast Day
of Card. Slipyj, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Shu Chi Chu Dje! Your Eminence!

Representing the Chinese people in Taiwan-Formosa, in continental China and in the entire world, and especially, in the name of our Chinese Cardinal Ji Pin I would like to congratulate Cardinal Slipyj on this solemn day.

The Cardinal of the Ukrainian Church and the Ukrainian people are good friends of the Chinese. The Ukrainian Church and people are persecuted by the Communists, just as is the Church in China. Most of mainland China, except the small island of Taiwan-Formosa, is under Communist control. The Cardinal visited us in Taipei, a city in Taiwan, Province Formosa. I was there. The Chinese say: "A friend in difficulty is a true friend" — Friendship in difficulty makes for true friendship. The Cardinal is our true friend. We give many thanks for it.

The Cardinal is our Brother in Liturgy too, especially in the Divine Liturgy of the Ukrainian Rite which, as an oriental rite, is very close to the Chinese and oriental people. I like it very

much. Yesterday I went to the Church of Saint Sophia and attended the Solemn Christmas Liturgy celebrated by the Cardinal. Today I am happy to come here to celebrate the feast day of the Cardinal at the Divine Liturgy. This is not the first time that I have had this privilege. In 1973 when the Cardinal visited Taiwan and celebrated the Divine Liturgy for the theological faculty at the Fu Jsen Catholic University in Taipei I was in charge of that Liturgy as Master of ceremony. But the Cardinal did not follow my rite, instead I followed His!

So I am very happy to attend this big feast of the Cardinal today. In Chinese we say: "Van Sui" — diece mila anni (Ital. — Ed.); and dieci mila times dieci mila anni. We say this for Presidents, for Kings, for the Emperor, for the Holy Father, and especially for Christ. Now permit me also to say it to You: "Van Sui, Van Sui, Van Van Sui" — dieci mila anni, ad multos annos, vivat, ad multos annos, dieci mila anni, dieci mila times dieci mila anni!!!

The Genocide of the Polish Minority Group in the USSR

The 1970 official Russian Statistics mention 1,200,000 Poles living in the USSR.

The unofficial Polish sources state the total number to be around the 2 million people.

Nothing has been heard about the fate of approximately one million of the 1,500,000 Polish citizens deported into the Soviet Union in the years 1940-41. Most of them lost their lives in one or another inhuman way in the concentration camps of Siberia. Those surviving have colonized Kazakhstan, which is now mainly inhabited by their descendants. Eventually, the tragic fate of the 14,500 Polish prisoners of war became known, mainly officers and non-commissioned officers, murdered bestially by the NKVD in the Katyn Forest, in the spring of 1940.

The Polish minority in the USSR is consistently and systematically submitted to a shrewd Russification program. Compelled to take up Soviet citizenship they have no right to return to their homeland. Their masses belong to the most underprivileged group of kolchoz workers, living in misery and being denied elementary human rights. Constant intimidation threatening their existence, harassments, pressures to give the newborn Russian surnames, and the mischievous discrimination of people declaring themselves Polish nationals, are some of the reasons for the rapid decrease in the number of those who are daring enough to officially declare themselves Polish. (According to Soviet statistics only 34% of the minority speak Polish).

One of the forms of denationalization is the lack of Polish schools (there are only 2 in the whole USSR, namely in Vilnius and Lviv) and text books, as well as the nearly total isolation from the homeland. Polish newspapers are rare (only some incidental stands in Vilnius, Moscow and Odessa sell them

rather irregularly), just as magazines and books are. Postal parcels containing them are censored and in most cases confiscated. The only Polish-language newspaper in Russia is the Communist "Red Banner" (Czerwony Sztandar), published in Vilnius.

The formation of Polish associations of any kind is strictly prohibited. Only in Lviv, there exists an amateur theatrical troupe. Except for this any sign of Polish cultural life is suppressed by the Russian authorities. Even the cultural programs of the Polish Radio from Warsaw have been recently switched to the local transmitters, which due to their minimal range cannot be heard in the Soviet Union.

It is very difficult to maintain private contacts and family relations. Visits of family members to Poland are exceptional and rare. Finding relatives thrown into the far north or east of the Soviet Union shows to be practically impossible.

Religious discrimination constitutes another form of oppression. The methods and means by which it is carried out are quite unknown anywhere else in the civilized world. It is the battle of the Communist regime aimed at a total extinction of any religious belief, and destruction of the remnants of the old ecclesiastical organization. The Polish minority which is predominantly Roman-Catholic, is consistently deprived of its rights of religious practice as well as upbringing of children in the faith of their fathers.

A clergyman risks a devastation of his ecclesiastical office (the authorities call it "the withdrawal of the craftsman's licence" if not like the Rev. Bernard Mickiewicz from Lviv, 5 years of imprisonment, which he received in 1974 for allegedly "tugging" the young to the church. It is just one example of the persecution the clergy is subjected

to, under the terror of the all-powerful secret police.

Most of the places of worship have been closed down while the number of the few open ones is constantly decreasing. No new parish-priests are allowed to take over parishes after the death of the old ones. In this way, the churches are being closed down and reduced to ruins as a result of a ban on any restoration work after the clergymen die, many of them being old and afflicted with illness. Many architectonically magnificent churches have been turned into ware houses, cinema-halls, or even more ironically into museums of atheism.

Religion exists in the deep underground of to-day's Russian Empire. Few priests take care of large areas risking long term sentences for carrying out their duties. Believers secretly meet on remote cemeteries (sometimes even without a priest) like in the time of the Early Christians.

The fate of the Poles in the Soviet Union is hopeless. Poland now too, under the Communist regime, and a satellite on a Russian orbit, not only dares not try to help its deported citizens, but made the whole subject a taboo. Nobody represents the 2 million minority from the USSR on the yearly meetings held in Warsaw for the benefit of the Polish emigrants from all over the world. Those 2 millions are to be erased from the memory of the Polish people.

The public, however, appeals and protests, now more than ever. The most widely known letter of protest was signed by 15 prominent Polish intellectuals and sent to their government in December 1974. In April 1975, the visit to London of the Soviet Trade Unionists presided by the former KGB chief Alexander Shelepin, sparked a wave of demonstrations there, and among other things resulted in an exposé submitted to the Russian Embassy by Polish emigrants.

Appeals addressed to the public opinion of the world call for the guar-

antee of the principal human rights for the Polish minority in the USSR in accordance with the UN-declaration on the human right to freedom of thought and religion, the right to cultivate one's language and culture, the right to emigration — all of them and many others signed also by the Soviet Union.

(This pamphlet is issued by a group of Poles in Denmark, the address: Postboks 1035, DK-1007 Copenhagen K, Denmark.)

The End of Empires

The present era of world history is characterized by a wideranging series of fundamental transformations of the world order. The epoch of imperialism, colonialism, and Russian neo-colonialism, and of imperialist wars, interventions, and economic exploitation of nations is approaching a conclusive stage. Millions of people of different nations, races, and continents have opposed by word and deed the old international order which contributed to innumerable human catastrophes, bloody wars and untold suffering. Most of mankind has thus indicated its desire for a new and more just international system based upon just universal peace and the creative cooperation of **free and equal nations** in solving global problems facing all mankind. The youth, intelligentsia and leading cultural and scientific figures over the world, irrespective of the social systems to which they belong have indicated that a new global system based on just peace demands that all nations, large or small, historic or developing, must be free to realize their expectations and goals, their ideas and traditions within the free development of their particular cultures.

Imperialist phenomena which engage in the suppression of national cultures and in exploitation of captive nations do so for purposes of continued international aggrandizement. In doing so, threats to peace multiply as international tensions are heightened in the form of wars and international political

and economic crises. These tensions occur as the result of national liberation struggles against colonialism, which provide opportunities for the superpowers to intervene in the de-colonization process in order to advance their competing neo-colonialist interests. Increasingly, these interventions are becoming less successful, as the former bi-polar world political system becomes polycentric. This has occurred as a result of the appearance of new nation-states in the international system alongside alternate centers of power. As a result, the superpower of the West — the USA and the super-empire of the East — the USSR, have begun to see themselves less as rivals, than as equal partners and allies. They are the well-fed in a crowd of hungry. The USA, as the foremost democracy of the West, sees this process as an effort to stabilize the global status-quo, while serving the domestic political needs of the politicians-businessmen. The politicians — policemen of the USSR — the last bastion of totalitarian multinational imperialism, wish to achieve a recognition of their conquest by the West and to manipulate the Western countries individually, rather than as a group. The USSR is doing so, in order to achieve technological, organizational and economic assistance from the advanced West. This assistance is essential for shoring up the cracks in the imperial system. Primarily however, the USSR desires to neutralize the West as a front in the future confrontation with the national-liberation movements in the USSR and with China. This approaching confrontation between the Russian imperial center and the captive nations of the empire alongside an attack on China, poses the foremost threat to world peace for the foreseeable future. To prevent a new world catastrophe we demand that the nations of the United Nations Organization meet in a Special Assembly **with representatives of the national liberation organizations of the nations** held in colonial bondage in the USSR in order to ex-

tend the process of de-colonization to that empire by radical collective means;

that collective political and economic sanctions by the nations of the world be implemented against the USSR for its failure to comply with the international obligations it undertook as a signatory of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights;

that an International Commission of Inquiry be established and allowed to investigate the crimes committed against national and human rights in the USSR;

that the advanced Western countries in general, and the USA in particular, do not extend technological and economic assistance to the USSR without demanding fundamental changes in the area of de-colonization and human rights.

We request the American leadership to recognize that a fundamental change in the foreign policy of the USSR is impossible without a fundamental change in its Empire, without the dissolution of the Empire into national independent democratic states. Such changes are necessary not only for humanitarian reasons but for world security and in the interest of a just world peace.

In order to realize our above demands, the following specific conditions must be secured:

Soviet Russian military and police occupation forces must be withdrawn from all occupied countries;

peace-keeping forces of the United Nations without Communist or pro-Communist state-forces must enter these areas to ensure that free and democratic elections be held by the formerly dependent nations under conditions of peace and order;

coercive measures of Russification and colonial exploitation of the non-Russian nations must be ceased;

basic national and human rights, as defined in the UN-Charter Declaration of De-Colonization and in the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights, must be respected and implemented in these territories;

and writers, intellectuals, religious and political leaders, now incarcerated in Russian concentration camps and prisons, must be released immediately;

the nations enslaved in the Russian Empire must be allowed to rejoin the world community through the immediate membership of their independent national states in the United Nations Organization .

The Third World War

The Third World War commenced with the end of World War II in 1945 at Yalta. There, the irresolute Western Allies celebrated the victory over Nazism by conceding Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and other nations to the expanding Stalinist-ruled Russo-Communist Empire, as well as forcibly repatriating millions of unwilling refugees to death and imprisonment in the Gulag Archipelago. Soon Croatia, Serbia, Albania, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary and East Germany were abandoned to Bolshevism, adding the suffering of these peoples to that of the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanis, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, and others. All this occurred without thundering declarations of war or huge military offensives, but "invisibly", through politico-military programs of subversion and expansion implemented by the Russian colonialists under the rubric of "cold war", "democratic transformations" under the supervision of the NKVD, "normalization", "peaceful co-existence" and most recently, "détente".

The course of the last thirty years has been a long and unbroken descent by the once-powerful Western states. The thirty-year official "peace" has witnessed the loss of actual and potential allies by the West and the aban-

donment of vast territories and populations. China, Cuba, North Korea and Indo-China have fallen to an implacable foe, while Thailand, South Korea and the Middle East are endangered. Portugal and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula are subject to Soviet-Russian intervention with the intention of exploiting the internal problems of these countries in order to install neocolonial puppet regimes and inflict serious defeats on the West. There is not enough space to list all of the countries of the Third World and even, of Europe, which grovel before the Soviet-Russian onslaught at the UN which is becoming increasingly a forum for concerted ridicule and denigration of the West. The formerly victorious Western Allies have ceded more countries and peoples in this period than in any surrender in war in human history.

This process is still more tragic, if the loss of credibility in the moral and political symbols of the West in the eyes of the world is considered. The West has been successfully attacked at its most vulnerable point: the fear of nuclear confrontation has alternated with appeals to those who are willing to concede anything for the promise of material gain and well-being. The most recent example has been the shameful agreement at Helsinki, whereby the countries of the West have willingly ratified the enslavement of their brothers in the East — in the belief that the cause of peace will be served.

We believe that this capitulation of the Free World must be halted. The peoples of the non-Communist world must demand that their governments have the courage and resolve to see and accept the evidence of the methodical violence that has radiated from Moscow for nearly sixty years, and take appropriate action. In doing so, no one is advocating the insanity of a nuclear holocaust. Instead, we propose a refusal to grovel before nuclear war threats, while insisting on the extension of basic national and human rights to the peoples subjected to totalitarian

repression by the Russian imperialists. The peoples of the Free World must insist that their governments raise the issue of Russian colonialism in appropriate international forums, while extending public and moral support for the liberation movements struggling for national independence and human rights, for the dissolution of the Russian Empire. The peoples of the Free World must demand that their governments or private institutions give no economic or other aid to the repressive forces in the USSR under the rubric of "détente", without concessions on

basic national and human rights and their implementation in the last, anarchistic bastion of imperial tyranny in the world — the USSR. This approach demands courage, moral strength, and clear-headedness — not a nuclear war. It is the only road to a just peace, built on the foundation of a new and just international order which rests on the free participation of all nations through national independent states, regardless of their size, in the common enterprise of facing and solving humanity's global problems.

W. G. K.

For the Independence of Slovakia

When the Slovak parliament declared the independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939, the government of the Soviet Union did not raise a single protest. Moscow recognized the Slovak Republic on September 16, 1939, and sent her ambassador to Bratislava, where 27 states, including the Vatican, already had their diplomatic representatives.

The forced liquidation of the Slovak Republic, as well as the institution of Communist dictatorship, and the incorporation of Slovakia into the state of "Czecho-Slovakia", rebuilt in Moscow by Benes on May 8, 1945, was a strong violation of the principles of Slovak national self-determination, Slovak state sovereignty, and the non-interference in matters concerning Slovakia.

During the total occupation of Slovakia by the Red Army in the spring of 1945, all former democratic forces were stripped of power, taken prisoner, and the Slovaks were, against their political will, incorporated into the state of Czecho-Slovakia. The right to self-determination, strongly advocated earlier by the Communists, as well as their positive attitude towards the independence of Slovakia suddenly became taboo. Only after 23 years of primitive dictatorship of the Czech Communists

Gottwald and Zápotocky, this right was again mentioned by the Slovak Communists Alexander Dubček and Gustav Husák. These were the men who, in 1968, tried to carry through a political reformation, in this case, the federation of the state of Czecho-Slovakia. Therefore, since January 1, 1969, Czecho-Slovakia is the union of two socialist republics: the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republic.

According to the spirit of the UN Charter, the United Nations must insist that the illegal occupation of Slovakia ceases immediately and that sovereignty and independence is returned to Slovakia.

We address this demand to the members of the United Nations, which was founded 30 years ago as a great hope for all mankind. We address this demand to all member nations of the UN, whose first duty is to serve the power of rights and not the power of force. Last, but not least, we demand this in the interest of peace, equality of rights, and the inalienable right of nations to self-determination, sovereignty and equal political work in the world.

(From the Manifesto of Slovaks to the UN Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim)

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN): Statement and Resolutions

In Defense of National Independence and Human Rights Against Russian Imperialism and Communism

WHEREAS, ABN stands for the right of all nations to independence and for equal rights of all individuals; for social justice, freedom of creativity, religion, speech, expression and association;

WHEREAS, ABN considers the realization of the nation's right to independence the prerequisite for the realization of human rights — never can an individual of an enslaved nation enjoy human rights in an empire, but he can realize them only within the framework of his own national democratic state; and

WHEREAS, in the USSR and its satellite states — the colonial Russian-Communist totalitarian imperialism — subjugates a large number of nations and hundreds of millions of individuals, having deprived them of the most fundamental rights and annihilating them by means of a systematic genocidal policy;

The ABN Conference severely condemns Russian colonialism-imperialism and Communism and appeals to the free world to support the national liberation anti-colonialist and anti-Communist struggle of the nations enslaved within the USSR and its satellite countries for their national independence and their own political and social order, especially Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, Rumania, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, East Germany and other nations;

and it resolves:

To urge the governments of the Free World to counteract by various measures the Russification, economic exploitation and extermination of the subjugated nations.

To severely condemn and urge the liquidation of all concentration camps throughout the Soviet Russian empire and in so-called satellite states.

To demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political, and religious convictions.

To demand an end of the application of chemical and medical means for breaking the will power of political prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them.

To vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights to insane asylums.

To demand an end to the persecution of freedom fighters, believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirit of their own nation, without which a nation perishes. Without national culture there is no world culture.

To demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from the Russian subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites.

To demand the restoration of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as to all the nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

To persuade the free nations of stopping trade with and investments in Communist dominated countries.

To analyze the Communist economic warfare and to initiate counter-measures.

If the free nations of the world do not want to be subjugated to KGB guns and see the law of the jungle prevail,

they must fight for national independence for humanity and for morality based on religious principles.

I

The intervention of Western public opinion and diplomacy has never been applied to nations subjugated by Russian colonialism. **The acclaimed Resolution on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted in 1960 by the United Nations General Assembly "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations" and to that end declares that subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation."**

The Cuban national movement also realized that achievement of its goal — liquidation of the Castro regime — lies with all the other ABN movements, because Cuba is presently a Russian colony like the nations enslaved in Europe and Asia.

Therefore, we, the representatives of the national liberation movements of peoples enslaved by Russian and Communist aggressors and exploiters, appeal to the free nations of the world to heed the lessons of the past decades, namely that half-measures are insufficient to defend freedom-loving peoples from Communist-Russian aggression. Note the experience of Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba, and before that of Czechia, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, China, Eastern Germany and before that of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Germany and before that of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Finland, and even before that of Ukraine, Turkestan, Mongolia, Georgia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus etc.

We appeal to you to lend your full-hearted support to the scores of nations struggling under the banners and ideas of national independence and freedom and unification, religion — be it Christian, Islamic, Jewish, or any other, — and unconditional hostility to Communist totalitarian doctrines of all brands.

We appeal to you to resist subversion and to repel the enemy's many-sided offensive against the free world. Free peoples must deflect Russian efforts to transform Portugal into another Cuba, must withhold any recognition of Castro's Cuba as a partner in the community of free nations, because then the West will have a Trojan horse in its camp. We appeal to Americans and the free nations of the Pacific area to give any and all assistance needed by the Korean people to destroy Communist attempts at enslaving the whole country. We appeal to all free nations to give support to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the European Freedom Council and the World Anti-Communist League so that they would expand and strengthen their activities.

We appeal to all freedom-loving peoples, in the tragic aftermath of the Helsinki conference, to renew their efforts at spreading and activating the Captive Nations Week concept all over the world. The summit conference of Heads of the major free democratic states which is to be held in Paris in the near future should issue a declaration of intent to renew efforts at exposing the evils of Soviet-Russian colonialism and totalitarianism, should publicly proclaim support for freedom-seeking captive nations in achieving their national independence, democratic freedoms, reunion with the world community of peaceful and sovereign states.

We appeal to the free nations to initiate a policy of broadcasting through public and private radio-stations messages of inspiration and support directed to the subjugated peoples.

We appeal to free nations all over the world to place on the agenda of the

United Nations the question of Russian colonialism in many nations and the necessity to refute and destroy it. The national liberation movements should be admitted as permanent observers to the United Nations, while those regimes which are merely puppets of Russian imperialism including "Ukrainian" and "Byelorussian" SSRs should be ousted and their seats turned over to the respective representatives of the national liberation movements.

III

The Conference calls upon the United Nations:

To admit, according to the same legal status as was accredited to the Palestine Liberation Organization, revolutionary national liberation organizations of the nations enslaved by Russian Communist Neocolonialism to the United Nations, namely the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Revolutionaries (the so-called "Bandera Movement") to represent Ukraine, as well as analogous liberation organizations of Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Croatia, Azerbaijan, the North Caucasus, and satellites as Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia and all other subjugated nations, recognizing the right to national independence of these nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, as stipulated in the UN Charter and the UN Declaration on World Decolonization as from 1960.

IV

The Conference calls upon the Governments and Parliaments and world public opinion to display various kinds of activities in order to release from prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric institutions freedom fighters for national independence and human rights, among these the most outstanding Ukrainians — Valentyn Moroz —

historian, Zynovyi Krasivsky — poet, Vasyl Stus — poet, Iryna Senyk — artist, Sviatoslav Karavansky — writer, Nina Strokata-Karavanska — biochemist, Yuriy Shukhevych — 30 years of imprisonment for refusing to renounce his father and condemn his ideas with respect to freedom and independence for Ukraine, Mykhaylo Osadchy — writer, Ivan Hel — student, Yevhen Sverstiuk — historian, Viacheslav Chornovil — writer, Lev Lukianenko — lawyer, Leonid Plyushch — mathematician, Wasyl Romaniuk — priest, Stefa Shabatura — painter, Ivan Svitlychny — writer, Ivan Kandyba — lawyer, Evhen Pryshlak, Osyp Terela, A. Lypynis, Maria Palchak — 25 years of imprisonment, Oleksa Bilskyj — sentenced for 37 years, went blind in prison, Ivan Ilchuk — 25 years of imprisonment.

V

WHEREAS, Valentyn Moroz by his heroic self-sacrificing attitude of a martyr full of love for his nation, heroic humanism and unbreakable faith in God, defends the human ideals of the whole world against exploitation, oppression, militant atheism, destruction, evil and decay; and

WHEREAS, Yuriy Shukhevych, the outstanding son of a great father — General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynska, leader of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle and commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), — who died as a hero 25 years ago in 1950 fighting for the freedom and independence of Ukraine and the Christian faith against the Russian NKVD, — sentenced to 30 years of imprisonment in camps only for having refused to renounce his father and condemn his ideals having thus given up freedom and the promised comfort of life at the cost of betraying his father;

The Conference proclaims VALENTYN MOROZ and YURIY SHUKHEVYCH symbols of the noble, heroic, patriotic and religious youth of the

world, and **models** being worthy of imitation, and they appeal to the young people of all nations of the world to stand up for them and other prisoners in order to attain their release from incarceration.

VI

Coordinated and simultaneously national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations are the only alternative to thermo-nuclear war.

Through such national revolutions, with the support of the Free World, the disintegration of the Russian empire and the annihilation of the Communist system will undoubtedly be achieved. Elements of a "superpower" are not only technological or thermonuclear capacity, but also, and most importantly, spiritual and moral values. To view the subjugated nations from this point of perspective another super-power is formed.

VII

We, in the common interests of the Free World and of the nations enslaved by the Russian imperialists and Communists, appeal to the governments of the United States and other countries of the free world:

to abandon the policy of détente, co-operation and so-called balance of power with respect to the Soviet Union. This policy is extremely dangerous for all freedom loving mankind because it is being realized at the cost of the captive nations, the potential allies of the free world in the struggle against aggression, tyranny and genocide.

It makes the free nations accomplices of despots and colonialists and reduces the military potential of the West through the consolidation of and contribution to the expansion of Russian colonialism in Europe, Asia and the entire world;

to adopt in their own interests, the policy of liberation of all nations subjugated within the USSR and in the

satellite countries and of dismemberment of the Russian empire into independent national states;

to place on the UN agenda the national, cultural and linguistic genocide and religious persecution practiced by the Soviet Russian imperialists and to condemn these actions, as well as condemning Russian chauvinism and colonialism and the attempt at an artificial creation of a "Soviet people" through the forced merging of other nations with the Russian nation!

VIII

We state that Moscow's goal in the so-called disarmament or security and co-operation conferences is: to obtain the withdrawal of the US forces from Europe, thereby liquidating Europe's nuclear shield, to confirm the **status quo** in her constituent "republics" and satellites and to extend her domination to the still free world. Moscow seeks guarantees of "security" for her constantly changing borders, which she knows will be in danger as long as the whole world has not been subjugated.

Having abandoned the policy of liberation, the US, in accordance with its present policy of the balance of power, has renounced the possibility of reducing the military potential of the Russian empire by attracting to its side a major part of the combatants of the Soviet Army and of the satellite armies. The US, in co-operation with the oppressor and not with the oppressed, supports the subjugation of non-Russian nations within the Russian empire. The spiritual and political weakness of the West renders the Russian empire strong.

IX

Why is Moscow arming? Certainly not for military parades. What induces her to put immense amounts of money into weapons, thus depriving the consumer sector and aggravating economic difficulties? Why does she require the

captive nations to do without elementary consumer goods and impose on them prolonged military service? To what purpose is this enormous effort directed? Against whom is the Russian empire arming?

Neither the European countries in NATO nor the US have any aggressive intentions. China is not situated in Europe, and is, at any rate militarily unable to wage a preventive war against the Russian empire.

A preventive war by the Russian imperialists against China is possible; its object would be to institute a pro-Russian satellite government there. However, such a war can only be waged by supporting an internal anti-Maoist revolt of a new Lin Piao or Liu Shao-chi. The sole way to wage war against China is: to support a palace revolt or through a civil war aimed at instituting a satellite government in Peking. Since Moscow is not prepared for this at the present time she is concentrating on increasing armaments in Europe, Hither Asia and the Indian Ocean. Lenin said: "Whoever has Berlin, has Germany, and whoever has Germany, has Europe."

The Vienna negotiations concerning the reduction of armed forces (MBFR) as well as the Helsinki agreement concerning "security" and "co-operation" are a deception aimed at the West. The re-opening of the Suez canal opens for the Russian Navy a path to the Indian Ocean, where it already controls numerous bridge piers. The Russian navy's presence in the Mediterranean Sea increases the danger not only for India but also for Africa and all of South-East Asia. The "oil-crisis" was decided upon at the end of 1972 in Bagdad, at the instigation of a Russian oil-expert, A. S. Dasokov, a KGB functionary, when he transmitted the "greetings" of the USSR government, of his Arabian hosts, together with a promise that "the Soviet Government would support the decisive struggle of Arabian oil against imperialism".

The Middle East crisis is increasing the strategy of economic and military struggle against the West (including the US) by Moscow, since the international agreement between Nixon and Brezhnev, concerning the so-called balance of power between the super-powers was concluded.

While Moscow verbally declares that it follows a policy of peaceful co-existence and détente, it is simultaneously arming without restraint, thus breaking its agreement with the US as to the "nuclear armaments balance". This has forced Washington to modify its nuclear strategy: Washington's declaration that nuclear retaliation or the advance of the nations within the USSR, resembles Hitler's extermination policy in Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia.

The US is driving the captive nations into the arms of Moscow, just as Hitler's policies did.

X

We have reached the conclusion that Washington's so-called policy of the balance of power between the super-powers is an anachronistic imitation of the Metternich-type alliance with the Tsarist despotic empire. As has become evident from the events in the Middle East, the "oil war", the events in Vietnam and around Portugal, and especially from the reinforced terror within the Russian empire, with respect to the captive nations, this policy has failed.

XI

We urge the governments of free nations to support the resolution of Senator Jackson of the US, requesting the right for the members of the enslaved nations in the USSR to be free to emigrate from the USSR, to support Congress Resolution 86-90 of December 17, 1959 dealing with the Captive Nations of the USSR and the satellite countries and their right to national independence.

We further appeal to the governments of the Free World to abstain from negotiations at conferences with the Russian imperialists, who practice genocide and to break any economic and technological co-operation with them.

We urge the Churches of the Free World to abandon any co-operation with Moscow and other atheist Communist tyrannical governments and seek ecumenical ties not with the Kremlin Church, but with the persecuted underground Churches.

We finally appeal to the intellectual circles of the free nations, especially the Nobel Prize laureates, to defend all politically persecuted and imprisoned in the USSR and the satellite countries and all countries subject to Communism, since those persecuted defend the most precious right of independence of nations and human freedom. We ask them to suggest Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years imprisonment and severe tortures for daring to speak and write in defense of national, religious and human values, as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

9th WACL Conference

The ninth annual world Anti-Communist League General Conference was held jointly with the twenty-second Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League General Conference in Seoul, May 1-4, 1976. The Youth Conference (WYACL) was convened concurrently on May 1-2. These conferences were organized by Dr. Ben C. Limb, Chairman of the host WACL/APACL Korea Chapter.

About 300 representatives from 69 countries and 26 organizations gathered at the National Assembly building in the capital city of the Republic of Korea and for five days exchanged ideas, experiences and observations regarding the present world situation as well as the Communist subversive activities and infiltration throughout the world.

It is very significant that this Conference was held in the Republic of Korea who had actual experience with direct Communist aggression from the north and who is facing the threat of military invasion at any moment.

The WACL (World Anti-Communist League), a comprehensive non-government international organization, was established in 1966 at the 12th APACL Conference held in Seoul, Korea. It is an organization of freedom-loving people all over the world dedicated to the cause of human dignity, peace, and democracy based on justice, self-determination, and independence of nations.

Dr. Ben C. Limb, Chairman of the Korea Chapter of WACL, was elected WACL Council Chairman while Dr. Carlo Barbieri Filho, from

Sao Paulo, Brazil, was the outgoing WACL Chairman. The other League officials are Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman from the Republic of China, and Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez, WACL Counselor, from Philippines.

Dr. Woo, Yal Seuny is Secretary-General of WACL

There are five regional organizations and two regional representatives participating in the Conference. They are APACL (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League), CAL (Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation), MESC (Middle East Solidarity Council), NARWACL (North American Regional WACL Organization) and ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), while Europe and Africa are sending regional representatives along with delegations from every national chapters and international organizations.

The theme of the Conference was "National Freedom against International Communism" and the aim of this Conference was to strengthen solidarity among peace-loving nations in order to protect and preserve freedom from Communist aggression.

Each regional organization presented a report on political situation and evaluation of the Communist infiltration and subversive activities in the respective region. Congressman John M. Murphy of the United States, Sen. Alvaro Gomez Hurtado from Colombia, and Hon. Sabit Osman Avci, former speaker of Turkish Parliament were invited to speak at the Conference as honorable guest speakers.

In order to discuss the serious threat of Communist subversion and aggression and to seek the ways and means of appropriate anti-Communist counter-measures, committee meetings were organized to study the following topics: 1. Behind the Iron Curtain: Communist Political, Economic and Social Weakness — main speaker from Ukraine. 2. Communist United Front Tactics and Psychological Warfare. 3. Détente Policy; Is Détente Dead? 4. Communist Threats to the World and How to Combat Them. 5. Promotion of APACL and its Activities. 6. Promotion of WACL and its Activities.

This international meeting dealt with important issues which are seriously affecting the present day world and the outcome of these deliberations will directly affect not only the Anti-Communist struggle of the Asian peoples but will also have a direct bearing on the security stability and prosperity of the entire Free World.

At the conference delegations from ABN, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania and Croatia will be present.

Anna Romanyshyn, M. A.

Soviet Russian Imperialism in Turkestan

(Part V)

This principle was one that the leaders of OUN-UPA made every effort to translate into practice. Thus they attempted first of all to win over from the Germans their foreign volunteers. At the beginning of 1943, the High Command of the UPA addressed a series of appeals to those foreign volunteers as well as to the soldiers mobilized into the Red Army, especially to those of non-Russian origin. Of the many appeals circulated in the form of leaflets among these troops there were texts specifically directed to soldiers of every nationality involved, written in their own languages, as well as in Russian, and in Ukrainian. One such appeal, dated June 1943, "To the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Tadjiks, Bashkirs, Tartars, people of Ural, Volga and Siberia, peoples of Asia" was distributed on both sides of the front line among the "volunteers" in the German army and soldiers of non-Russian origin serving in the Red Army.¹⁰¹⁾ Another appeal directed specifically "To the volunteers in the German armed forces" was dated September 1943.¹⁰²⁾

Although the information available in this case is again scant, Caroe reports that some three thousand Turkestani's deserted from the German forces, and that of these some eight hundred were in the Eastern Front who had joined **anti-Soviet partisans**.¹⁰³⁾ Many others must have deserted from the Red Army as well, since at the height of the struggle UPA commanded up to fifteen foreign batallions. It is significant that the first of these was composed of Uzbek personnel which was organized by the middle of 1943 of former Red Army soldiers and officers.

¹⁰¹⁾ For text see Appendix 2.

¹⁰²⁾ For text see Appendix 3.

¹⁰³⁾ Caroe, p. 250.

Its commander was Major Tashkenta who was captured and shot by the Russians in March, 1944. The other units were Tajik, Turkmen, Azerbaidzani, Tartar, Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian and others.¹⁰¹⁾

The OUN-UPA did not stop there, and on November 21-22, 1943, they called the "First Conference of the Captive Nations of East Europe and Asia" which was held in the forest of Zhytomyr, Central Ukraine. Twelve nationalities were represented at the conference: five Ukrainians, **six Turkestani** (five Uzbeks and one Kazakh), six Azerbaidzani's, two Tartars, five Georgians, four Armenians, two Byelorussians, two Ossetians, one Kabardinian, one Cherkassian, one Bashkirian, one Chuvashian. The Conference decided to set up a "National Committee of the Captive Nations" which would co-ordinate the revolutionary struggle of these peoples.¹⁰⁵⁾ One of the main resolutions adopted at the end of the Conference was a reiteration of the principles already laid down by the OUN: war on both fronts against Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, and self-determination according to the ethnic principle (see footnote ¹⁰⁰⁾). But what is very important here is to note that the Committee decided that **the national units of the UPA should return to their home territories and expand into national insurgent forces.**

¹⁰¹⁾ Enrique Martinez Codo, *Guerrillas tras la Cortina de Hierro (Guerrillas behind the Iron Curtain)*, Buenos Aires, 1966, pp. 185-6; also Peter Mirchuk, *Ukrainian Povstanska Armia 1942-1952. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army)*, Munich, 1953, pp. 249-250, et al.

¹⁰⁵⁾ This Committee evolved into the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which is active to the present day.

These resolutions were approved and signed by all the heads of the various delegations, Shimrat (Uzbek) and Dezhkman (Kazakh) signed on behalf of the Turkestan. Also, a series of appeals were issued to the population at large and to the foreign troops with the German army.¹⁰⁶⁾ Although it is hard to assess the direct effect that the decision to send these national units back to their own territories may have had on the different national liberation movements and guerrilla activities that were plaguing the USSR during the war and in the post World War II years, it seems that this move enjoyed a measure of success as we are willing to relate it to certain events and to Soviet reaction to them. Thus, as far as Turkestan is concerned, the existence of "Turkestan's Insurgent Forces" under the command of Usman Batur (1940-51) has already been discussed in connection with the Basmachi movement. Baymirza Hayit also reported that great numbers of Turkestani deserters from the Red Army and draft-dodgers were escaping into the mountains and steppe regions of Turkestan joining or organizing guerrilla units which were operating in detachments composed of three to ten men each.¹⁰⁷⁾

In connection with this situation, it is interesting to note that during the war the Russians deported **en masse** seven nationalities from their national territories and dispersed them in Siberia and Central Asia for alleged co-operation with the Germans.¹⁰⁸⁾ Among those peo-

¹⁰⁶⁾ *Anty Bolshevits'kij Blok Narodiv Zbirka Dokumentiv 1941-1956*, (n. p., 1956) pp. 16-26. For brief reference see also Gaucher, p. 359.

¹⁰⁷⁾ Hayit, Turkestan, p. 346.

¹⁰⁸⁾ Robert Conquest, *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice*, pp. 102-108; and *The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities*, New York, 1960. The Ukrainians were spared a similar fate because there were "too many of them" once stated Khrushchev. ("Secret Speech", 24-25 February, 1956).

ples were Crimean Tartars who also had their national units in the UPA, and were deported in June 1944. A decree issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet permits a glimpse at the situation in Soviet held territory, and tells how the Tartar question (and that of other unreliable nationalities) was solved and what were the reasons given for such a solution:

During the Great Patriotic war, when the peoples of the USSR were heroically defending the honour and independence of the Fatherland in the struggle against the German-Fascist invaders, many Chechens and Crimean Tartars, at the **instigation of German agents joined volunteer units organized by the Germans, and with German troops engaged in armed struggle against units of the Red Army**; also at the bidding of the Germans they formed **diversionary bands for a struggle against Soviet authority in the rear**; meanwhile the main population of the Chechen-Ingush and Crimean ASSR's took **no counter-action** against the betrayers of the Fatherland. In connection with this, the Chechens and the Crimean Tartars were resettled in other regions of the USSR. (Italics added)¹⁰⁹⁾

In the light of the above it seems safe to assume that at least some of these UPA foreign units managed¹¹⁰⁾

¹⁰⁹⁾ *Izvestia*, June 26, 1946.

¹¹⁰⁾ This is quite plausible in the light of some typical raids of UPA units which as late as in 1947 fought their way through to the west in order to establish lines of communication and to carry out propaganda assignments. Thus, on September 11, 1947, a detachment of thirty-six men presented itself in Wildenranna near Passau (American zone of Germany), other units of UPA broke through the Iron Curtain near Ravensberg Bernhardsthal (Austro-Czechoslovak border). The raids continued through thousands of kilometres of Communist held territory until 1948,

reach their national territories, including Turkestan, and at least reinforce the existing resistance movements.

Outbursts of armed opposition to Moscow do not seem to have subsided even in recent times — twenty-six years after World War II ended. Even the Soviet press quite often yields indirect confirmations of such events, and shows great concern about resurgence of "banditry" and the necessity of putting a stop to it. Although undoubtedly many of the offenses are committed by ordinary outlaws, the authorities, having declared beforehand all its political enemies as common criminals, tend to make banditry the apparent source of the attacks on the regime and its representatives. Thus, when the attorney general of Tadjikistan spoke of criminal acts committed by recently amnestied offenders there was some uncertainty as to the exact nature of these offenders. It was not clear whether these persons were former politicals or former criminals. And when the prosecutor chastised the militia and other institutions for their passivity, Gaucher asks whether this cannot be interpreted as sympathy of the militia for compatriots who engaged in guerilla activities.¹¹¹⁾

On October 3 to 8, 1959, the campaign for the reclamation of virgin land led to a rising in the little town of Tamir-Tan near Karaganda in Kazakhstan. Of the 3,000 young workers, mostly Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Turkestani that took part in the revolt (the immediate cause was the deplorable material conditions imposed on them), one half were either injured, or killed in street combats against the militia and

bringing the number of those special UPA troopers who reached the West to 400 fully equipped men carrying with them large amounts of documents and informative material. (Codó, p. 99, et al.)

¹¹¹⁾ *Kommunist Tadjikistana*, January 5, 1956. Cited and commented by Gaucher, p. 446.

KGB troops brought from Alma-Ata to put down the uprising. After the incident, purges took place and a number of leading and lesser officials of the Kazakh SSR were removed from their posts. The Soviet press obviously made no mention of these events; there were only hints and accusations. Thus at the Kazakh Party Congress on March 10, 1960, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party, Kunaev, said in a speech that:

We must draw appropriate conclusions from the disorders which took place last year on the site of the metallurgical plant of Karaganda, caused by the careless attitude of the management toward the requirements of the workers.¹¹²⁾

It is also believed that armed units operated in Kazakhstan in 1960, attacking supply depots and liquidating KGB men.¹¹³⁾

In July 1963, *Izvestia* reported cases of arson committed in Uralsk, Western Kazakhstan. The paper also reported that at the same time the "activist's home" in the Kolhoz "Hammer and Sickle" at Shulinsk in the Tambov district was set on fire, and the house of Abakumov, the Kolhoz head, was bombed.¹¹⁴⁾

Pravda Vostoka (No. 56, 1964) carried news of the arrest of the Turkestanian Amirkhan Gumenzov near the Katakurkhan railway station. When the man was asked to prove his identity he opened fire on the militiamen. Although Gumenzov was officially listed as a "black marketeer" — a widely spread profession in the USSR — it is doubtful that a petty dealer of this na-

¹¹²⁾ S. Dovhal "Rebellion of Young People in Temir-Tan", *Problems of the Peoples of USSR*, No. 6, 1960, pp. 31-35. News of the revolt was brought by persons repatriated to Poland, Greece, Bulgaria, Austria and Germany.

¹¹³⁾ Gaucher, p. 451.

¹¹⁴⁾ Cited in *ABN Correspondence*, XVI, No. 2 (April-May, 1965), p. 466.

ture would attempt to shoot down militiamen, an offense that carries the death penalty. Somewhat later the same newspaper (No. 108, 1964) complained that in Tashkent, explosives had been laid under the State Theatre on April 30th, and other buildings on May 1st. Three explosions went off, and an Uzbek by the name of Kuzaev was arrested. It seems obvious that the men wanted to blow up the theatre where on May 1st, meetings and festivities were held by various Soviet organizations. The other two attacks in the capital of Uzbekistan also seem to have had an anti-Soviet flair.¹¹⁵⁾

On March 25, 1965, *Pravda Vostoka* carried the following obituary notice:

The leadership and the public institutions of the Ministry for the Preservation of Public Order of the Uzbek SSR regret to announce the tragic death **on the field of battle** (italics added) of their co-worker Botyr Rasyhtov and wish to express to the family of the deceased their deepest sympathy.

Beneath this notice, there is no explanation at all in what circumstances Rasyhtov died "on the field of battle". The Soviet press also throws some light on the fact that the population¹¹⁶⁾ endeavours to arm itself by different means at their disposal. The people obtain their weapons by stealing them from state arsenals, by making them themselves, by illegally purchasing them in the state depots and by disarming representatives of Soviet authorities or troops (as it happened during the revolt in Temir-Tan). In connection with this newspaper *Zaria Vostoka* had been alarmed since September 1962, that the state armament factories in the Uzbek SSR have been sell-

ing a fairly large number of hunting guns and small calibre rifles to persons who have no permits for such purchases. "Only two months ago", complained the newspaper, "71 small calibre rifles were sold to persons who had no permits from the militia".¹¹⁷⁾ The possession of fire arms by the citizenry in a country where the political atmosphere is stable would pose no problems of great concern to the government. But in the Soviet Union an armed multinational population with a long list of political and economic grievances is quite a dangerous situation for the regime to handle. A similar view was voiced by the chief of Georgian KGB, A. N. Inauri, who reported in *Zaria Vostoka* (February 1, 1965) that the confiscation of weapons which the citizens keep in their houses without permits, seem to be extremely important and absolutely necessary for the **prevention of serious political crimes**.¹¹⁸⁾

Finally, the strikes and revolts of the millions of inmates in the concentration camps, although they constitute a separate chapter in the history of the USSR, are a projection of the same driving force that once motivated their struggle on the other side of the barbed wire. In the camps, however, representatives of all of those forces for a common cause, and the battles were waged effectively because they were led and fought by men who had already fought them outside the camps: members of the OUN-UPA, former Basmachis, members of the various national liberation and guerrilla movements (prominently the Balts) and imprisoned former Red Army soldiers. Although the list of the known insurrections in the camps is long the information is incomplete because of the curtain of silence imposed by Moscow.

Already as early as 1946 insurrection broke out at Kolyma; in 1947 at Karaganda and Ust-Vym; in 1948 in the camps of Pechora.

¹¹⁵⁾ Cited in *ibid.*, p. 49.

¹¹⁶⁾ Cited in ABN Correspondence, XVI, No. 5 (Nov. - Dec. 1965) p. 59.

¹¹⁷⁾ Cited in ABN Correspondence, XVI, No. 2 (April-May, 1965) p. 48.

¹¹⁸⁾ Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

1950: Revolt at Salekhard, near Vorkuta — Strike in camp 015 for women in Taishet;

1951: Strike at Kolyma camps — Rebellion at Dzhehekazgan (in the Karaganda region) — Rebellion at Karaganda;

1952: Strikes and insurrection at Karaganda;

1953: Strikes and insurrection at Norilsk;

1954: Great insurrection of Kinghir (up to eight hundred prisoners died, among them five hundred Ukrainian women were crushed under the MVD tanks as these rolled over the human barricade).

— In other camps, in Kazakhstan, in Karagash (forty thousand strikers), Itma, Kolyma, Krasnoyarsk, and Taishet.

1955: New strikes at Vorkuta and at Solikamsk in the Urals. And in the Far East in Magadan, Kharbin, etc.

1956: Strikes and disorders in the camps for Japanese and Chinese near Taishet. — Insurrection in Krasnoyarsk and Tomsk.

1957: Strikes in the camps near Vladivostok, Chelabinsk, and Sverdlovsk. etc.¹¹⁹⁾

Although it is difficult at the present time to determine what was exactly the role of each nationality and the Turkestani in particular in these various strikes and insurrections in the camps due to lack of pertinent material and documents and because of the international character of the camp population, it is certain that the Turkestani must have played not an insignificant part,¹²⁰⁾ especially if we keep in mind

¹¹⁹⁾ For an extensive account on this subject consult Gaucher, chapter 23, "Strikes and Revolts in the camps" pp. 396-424. W. Kosyk, **Concentration Camps in the USSR**, London, 1962, et al.

¹²⁰⁾ For national composition of prisoners see David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nikolaevski, **Forced Labour in Soviet Russia** (New Haven, 1947) p. 5, etc.

that many of the camps and penal colonies were and still are located in Soviet Central Asia.

In the present state of affairs and when considered out of context revolts seem to be circumscribed, and they are doomed an important place in the vast and long process of the open struggle against Moscow. Decades of open struggle on both sides of the barbed wire fence has set dangerous precedents and it has conditioned the collective mind of the various nationalities for new confrontations not only in armed form but also through other means and in other walks of life as well. The steady rise of nationalism in the cultural, political and economic spheres among the non-Russian peoples in the USSR in the post World War II period is quite evident.

More than half a century of Russian-Soviet presence in Turkestan is riddled with bloody fighting, unprecedented ordeals for the population — famine, purges, mass executions and deportations — which cost the Turkestani millions of deaths. And all of this was required by Moscow in an attempt to shatter an inestimable resistance the magnitude of which, unfortunately, we cannot properly assess at the present.

But in spite of human and material losses the **tradition of a continuous struggle** for a national self-assertion has been created and firmly established. Togan, in his concluding remarks refers to this tradition of continuous struggle as "**The tide** (italics added) that will bring with it either liberation — or disappearance from the pages of history. Never has anyone been able to force a religion or course of action on the Turks. A nation has its own idealism and its own romance. Life moves forward and nothing can prevent a nation from developing."¹²¹⁾

(To be continued)

¹²¹⁾ Cited by Caroe, p. 268.

World Anti-Communist League

"ANTICOMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

Under the difficult circumstances our world faces, due to the advances of Communism and its allies, and to the cynical position adopted by certain people who once promised to defend our free world, it is a pleasure for this Chairmanship of the World Anticommunist League to announce that 50 priests and bishops of the Brazilian Catholic Church have published "Anticommunist Manifesto" in the different national newspapers.

The Manifesto, besides condemning Communism as the "earthly manifestation of Lucifer's rebellion", constitutes an alert against Marxist infiltration within the Catholic Church and other areas.

They clarify that the religious field, as Lenin announced it once, forms part of a global Communist strategy to achieve world power. Under these circumstances, the religious people cannot continue in silence, when they see that certain ecclesiastical authorities support subversion and facilitate the way for Communist takeover.

"In the last years, the efforts of international Communism to conquer the nations still free, are so evident that no observer can deny them. To achieve their objectives, they try to destroy all barriers on their way, and their chief weapons are terrorism, defamation and slander. Recently, authorized voices have denounced Communist infiltration in our country. In spite of the calumnies against Brazil and against Chile, promoted by Communist propaganda, the vigilant attitude of our patriotic and glorious Armed Forces, has avoided Communist danger and guaranteed for all Brazilians, the place and order subversives intend to disturb", the document states.

This Manifesto appears especially important at this moment, when we see in every nation that irresponsible Catholics try to destroy the religious feeling of the people, guiding it towards a political spirit of destruction, allied with international Communism.

What is more amazing than hearing the Archbishop of Saigon, Mons. Nguyen Van Binh condemning as "reactionaries and uncongenial with the Christian faith" a group of Southvietnamese who continue fighting to reconquer their country invaded by the Communist forces.

Under these circumstances, the World Anticommunist League must express its solidarity with these priests and inform every nation that there are voices who still represent the spirit of Christ.

We urge all World Anticommunist League members to inform their chapters and organize similar groups in every country, protesting against those who wish to destroy the true mission of religion in the World.



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UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine

Issue IV

*Containing details on the trial of Valentyn Moroz and the
brutal murder of Alla Horska, unpublished poems by Vasyl
Symonenko and news of repressions against the Ukrainian
intellectuals. Poetry translated by Vera Rich.*

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Bonds for 100 karbovantsi (Ukrainian currency) in aid of the Ukrainian Liberation struggle, printed in red and black, the colours of Ukrainian Revolutionaries, first distributed in Ukraine, in 1959 on the Xth Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence on June 30th 1941.

The text in Ukrainian reads: "For a Ukrainian Independent United State", "Freedom for Nations", "Freedom for Individuals" and "On the Anniversary of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence". On two flags are visible "tridents" — the Ukrainian national emblem, and on the third flag the emblem of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Ukraine's Undying Spirit Of Liberty

The Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence
on 30th June, 1941

The Ukrainian Nation numbering 50 million people and inhabiting the fertile plain north of the Black Sea, rich in mineral resources, has for over two centuries suffered the worst kind of colonial exploitation and oppression known to European history, at the hands of imperialist Russia. Despite bitter persecutions and numerous obstacles placed in its way, a cultural and political revival in Ukraine took place in the 19th century. When the 1917 Revolution broke out in the Tsarist Russian Empire the Ukrainians at once set up their own Government and proclaimed Ukraine an independent country in a solemn declaration by the Ukrainian Parliament, on 22nd January, 1918. Ukraine's independence was recognized *de jure* by the Central Powers and *de facto* by Britain, France and many other nations. All the Ukrainian people wanted was to live in freedom and peace as equals with all their neighbours.

However, the new totalitarian Russian Empire restored by means of deceit, terror and violence by the Communist (Bolshevik) Russian Party led by Lenin, launched an aggressive war against Ukraine in order to rob the Ukrainians of their land and the products of their labour and to transform them into dumb serfs of Red Moscow. After a three-year war of independence, the Ukrainian Army commanded by Simon Petlura was defeated. The Ukrainians, however, did not give up their fight, and resistance groups continued to wage an underground struggle against the foreign occupation powers. The most famous among these underground freedom fighters were members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) led by Stepan Bandera. This Organization has sworn to fight to the death to free Ukraine from Moscow's clutches.

When the Russian-German war broke out in June, 1941, the OUN utilized the unsettled conditions of the war between Hitler and Stalin to make a bid for Ukraine's independence. On June 30th, 1941, Ukrainian underground fighters occupied strategic points in the capital of West Ukraine, Lviv. A representative assembly of the most prominent Ukrainian leaders from all walks of life issued a Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence which was broadcast over the Lviv radio to the entire world. A Provisional Government was appointed from representatives of various political parties. A prominent OUN leader, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, became Prime Minister in the Provisional Government which was to function until the capital of Ukraine Kyiv (Kiev) was freed and proper elections could be held. The Proclamation received enthusiastic support of the Ukrainian people.

The Germans, whose armies were invading Ukraine, refused to recognize Ukraine's independence and issued an ultimatum demanding immediate cancellation of the Proclamation of Ukraine's Independence and the disbandment of the Government. When the Ukrainians refused to comply, Gestapo reprisals ensued. Government members, including Mr. Stetsko, were arrested and thrown into concentration camps, where some of them were murdered. Many Ukrainian patriots were shot and hanged by the German Nazis. Bandera and Stetsko came out of the German concentration camps towards the end of the war.

In response to the brutal German policy in Ukraine Ukrainian resistance stiffened, and a Ukrainian Insurgent Army commanded by General Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych) came into existence. When Hitler's armies retreated from Ukraine and the Communist Russian occupation troops returned, the Russian security forces began inhuman mass reprisals against the entire Ukrainian Nation. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army now turned its weapons against Moscow. And though in 1950 General Chuprynka was killed in action, and the large-scale military struggle against the overwhelming forces of the enemy could not be continued Ukrainian resistance still goes on in various forms until this day.

Today a new generation of fighters have become standard-bearers in the fight for an Independent Ukrainian State. Their tactics are various, ranging from outright opposition to revolutionary acts, and in this way they continue the struggle for the ideals proclaimed on 22 January 1918 and 30th June 1941.



Committee I listening to Mr. Stetsko's speech on the "Crisis Behind the Iron Curtain".

(World Anti-Communist League Conference, Seoul, Korea 1-3 May, 1976)

Mr. Donald Martin (Great Britain) presiding the Committee.

Korean People Working For National Security

Dr. Limb Byeong-chik, delegates to the Seoul Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Your attendance at this dinner this evening is very much appreciated.

First, I would like to extend my heartfelt welcome to those delegates who have come to Korea from various parts of the world to take part in the Ninth General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League.

You are considered most honored guests by the people of Korea, who traditionally spare no hospitality toward guests, especially those who have come a long way.

This is all the more so because we are pursuing common objectives and ideals, and because we can come to a firm mutual understanding by exchanging frank opinions.

The Koreans, who are solidly united in their determination to repel Communist aggression and to safeguard freedom and democracy, are certainly among those peoples who well know the reality and true nature of Communism.

In some countries which have experienced no Communist aggression, and which face little or no such threat, there seems to be a tendency among some people to regard Communism from the conceptual point of view only, holding Communism merely as a system opposed to capitalism in terms of economics.

But, I am sure you will agree, that the fact cannot be denied, that Communism brings about the destruction of human values once it emerges as a political reality .

The Russian author in exile, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, has even suggested the use of the term "anti-humanism" in place of "Communism".

The anti-humanism of the Communists has been clearly evidenced in their massacre of our innocent citizens during the Korean War, and more lately in Indochina. It was also shown in the case of the south-north dialogue in Korea.

At the South-North Red Cross Conference, the Republic of Korea made a set of realistically feasible proposals without any political taint such as exchange of information on the fate of separated families for eventual reunion only to have these rejected by the north Korean Communists.

In fact, they themselves have exposed the fact that they are never interested in the settlement of any humanitarian question such as reunion

of long separated families, but that the only thing they are after is to manipulate the dialogue for their own political purposes.

Through the tragedy of the Korean War, we have vividly experienced the anti-humanism of the north Korean Communists. For a quarter century thereafter, we have been under increasing threat of aggression and suffered innumerable provocations from them.

All of our people have united firmly with one another under the leadership of President Park Chung Hee in repelling provocations from the north Korean Communists, and thereby maintaining peace on the Korean peninsula.

In the course of overcoming such challenges and trials, we have realized clearly that we cannot neglect our vigilance, especially when our opponents begin to pay deceptive lip service to peace.

It goes without saying that the way to resist Communist aggression is through strength.

Therefore, there is no choice for us but to build up our national power, including economic construction, to an extent where they cannot look down upon us. In other words, what is most important is prevention of war and maintenance of a peace buttressed by power.

I believe you have had a chance to observe the Korean people who, armed with firm anti-Communist spirit, have been working hard in concerted endeavors for the safeguarding and development of freedom, democracy and the decent life which we are enjoying today.

You are aware of, and have experienced, the true nature of Communism more clearly than others. To exchange your experiences and promote mutual cooperation constitutes an important means for furtherance of the capability of the Free Peoples of the World. In this respect, I am confident that the Seoul conference has served as an impetus further to strengthen the unity among Free World Peoples, and to consolidate the ties existing in the Free World Society.

For this reason, I highly value the significance and achievements of the conference. This time in Korea happens to be the best seasons of the year. Whenever I catch sight of people enjoying outdoor activities together in fields or parks, I come to feel one thing invariably: we have the responsibility to hand down the human dignity and value of a decent life to our children and posterity.

Distinguished Delegates:

Your scheduled stay in Korea is short. But I hope that you will spare as much time as possible to witness the scenes of our Korean people accomplishing the heavy tasks of working for national security, on the one hand, and economic construction, on the other — in cities, rural areas and factories. I also hope that you will have an enjoyable time during the rest of your stay.

At Dinner given in honor of WACL delegates on May 3, 1976 Seoul, Korea.

The Crisis of Communism Behind the Iron Curtain

There exists a paradoxical situation in the World Communist Movement: on one hand, the Communist parties in the free world (Italy, France) and in some African countries (Angola) become stronger, while on the other hand, the parties behind the Iron Curtain are undergoing a crisis both ideologically and economically. This situation might, in the future, create a need for the formerly subjugated nations to come to the aid of the Western nations who are now in jeopardy of becoming part of the Communist empire.

What are the reasons for the crisis of the Communist parties in the subjugated nations and how can those nations take advantage of these problems?

The first and most important reason for the crisis is the fact that the Communist system is not an organic development in the life of the subjugated nations. It did not come into being through democratic elections or through victory in civil wars. None of the nations of the Soviet Union (Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Azerbaidjan, etc.) nor any of the satellite countries chose the Communist system: it was imposed upon them by the force of Russian arms. Between the 1920s and the late 1940s the Russian armies marched through Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and many others. Although theoretically those armies marched in the name of a new political and ideological system, in fact they marched in the name of Russian imperialism. Lenin's Bolshevism was nothing more than Imperial Russia's messianic ideology under a different guise. The slogans of Orthodoxy and Panslavism were replaced with the slogans of a world proletarian revolu-

tion and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Marxism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels was adapted by Lenin to indigenous Russian conditions; Marxism in its original form was not to be applied to an agricultural, non-industrial country such as Russia but to highly advanced states of Western Europe. It is well-known that Marx had an intense dislike of Russia and his opinions on this subject¹⁾ were very significant: "Russia, true to her system of cheating and petty tricks, now plays upon the credulity of the Western world..."²⁾ "But having come thus far in the way to universal empire, is it probable that this gigantic and swollen Power will pause in its career? Circumstances, if not her own will, forbid it... The broken and undulating western frontier of the empire, ill-defined in respect to naturel boundaries, would call for rectification; and it would appear that the natural frontier of Russia runs from Danzig, or perhaps Stettin, to Trieste. And as sure as conquest follows conquest, and annexation follows annexation, so sure would the conquest of Turkey by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia, and for the ultimate realization of the Slavonic Empire which certain fanatical Panslavistic philosophers have dreamed of..."³⁾ One begins to believe in the old French proverb: plus ça change plus c'est la même chose.

¹⁾ Marx vs. Russia (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1962). This is a collection of articles contributed by Marx to the *New York (Daily) Tribune* between March 1853 and April 1856. Of course it is not available in the Soviet Union and is not widely known in the West.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 39

³⁾ *Ibid.* 12.

The above quotations from Marx's works and the events of the past sixty years lead one to realize that the most important reason for the crisis the Communist system is undergoing in Eastern Europe and Soviet-Asia is the fact that it is nothing more than a disguised form of Russian colonialism and imperialism. The imperialism of other great powers — England, France, Spain — was motivated by military, strategic, economic, cultural or religious reasons. This new version of Russian imperialism, however, is motivated by a desire to totally absorb and annihilate the nations and peoples that it enslaves; it attempts to force upon them its own system of thought, its own outlook on life, its philosophy, its culture. In short, it wants to destroy everything that has been part of a nation for thousands of years and remake that nation into its own image.

At the present time, when throughout the entire world colonial empires are being dissolved, the subjugated nations of this most tyrannical empire are beginning to realize that the process of the dissolution of empires will not stop and should not stop on the borders of the USSR. These nations know that since the end of World War II nationalism has become one of the most powerful forces in the world and that its strength is beginning to be felt within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. The clash between nationalism and imperialism in the USSR and satellite countries is another reason for the current crisis of the Communist system. The Russian ruling elite is trying to prevent any growth of national consciousness and thus minimize a clash between those two ideologies by proclaiming the birth of a new, unprecedented historical phenomenon: **the Soviet people**. In reality this means nothing more than the melting of all nationalities in Eastern Europe and Soviet-Asia into one Russian nation, using one Russian language, observing Russian traditions. The international

flavor of the slogan "one Soviet people" is nothing more than a disguise for the forcible integration of non-Russians with Russians. However, the subjugated nations cannot be deceived, for it is obvious that their very existence is being denied, their rights as sovereign states are being negated and their national identity is being destroyed. How can the Soviet-Russian government defend the right to nationhood in Angola while denying that same right to the Soviet republics and the satellites? How can the Soviet-Russian government defend the right to sovereignty in Uganda while denying the same right to the Soviet republics and the satellites? It is this conflict between the national aspirations of the subjugated nations and the attempt at their forcible annihilation by Communism that heralds the coming downfall of the Communist-Russian system; for nations are a natural phenomenon that has existed for many centuries or millennia and even after long years of subjugation this primeval force will triumph, as the people will try to wrestle back their national identity from total annihilation. One must remember that statistically the ratio of the population of subjugated nations to the indigenous Russians is 2:1 and that in any potential conflict the Russians will be outnumbered through the coordinated efforts of the various nations.

Another very important reason that contributes much to the crisis of the Communist system behind the Iron Curtain is economics. The principle of private ownership, economic freedom, an incentive to work are inherent to every nation. The system that negates all these principles cannot grow and prosper economically. Every peasant wants his own piece of land and every worker needs an incentive to produce. In the Communist system, where state capitalism is rampant and where the state owns and controls all the means of production, the economic disaster is obvious: grain production for 1975 was

35 % less than planned and needed by the Soviet Union; the sector devoted to consumer goods produces little and most of it of extremely poor quality; the black market in moonshine, lipstick, clothing, synthetics and other goods is thriving. Why should a worker do more than he has to do? A barber will earn the same amount of money whether he gives twenty haircuts or one. Why should a peasant do more than he has to do? He will have nothing to show for it anyway. The people know that they and their respective homelands are being exploited; they know that most of the natural resources are exported and sold overseas, that they are forced to work in an economic system that gives no rewards and emphasizes only heavy industry and the production of armaments.

Another factor that contributes to the current problems within the Communist system is the crisis of the Communist elite, which is selfish, degenerate and morally corrupt. Instead of creating a classless society Russian Communism has created "the new ruling class" which exploits the workers and peasants. The people of the subjugated nations and the Russians themselves have long ago realized that Communism has not brought liberation from exploitation, but only a change in masters, who, to remain in power, have to resort to genocide and ethnocide. This naked drive to power, this willingness to do anything to retain it, the debasement of people to the level of animals, the destruction of all things decent, moral and human, are all factors that contribute to the crisis. A system of government that reduces people to the level of cogs or robots, treats them only as another means of production and brutalizes them, is indeed in an extreme state of crisis.

There is no doubt in the mind of any intelligent and cultivated person that there exists a crisis in the Communist system behind the Iron Curtain, but how can we and the subjugated peoples

living under that system take advantage of this crisis?

In my speech at the WACL Conference in Washington in 1974 I presented facts about the miraculous renaissance that is taking place among the people of the subjugated nations, especially among the youth. There is a growing belief in the primacy of the nation, in the necessity of the creation of an independent state, in social justice for all members of the society, in the dignity of the human being, in the importance of traditions and continuity of history, in the concepts of honor, freedom of thought, religion and speech. Above all there is an all-pervasive belief that there is an alternative to the Communist system and that such alternative is nationalism. The stronger the repressions on the part of the ruling Russian nation are the stronger and firmer become the beliefs of the subjugated nations. Since the end of World War II we have seen opposition to the system grow: the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the guerrilla resistance in Lithuania, the revolts in the concentration camps in the years 1953-1959, the revolts in Novocherkask, Vorkuta, Dnipropetrovsk, the mass student demonstrations in Kyiv, Odessa, Kaunas, Tiflis, the revolutions in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the more and more frequent protests from among the political and religious prisoners that languish in the concentration camps, the phenomenon of "underground literature" that brings to the West knowledge about the inhumanity of the Soviet-Russian system. All these forms of opposition clearly show that the conflict between Russian Communism and nationalism of the non-Russian peoples behind the Iron Curtain is growing and that soon that conflict will come to a head. The most important part in this conflict will be played by a very vital component of the Russian Communist system — the armed forces. One cannot forget that the majority of the army, navy and air force belong to

the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union and that they have a feeling of national identity, no matter how dormant at the moment. When these patriotic and national feelings will be sufficiently aroused, then the day of final conflict will come not be helped Communist system will not be helped by nuclear weapons, mighty fleets or tanks.

What can we, who live in the free world, do to accelerate this conflict and make the liberation of the subjugated peoples a reality? First, we must show to the Western world the realities of the Russian Communist system, and second, we must, by all possible means, support the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and convince them that there is hope and that they can become the instruments of their own liberation.

The dissemination of facts about the realities of the Communist system has been accelerated within the last ten years. Through released or exiled political dissenters, the West has had an opportunity to get a glimpse at a system that surpasses Dante's Inferno. There is a gradual realization that the gulf between the empty phrases of the Soviet constitution and the reality of everyday life is so vast as to stun the mind; finally the existence of the labor camps, the incarcerations, the tortures, the confinements to insane asylums

are all being believed and have produced a revulsion towards the system on the part of all decent people. We must, at all cost, continue to bring this information to the West through newspaper articles, conferences, publications of underground material. We must make the peoples and the governments of the West realize that freedom and human dignity are not divisible and that the world cannot continue to exist half free and half slave.

We can show our support for the liberation movement that is growing behind the Iron Curtain arousing Western opinion as stated above. All this information from the free world is being somehow transmitted to the subjugated nations and they are fully aware of our support and struggle. They will not lose hope and will not give up the struggle as long as they feel that there are some people in the free world who understand them, share their ideals and will never abandon them.

Let us pray that one day the right to the self-determination and independence of nations, stipulated in the United Nations Charter will become a reality for the subjugated nations. But let us never forget that this right will not be granted by any United Nations resolutions, but will be wrested away from the Russian Communist totalitarian system through a prolonged and fierce struggle.



A group of delegates visiting the tunnels dug by North Korean Communists under the Demilitarized Zone into South Korea.

VALENTYN MOROZ

Transferred to Butyrka Prison

Valentyn Moroz, 40, is a Ukrainian historian serving a 14-year sentence for expressing his views and opinions. He was currently held in the Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow after nearly completing a 6-year term in prison No. 2 in Vladimir, 150 miles north-east of Moscow.

Moroz, born in Western Ukraine April 15, 1936 is the son of peasant parents. He studied at the University of Lviv and in 1958 began teaching history and geography at a secondary school. In 1964-65 he lectured modern history at the Pedagogical Institutes of Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk while completing his doctoral thesis.

First Imprisonment

Moroz was unable to defend his thesis. In September 1965 he was arrested on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" for possessing and circulating foreign and samvydav (unofficial) literature. In January 1966 he was sentenced at a show-trial to 4 years in hard-labor camps.

During his imprisonment in camps No. 1 and No. 11 in the Mordovian ASSR, Moroz wrote an essay entitled **Report from the Beria Reserve**, a stinging critique of the totalitarian and police state run by the KGB in which all individuality and creativity is stifled. A journalist, V. Chornovil, distributed the 'Report' to deputies of the Supreme Soviet. In autumn 1967, Moroz was transferred to testify at the trial of Chornovil and held in a KGB prison in Kyiv. There he was also investigated for his authorship of the 'Report'. Due to his lack of co-operation in the Chornovil case and inconclusive evidence in the investigation concerning the 'Report' Moroz was transferred to the maximum-security prison in Vladimir. He was released from there in September 1969.

Short-lived Freedom

Upon his release, Moroz could not find employment due to his record and poor physical condition. Unable to support his family, he was forced to rely on friends for assistance. During this period Moroz wrote a series of essays dealing with the deliberate destruction of the Ukrainian cultural heritage by advocates of the policy of "Russification", loss of national identity and subservience to official pressures and views. The essays prompted sharp polemics in Ukrainian intellectual circles, and while they were circulated in samvydav form, Moroz was continuously harassed by the KGB, threatened with arrest, and his residence was frequently searched.

Second Imprisonment

Nine months after his release, in June 1970, Moroz was again arrested on charges of conducting "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". This gave rise to loud protests by prominent Ukrainian intellectuals but he was nevertheless brought to trial in November 1970. Faced with a confused indictment based solely on his writings and dissident views, Moroz refused to testify demanding a trial open to the public. Other witnesses followed suit in protest to the closed trial and disregard of legality by the court. In an apparently predetermined verdict, Moroz was found to be an especially dangerous criminal and was sentenced to a sentence of unprecedented harshness in post-Stalinist times: 14 years imprisonment and exile. Moroz was once again brought to Vladimir prison.

Administrative Abuse and Persecution

The police apparatus, however, was not satisfied with a mere sentence and wanted to obtain a recantation from Moroz who was rapidly becoming a symbol. Moroz was placed in a cell with criminal inmates, and in June 1972 was assaulted and stabbed in the stomach, requiring months of hospitalization. He has suffered from chronic stomach ailments since this incident. In September 1972 he was transported to two prison hospitals in Ukraine in order to be questioned in connection with the trials of other intellectuals, at a time when he had not recovered from the stabbing. Between 1972 and 1974 he received numerous visits from KGB investigators and was often beaten by them and prison wardens as a result of his refusal to recant. Although he was confined to an isolation cell since 1973 information about beatings by wardens and inmates as late as January 1974 reached the West.

In protest over this treatment, Moroz declared a hunger strike in July, 1974 demanding transfer to a regular prison camp. After 5 months of fasting, Moroz was transferred from isolation to a regular cell in Vladimir and ended his hunger strike which had created world-wide interest in his case. But by January 1975 Moroz was again placed in a punitive cell and began to be threatened with psychiatric treatment. Just three weeks prior to his scheduled transfer to a labour camp, Moroz was transferred to the Serbsky Institute on May 10, 1976. He was then facing possible incarceration and "treatment" in psychiatric prison hospital, and after his "cure" or three years of forced labour, will not be able to return to Ukraine for another 5 years.

If Moroz survives, he will have spent more than a third of his life behind bars. Ironically, perhaps, freedom will come for Moroz — in 1984.

10:30 AM. MAY 18/76, MOSCOW. REUTERS CORRESPONDENT

Ukrainian historian V. Moroz has been moved to the Soviet Union's leading

institute of criminal psychiatry after spending nearly 6 years in jail, his wife said today.

Moroz, 39, was accused of Ukrainian nationalism and sentenced in 1979 to 6 years in prison, 3 years in labour camp and 5 years internal exile. He was due to complete his present term in Vladimir prison, east of Moscow, on June 6th.

Mrs. Raissa Moroz told western correspondents here that the office of the internal ministry medical service informed her today that her husband was transferred to the Moscow Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry. The Serbsky Institute has been frequently accused by dissidents of declaring critics of the regime to be insane and several prominent dissenters have passed through its door at various times.

The move could mean that Moroz, whose mental health was previously not questioned, could be moved to a psychiatric prison hospital instead of going to a labour camp which is considered more lenient than prison.

Mrs. Moroz told a press conference here that her husband last wrote to her from Vladimir in March. She came to Moscow yesterday from her hometown of Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine to find out where he was after being told earlier this month that he was in an unspecified medical institute.

L a t e s t I n f o r m a t i o n

Under the pressure of Mass protests by Ukrainian emigration and public opinion of the West, Moroz was recognized by Serbsky Institute as mentally healthy and was transferred to Butyrka prison which is a transit prison to the concentration camp. According to his sentence, Moroz has three years of concentration camps awaiting him.

SOME EUROPEAN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Second Edition

An address directory of organizations and periodicals in Europe
dedicated to freedom and anti-Communism.

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National And Human Rights Violated

Both the Charter of the United Nations and numerous resolutions of its General Assembly, as well as the Human Rights declarations, indicate that the basis of all human rights is the right of nations, big or small, to self-determination and independence.

It is not enough to restore the human rights inside the Soviet Union, which would mean repairing and fortifying the Soviet Union itself, as Solzhenitsyn, Medvedev or Sakharov wish to do. If we were content with resolving only this side of the problem, I am afraid that the Russian dominated Soviet Union would remain a "prison of nations", as Lenin put it concerning the old tsarist Russia.

It is necessary to sanitize the human rights of nations.

Let us see how the Soviet Union has violated the human rights in this sense by describing an example how the Soviet Union has raped a little nation — **Estonia.**

On March 30, 1917, the Russian Provisional Government, being then the sole legislative and chief executive authority in Russia, confirmed a decree proposed by Estonian representatives by virtue of which an autonomous Estonia was established and an autonomous representative body and executive organs were formed. This representative body (Maanõukogu) duly elected on democratic principles by the entire population of Estonia decided to secede from Russia and proclaimed the independent Republic of Estonia, taking as basis the Soviet decree of November 15, 1917, which declared the right to self-determination of nations, including separation from Russia.

Similarly ten other nations — Finland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Azerbajdan, Armenia, Georgia, Poland, Latvia and Turkestan — pro-

claimed their independent states. But regardless of their own decree the Russian Soviet State — we can hardly call it republic — started, to recapture them, and only the states who immediately started to defend themselves with arms survived as independent states: Finland, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Soviet armed forces attacked Estonia in November 1918. They were repulsed from the Estonian territory by the Estonian armed forces, and after 15 months of battles a peace treaty was signed on February 2, 1920, between Estonia and Soviet Russia. By this treaty Soviet Russia unconditionally recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Estonian Republic and renounced forever all sovereign and other rights which Russia had had over the Estonian people and their land.

But already in 1923 Russian Communists started again planning the recapture of Estonia. The plans resulted in an attempt to overthrow the Estonian government by an armed revolt. This happened on December 1, 1924. About 230 specially trained people were smuggled in from Russia. Before going in action several of them were masked with Estonian officer uniforms. The organizers hoped that the local Communists would join them. They reckoned with about 3000 of them, but only about 200 joined them. The key points were attacked in the darkness, at 5 o'clock a. m., but after two or three hours of fighting the attempt failed. Behind the Estonian border two Soviet divisions were ready to invade Estonia, if the overthrow had succeeded. 21 persons were killed by the assailers, most of them by surprise attack. The assailers lost 12 persons who were killed. Afterwards 140 of them were arrested. It turned out that 6 of them belonged

to the personnel of the Soviet legation and 33 were employees of the Soviet-Russian enterprises in the freeport of Tallinn.

On September 22, 1921, the Republic of Estonia became a member of the League of Nations. The unconditional recognition of Estonia's independence and integrity found further confirmation in the Pact of Non-Aggression and Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts signed between Estonia and the USSR on May 4, 1932, and prolonged in 1934 until December 31, 1945. For the elaboration of this Pact the Convention of Conciliation was concluded on June 16, 1932, and on July 3, 1933, the Convention for Definition of Aggression was signed.

On September 28, 1939, a Pact of Mutual Assistance was forced upon Estonia. The conclusion of this Pact took place under very particular circumstances. After a prepared draft of the Pact was handed to the Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Kremlin it was intimated to him that the Soviet-Russians would use force unless, the Estonians agreed to the Pact. The Soviet army had been concentrated in fighting order at the border of Estonia, the Soviet navy was demonstrating in front of Tallinn, the Estonian capital, Soviet war planes were circling over Estonian territory etc.

By virtue of this Pact Soviet Russia acquired the right to establish its naval and air bases on Estonian territory in fixed localities, on lease terms, and to maintain on such sites a strictly limited number of forces. Even here the USSR reaffirmed again that the treaties mentioned above continue to be the firm basis for mutual relations.

On June 16, 1940, contrary to existing treaties, the USSR presented an ultimatum to Estonia, demanding the formation of a new Government and the admission of an unspecified number of Soviet troops to Estonia. On June 17, 1940, Soviet armed forces invaded Estonia and the Estonian constitutional Government was forced to resign.

Such an invasion of an internationally recognized country, a member of the League of Nations, in violation of existing treaties was an overt act of aggression.

The Soviet army occupied all vital centers in Estonia. A puppet Government was set up of people selected by Moscow emissaries. The Estonian parliament — the National Assembly — was dissolved. The puppet Government amended the Electoral Law in violation of the Constitution. Elections of a new Chamber of Deputies were proclaimed on July 6th and held already on July 14th and 15th, 1940. Only a list of Communist candidates was permitted. The control of impartial courts was abolished. The freedom of the press was abolished — the Government requisitioned all newspapers and printing establishments. The election campaign was carried through with the active collaboration of the Soviet army and the "elections" took place under terror. When the illegally elected Chamber of Deputies convened on July 21, 1940, there was submitted to it by the puppet Government a resolution to join the Soviet Union. At the time of the "elections" there was no mention of such a joining, and the proposal was embarrassing even to the "Deputies". After one day of hesitation the resolution was passed, and on August 6, 1940, the Supreme Soviet Council in Moscow "incorporated" Estonia into the Soviet Union.

According to the Estonian Constitution Estonia is an independent and sovereign Republic. Consequently its incorporation into any other country could be accomplished only by an amendment to the Constitution. Such amendments can be effected in the way stipulated in the Constitution itself. All amendments have to be passed by the National Assembly, consisting of the Chamber of Deputies and the National Council, and have to be reconfirmed by a newly elected National Assembly and then promulgated by the President of the Republic.

As shown above, the body concocted by Moscow emissaries cannot be considered a Chamber of Deputies, being elected in violation of the Constitution and Electoral Law. The National Council had not been formed at all. Neither was there a new National Assembly convoked, nor any Presidential promulgation as provided by the Constitution.

There was no plebiscite in Estonia for joining the Soviet Union.

Consequently the decisions passed on July 22nd and August 6th are void, and the invasion and occupation of Estonia on the part of the USSR remains a flagrant act of aggression.

The USSR introduced into Estonia a Soviet administration and established a regime of lawlessness and terror. Thousands of Estonians were imprisoned, sent to forced labor camps in Russia, over 60,000 people were deported to Siberia and other remote and wild parts of the USSR, over 2,000 murdered etc.

In 1941 German armies attacking Soviet forces invaded and occupied Estonia. The Germans established a Nazi administration there. As Estonia was not a belligerent country, but had declared its neutrality, the German occupation of Estonia could not change the legal status of Estonia as a sovereign and independent country.

In 1944 in the course of war the forces of the USSR again penetrated Estonia, forcing out the German army and administration. From the legal point of view the Soviet occupation could only be considered a military occupation.

Regardless of that and contrary to its international commitments and pledges the USSR has not withdrawn from Estonia after the end of World War II.

The same order of lawlessness and terror as during the previous Soviet-Russian occupation was reintroduced. The USSR suspended all constitutional and other Estonian national institutions and replaced them by a Soviet Russian

administration. All civil liberties, as inviolability of person and home, freedom of speech and press, freedom of assembly, freedom of movement and choice of employment, freedom of education etc. were abolished.

Mass deportations were going on also during the second Soviet Russian occupation of Estonia, culminating in March 1949 in order to "encourage voluntary" collectivization of agriculture, totalling to about 30,000. These human tragedies are described in Solzhenitsyn's "GULAG Archipelago".

Here I should like to quote from this work something that concerns Estonia, namely Solzhenitsyn's conversations with Susi in Lubyanka prison in Moscow. Arnold Susi was minister of education in the Estonian government established in Estonia on 18th September 1944 in the short interval between the German and new Soviet Russian occupations. Otto Tief whose name is also mentioned, was the prime minister of this government.

Solzhenitsyn writes:

"... There, too, was the best place of all to talk about the most dangerous subjects. It didn't matter that conversation during the walk was forbidden. One simply had to know how to manage it. The compensation was that in all likelihood you could not be overheard either by a stoolie or by a microphone.

During these walks I tried to get into a pair with Susi. We talked together in the cell, but we liked to try talking about the main things here. We hadn't come together quickly. It took some time. But he had already managed to tell me a great deal. I acquired a new capability from him: to accept patiently and purposefully things that had never had any place in my own plans and had, it seemed, no connection at all with the clearly outlined direction of my life. From childhood on, I had somehow known that my objective was the history of the Russian Revolution and that no-

thing else concerned me. To understand the Revolution I had long since required nothing beyond Marxism. I cut myself off from everything else that came up and turned my back on it. And now fate brought me together with Susi. He breathed a completely different sort of air. And he would tell me passionately about his own interests, and there was **Estonia** and democracy. And although I had never expected to become interested in Estonia, much less bourgeois democracy, I nevertheless kept listening and listening to his loving stories of twenty free years in that modest, work loving, small nation of big men whose ways were slow and set. I listened to the principles of the Estonian constitution, which had been borrowed from the best of European experience and to how their hundred-member, one-house parliament had worked. And, though the way of it wasn't clear, I began to like it all and store it all away in my experience. I listened willingly to their fatal history: the tiny Estonian anvil had, from way, way back, been caught between two hammers, the Teutons and the Slavs. Blows showered on it from East and West in turn; there was no end to it, and there still isn't. And there was the well known (totally unknown) story of how we Russians wanted to take them over in one fell swoop in 1918, but they refused to yield. And how, later on, Yudenich spoke contemptuously of their Finnish heritage, and we ourselves christened them "White Guard Bandits". Then the Estonian gymnasium students enrolled as volunteers. We struck at Estonia again in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 1944. Some of their sons were conscripted by the Russian Army, and others by the German Army, and still others ran off into the woods. The elderly Tallinn intellectuals discussed how they might break out of that iron ring, break away somehow, and live for themselves and by themselves. Their Premier might, possibly, have been Tiefert, and their Minister of Education

say, Susi. But neither Churchill nor Roosevelt cared about them in the least; but "Uncle Joe" did. And during the very first nights after the Soviet armies entered Tallinn, all these dreamers were seized in their Tallinn apartments. Fifteen of them were imprisoned in various cells of the Moscow Lubyanka, one in each, and were charged under Article 58-2 with the criminal desire for national self-determination."

(A. Solzhenitsyn in
"The Gulag Archipelago")

In addition to the loss of political independence a serious threat to the very existence of the Estonian nation as such has gradually arisen: a perspective of her assimilation with the Russians, settling unhindered and in growing numbers on Estonian territory, an assimilation which is planned and favoured by the Soviet Russian government.

According to the Soviet census of 1970 already 28.1 % of the population in Estonia were Russians (including a small number of Ukrainians and Byelorussians). Now this percentage is reaching 30 %, whereas in 1934 the population of the same area comprised only 5.6 % Russians.

Russian immigrants receive various facilities at the expense of the local population, e. g. cheap communal flats out of order. At the same time the majority of Estonians have to build the so-called cooperative flats at their own expense. The Russians are concentrating mainly in the bigger towns and the bigger factories which are subordinated directly to Moscow and have no connection with the economy and needs of Estonia.

Denial of truth and democratic forms of government, even denial to implement the provisions of the Soviet constitution, the regime of military occupation and oppression of spiritual freedom, subjugation of the national culture to Communist censorship and propaganda, lack of independent thinking

and action, lack of freedom of conscience can never be compensated by a certain progress in economy and standard of living still meagre and one-sided and exaggerated by the propaganda machinery.

As to the present status of Estonia it must be pointed out that the major democracies of the world have not recognized the occupation and forcible incorporation of Estonia (as well as of Latvia and Lithuania) into the USSR to be legal.

Whereas the forcible incorporation of Estonia (and of the other two Baltic Republics) by the USSR constitutes a violation of international treaties and of the principles of International Law, the Soviet regime in these states lacks a legal basis and must be regarded only as a temporary military occupation. The existence *de jure* of the Republic of Estonia (as well as of Latvia and Lithuania) thus retains its continuity. This also applies to the constitutional Government of Estonia, now in exile.

Many resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations emphasize the right of all nations to self-determination and independence. Now, the most recent resolution, no. 3328 (XXIX), adopted on 16th December 1974, by 115 votes yes, 10 abstentions, none against, adds a new stipulation in order to prevent annihilation of the identity of a nation by submerging it with the influx of alien immigrants. Ironically enough the Russian dominated Soviet Union who voted yes uses this sophisticated method to endanger the existence of the Baltic nations. We would call that — genocide.

We quote from the resolution:

The General Assembly

5. Reaffirms recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal. . . .

6. Condemns the continued influx of foreign immigrants . . .



General Meeting of the APACL Conference, presided by Mr. Osami Kuboki (Japan). At the head table present are WACL honorary chairman Dr. Ku Ceng-kang and Secretary-General of APACL Dr. Han Lih-wu (National China). (Seoul, Korea, May 1-3, 1976)

Atheism is Going Bankrupt

Soviet and other East European newspapers are complaining more and more frequently about growing religiousness and piety among all classes of Soviet society.

In the USSR 60 million people, i. e. 20 percent of its total population, are organized in 20,000 Christian and other religious congregations. In Ukraine the proportion of believers is the highest.

Official circles are particularly disturbed about the fact that the formerly given explanations for this phenomenon seem no longer to be correct. Whereas formerly mostly older people, especially old women, were concerned about religion and went to church, which fact was considered and done with as a "vestige of superseded far-off ages", *Pravda* now complains about a growing interest in religion among the young. "There are many young priests and popes". *Pravda* states that alone in Kalinin about 30 percent of the priests are younger than 40 years. The number of 20- to 30-year-old people who are interested in religious matters and attend church-services is steadily

growing. Even members of the *Komsomol* (Communist Youth Organization) are participating in religious ceremonies. In Moscow 60 percent of all newborn children are being baptized. Young believers are distributing religious pamphlets and organizing religious meetings even in public schools. The thesis that religious "superstition" is due to insufficient intellectual education of the population is no longer true either since the number of religious intellectuals is growing. Well-known physicians, teachers and other experts believe in God and take part in religious rituals. Furthermore, the argument that religion is unmasked as "opium for the people" by the workers in particular is not true to reality. *Pravda* states that in some factories of Moscow the number of pious workers is especially high. Even ideology cannot deter young people from religion. *Yepishev*, head of the political department of the army, is very much concerned about the fact that uniformed soldiers are increasingly attending church-services.

Pastor Hans Kristian Neerskov

"To Cry Out for All the World"

The Declaration of Human Rights states in Paragraphs 18 and 19 that it is each individual's right to believe whatever he wants, to change his beliefs, and to propagate his beliefs. However, the citizens of the Soviet Union do not have this right.

Although their constitution stipulates religious freedom, this is not the truth. The law states that atheistic propaganda is allowed everywhere, but religious propaganda is forbidden. Stalin's law of 1929 stated that religious propaganda was allowed in the churches, however, too many people attended mass so the law has now been changed to read — religious worship is allowed in a

church, but the interpretation of the law is, that it is forbidden to worship God outside the church which, in fact, means that it is forbidden to be a Christian. If you can't worship God in the morning, when you rise and thank Him in the evening when you go to bed, then you are not allowed to be a Christian. It is not only the Christians who are persecuted, but also the Jews, the Buddhists, the Moslems, Jehovah's Witnesses and other religions.

The law concerning religious societies states in Paragraph 17, that it is forbidden to: (a) raise funds in order to provide assistance, (b) to support

members with financial help, (c) organize special children's meetings, youth meetings, women's meetings, and prayer groups, and other special gatherings, for instance to study the Bible and other literature, to arrange needlework groups, to do physical work, study religion, or any other gathering of special groups. It is also forbidden to arrange picnics or to play with children, (d) to found a library or to lend books, (e) to help sick people, pray for the sick or set up any kind of sanatorium. This is only what Paragraph 17 states about the separation of Church and State. The law also states that nobody under the age of 18 is allowed to go to church. Parents are not allowed to teach their children religion. In the Soviet Union, children do not belong to the parents, they belong to the State because they are born as Soviet citizens. The parents, therefore, are obliged to raise their children as good Soviet citizens which, of course, is not done if they believe in God.

Because of the lack of religious freedom, many children suffer in the Soviet Union. I have a good document signed by 1453 mothers living in the Soviet Union in 7 different republics and in 45 different cities. This document states that children are persecuted when they believe in God. A school teacher for instance induced the children in class to persecute a child because he came from a Christian home and believed in God. The children went so far as to try and kill the child, but they didn't succeed. The boy who came from a religious home was moved from the school to a special school for (quote) "difficult children" because he caused problems. Nothing was done to the children who tried to kill him or to the teacher who induced them to do so.

The same document tells us how children are forced to be pioneers and wear the red scarf and to deny God at school. Additional evidence is given to support the fact that children are taken away from Christian homes and brought to atheistic orphanages because

the parents taught them to believe in God.

One evidence in particular is the Sloboda family living in Byelorussia in the Vitebsk district in Dubrovo village. In 1966, their eldest two girls (11 and 9 years) were taken away from school to an orphanage. In 1970, the three youngest children were picked up in their home. An ambulance came to the home and seven adults went into the house and took by force the three children. The youngest one (Pavlik, at the age of 5 years) refused to go away from his mother, so both of them were taken to the police station by ambulance, where they could be separated without neighbors witnessing the scene. The children were then brought to three different orphanages and since that time the parents have not seen their children, even during the holidays when they are brought to the Black Sea where good atheistic Communists take care of children.

Hundreds and hundreds of documents signed by Christians in the Soviet Union, have reached the Western World. Many Christians have signed these documents giving names and addresses to help their suffering Christian Brothers and Sisters. Many of those who have signed the documents are now being persecuted and are in prison. The documents tell us that Christians are being persecuted, tortured, imprisoned, and many are in labor camps. Of course, they are not sentenced because they are Christians, but most of them are sentenced because they make religious propaganda or because they gather in private houses after their church has been closed down by the authorities. **Officials from different organizations have estimated that five million people are detained in prisons and labor camps in the Soviet Union.** Many of them are Christians who should be protected by the Declaration of Human Rights but, as I have previously stated, those rights are not observed in the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union, 90 % of all

churches have been closed down. This is not because there is no need for churches as every guide and official would tell you. This is because the government wants to get rid of religion.

A. Pusin (leader of the Center for Scientific Atheism in Moscow) during a travel in which he visited Communist Parties in different Western European countries, stated that 60% of the population in the Soviet Union admitted that they believed in God — about 150 million people. We know that about 40 million of those are adherents of Islam, Jews, or Buddhists, but then there are still 110 million people left who confess that they are Christians.

Although there are over 100 million Christians in the Soviet Union, there are only 5400 churches left. But, although, there are only 30 churches and temples left, the Center for Scientific Atheism in Moscow has 15,000 full-time employees trying to wipe out Christianity and other religions. This is mainly done through indoctrination in the kindergardens, intermediate schools, and universities. It is also accomplished

through violence and torture, by locking them in prisons, labor camps, and psychiatric clinics. (The figures stated are given by A. Pusin.)

The whole world loudly cried when five people were sentenced to death and killed in Spain. We don't speak about 5 people, but the Soviet scientist Kurganov, mentions that 60 million people died in the Soviet Union, because they did not fit into the system. These figures are stated by the United Nations population commission. We know that people today are not only sentenced to death, but die under torture or as prisoners in labor camps in pain and sickness without the help of a doctor.

What we want is that the truth shall be said. We have no power to judge the Soviet Union. We simply want witnesses who have lived under the system and who themselves have undergone persecution, torture, and imprisonment to cry out for all the world and we hope that it will help those who today are persecuted in the Soviet Union.



Ukrainian Delegation during 9th WACL Conference in Seoul, Korea, May 1-3, 1976.

Russians Wanted An Armenia Without Armenians

Armenia is one of the fifteen Soviet republics and is situated in the South Caucasus, bordering in the north on Georgia, in the east on Azerbaijan, in the south on Iran and in the south-west on Turkey.

In the course of its history, which can be traced over thousands of years, Armenia proper extended over a larger area, stretching from the Caucasus to the Cilician Taurus.

In modern times, the democratic Republic of Armenia which lasted from May 28, 1918 to December 2, 1920, comprised, in addition to the present Soviet Armenian territory, other areas which stretched as far as the Russo-Turkish frontier of 1914. The treaty of August 10, 1920 DE JURE recognized the independence of Armenia and left the question of the determination of the southern frontier to the arbitration of the United States President, Woodrow Wilson. On November 22, 1920, Wilson fixed a total area of 87,000 square kilometres, but this remained a dead letter with the Soviet occupation of Armenia, its dismemberment and its present confinement within the tiny area of 30,000 sq. kms., only a third of which is cultivable, the rest consisting of mountains, arid, stony land and one large lake (Van).

According to the Soviet national census of 1968, the population of Armenia is 2,310,000. This figure represents a third of the total number of Armenians, at least an additional million of whom live outside Armenia, some in other Soviet republics, particularly Georgia and Azerbaijan. The rest are scattered all over the world, in the entire middle east, north and south America and Europe. The Armenians of the diaspora desire the liberation of their historic home and the establishment of a free, independent and united Armenia.

The origin of the Armenian people can be traced back several millenia before Christ, although historians have so far not succeeded in establishing any precise date. It is, however, certain that the territory of Armenia was inhabited by various peoples before the arrival of the Armenians.

The historians and geographers of antiquity, such as Herodotus, Xenophon and Strabo, refer to the Armenians, and the first written mention of Armenia as a satrapy is found on the Achaemenid inscriptions of Darius, engraved around 515 B.C. at Behistun. The general belief is that the Armenians at first lived in Thrace, and later, in the thirteenth century before Christ, crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor (Phrygia) continuing their way eastwards after a lapse of some centuries to reach Urartu towards 600 B.C. The kingdom of Urartu consisted of the territory between the three lakes of Van, Sevan and Urmia, and had its capital at Thuspa (Van). The Armenians finally conquered this kingdom which had for a long time been disputed between the Assyrians, Medes, Sumerians and the Scyths, and made it their final home, succeeding in imposing their language and culture on the indigenous inhabitants, in the end assimilating them.

The new home of the Armenians was, however, badly situated geographically and was attacked successively by the Medes, Assyrians, Macedonians, Parthians and later by the Romans, following the war against Tigranes the Great, founder of the Armenian Empire. But Armenia repulsed all her assailants and preserved her independence, managing to hold a balance between the Romans in the west and the Persians in the east, continuing the same policy with Byzantium and the Sassanid rulers who succeeded the Parthians in 224 A. D.

In the wake of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity by St. Gregory the Illuminator in 303 A. D. there came an era of cultural and intellectual efflorescence. The fifth century A. D. was the golden age of Armenia and was marked by the invention of the Armenian alphabet in 414, the translation of the Bible and the Holy Scriptures and the rapid evolution of the language.

The Sassanids attempted to impose Zoroastrianism on the Armenians, but their large army was faced by Armenian troops under the command of Vartan Mamigonian. Although the Armenian army was completely destroyed on May 26, 451 A.D., the Persian forces were so heavily weakened by their losses that the Persian king abandoned his attempt to enforce Zoroastrianism. Thus Christianity was saved in Armenia.

After the collapse of the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia in 428, the country fell prey to successive Persian, Byzantine and Arab domination. The Armenian dynasties of the Bagratids and Ardzrounids reigned from 885 until 1071, in which year the kingdom of Great Armenia fell to the invading Seljuk Turks. In 1080, however, the Rupenid house founded an independent Armenian state in Cilicia. This new kingdom bordering on the Mediterranean survived for three centuries and rendered great services to the crusader armies which had to cross this territory to reach the holy places of Palestine. In 1375 the kingdom collapsed under the onslaughts of the Egyptian Mamelukes and after thus losing their independence, the Armenians rallied round the Church to preserve their language, religion and national identity in the midst of foreign domination. From the end of the 14th century the Armenians lived under Turkish and Persian rule until, after the Russo-Persian war of 1826 and the Russo-Turkish war of 1828, the major part of Eastern Armenia, including the capital, Erivan, and the religious

centre of Etchmiadzin, passed into Russian Tsarist hands.

For five centuries Armenians lived under Ottoman domination. It was the Russo-Turkish war 1877-78 which provided them with the opportunity to finally secure their independence. In the course of the war, a large part of Turkish Armenia was occupied by Russian troops, some of whom advanced from the Balkans as far as San Stefano, a suburb of Constantinople (Istanbul).

The Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 had considerable and unexpected repercussions on the Armenians. The Russian troops fighting on the Anatolian front deserted EN MASSE and returned home, leaving the Armenians to carry on the war alone, unaided by any of the Western powers, under the direction of the Dashnaktzoutune and general Nazarbekian.

The collapse of the Tsarist empire had already isolated the Caucasus, where Armenians, Georgians and Azerbaijanis planned to convene a 'Transcaucasian Parliament' or 'Seim'. By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed between Germany and Russia on March 3, 1918, Batumi, Kars and Ardahan, which had been part of Russia since 1878, were restored to Turkey. Only a month before the Seim met and proclaimed the independence of the Caucasus, which on April 22, 1918, assumed the name of 'Federal Democratic Republic of the Transcaucasus'.

Armenia proclaimed its independence on May 28, 1918, two days after the Georgians, and on the same day as the Azerbaijanis. The Federal Democratic Republic of Transcaucasia was dissolved.

Peter the "Great" was the first Tsar to plan expansion of the Russian frontiers as far as the Mediterranean, and during his reign the first thrust southwards took place in 1722. The Armenians living under Persian and Turkish rule hoped that the Russians, a Christian people like themselves, might bring

them independence, but history has shown the futility of such hopes.

A century later, in 1826, in the war against Persia and in the 1827-1828 war against the Turks, the Tsar made lavish promises of independence to the Armenians in order to win their support.

In 1885 all Armenian schools in the Caucasus were closed and their property confiscated upon the orders of the Tsarist government.

In 1890 a group of Armenian armed patriots, led by the student Gougounian, were taken prisoners on the Turkish border and exiled to Siberia.

On June 12, the Tsar decreed the seizure of all Armenian Church property, including that of Etchmiadzin, the seat of the supreme head of the Armenian Orthodox Church. The Armenians rose in revolt.

In 1905 the Russian government provoked a fratricidal war between its Armenian subjects and Caucasian Moslems.

In 1908 several hundred leading members of the Dashnaktzoutune party were arrested and imprisoned, and in February 1912, 180 Dashnaks were brought to trial in St. Petersburg before the special section of the imperial senate.

In February 1915 the Armenians of Van fought alone against the regular Turkish army and the Russians waited for the latter to retreat from the region before entering the town themselves, which they evacuated in July, without any plausible reason, forcibly deporting tens of thousands of Armenians.

On April 5, 1915, general Yudenich proposed in a report to the high command of the Russian Caucasian army that the abandoned regions of Alashkert, Dadire and Bayazit should be settled by Cossacks.

The Russians wanted an 'Armenia without Armenians', in the words of Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky, former president of the Russian imperial council and minister of foreign affairs.

The Armenian Republic

After proclaiming independence, the Armenian National Council transferred its seat from Tiflis to Erivan, the Capital, took into its hands the government of the new state and proceeded to establish the administration of the country. Priority was given to relief work among the population, most of which consisted of penniless refugees, combatting epidemics resulting from the long war years and taking care of great numbers of widows and orphans.

The Republic was immediately recognized DE FACTO by the Allies and by Turkey; in January 1920 DE JURE recognition followed. Under the treaty of Sèvres, of August 10, 1920, Armenian independence was to be formally acknowledged, but this treaty was never ratified by the Allies and was superseded by the treaty of Lausanne of July 24, 1923, in which Armenia was not even mentioned.

By a treaty signed on December 2, 1920, Armenia was declared a Soviet Socialist Republic and a government was formed, composed of five Communists and two members of the left wing of the Dashnak party. The Soviet government gave certain guarantees regarding the army, the officer corps, the political parties, and defined the borders of the republic, Kars being retrieved from Turkey.

But with the arrival of Gassian's Soviet Military Revolutionary Committee, the treaty was denounced and militant Communism was introduced. In fact 1,500 officers were exiled to Siberia, 3,000 intellectuals were imprisoned, the chief object of which was the total destruction of the Dashnak party.

Then on February 18, 1921, the revolt against this reign of terror began, and the people of Erivan rose, driving out the Reds, the peasantry of the Zankour region putting the 11th. Soviet army to flight. The democratic republic was re-established, with a 'Committee

for the Salvation of the Fatherland' as the government. The Soviet government, in the meantime, had escaped to Nakhichevan, from where they took the offensive, using armed formations, against the national government. Each offensive, from February 18 until April 2, 1921, was smashed; but in the face of odds of ten to one it was decided to evacuate, and with the final fall of the national government, the people retreated EN MASSE, fighting all the way, until by the end of July 1921 the final members of the government crossed the Araks river into Persia.

The Soviets have falsified Armenian history; in fact this is the truth: On December 31, 1917, Lenin and Stalin issued a decree proclaiming the right of the Armenians to self-determination, but the Bolsheviks organized a conspiracy against the democratic government of Armenia which led to the Communist uprising of May 1920 in a number of regions. The revolt was crushed, but left traces in the army, in which Soviet agents carried on their subversive work of demoralizing the soldiers.

It is now 50 years since Armenia fell under Soviet dictatorship. Communist propaganda claims that the Armenians have enjoyed peace for half a century, thanks to the presence of the Soviet regime, that the country has been industrialized and agriculture successfully collectivized. Russians say that Armenia has suffered no foreign invasion for many years but she was forced to give the Red army over 100,000 of her sons during World War II, all of whom perished at Kerch, in the Crimea, fighting the Nazis. It is also correct to say that during the N.E.P. period in the mid 1920's, the Armenian people was able to devote itself more or less peacefully to the reconstruction of its economy, but the situation changed completely in 1930, with the beginning of forced collectivization of the agriculture. The population was subjected to extreme brutalities and the spectre of civil war loomed up. Several local uprisings broke out, notably in the Daralagiaz

region, and arrests and mass deportations were commonplace as the peasants resisted settlement on collective farms, where to this day the Soviet Russian regime exploits the labour of the peasantry.

In 1936-1937, purges of unprecedented severity occurred in Armenia; hundreds of leading party members and intellectuals were shot on the orders of Stalin, while others were imprisoned or sent to do forced labour in Siberia. The decimation of the Armenian intelligentsia during these years is one of the blackest pages in the record of the Soviet regime. Among those who perished were such famous writers as Tcharents, Pagounts, Yessayian, Kalantar, Torrosian, Kamsaragan, and political leaders such as Der-Kaprielian, etc., altogether over 3,500 victims.

Today the Soviet Russian government is busy sowing discord in the Armenian diaspora by exploiting the Church, the spiritual head of which, the Catholicos, resides at Etchmiadzin, near Erivan. Soviet propaganda is very intensive, particularly in the Near East, where hundreds of thousands of Armenians recognize as their spiritual leader the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, who resides in the Lebanon. However, the intrigues of the Soviet agents have not yielded fruit, as the overwhelming majority of the Armenians living outside the Soviet Union are firmly attached to the ideal of independence. They are politically organized in the name of independence, and live in flourishing communities where the national language and culture are kept alive.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

**The Soviet Union
A Prison of Nations**

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

Russian Genocidal Policy in Lithuania

The Lithuanian nation, taking strength from its past as an independent state and subsequently as a partner in a Commonwealth with Poland, and making use of its right to national self-determination, proclaimed the re-establishment of the sovereign Lithuanian State on February 18, 1918, severing all ties with other states.

On July 12, 1920, the Republic of Lithuania concluded in Moscow a Peace Treaty with the Russian Soviet Federated Republic. Article One of this Treaty reads as follows:

Proceeding from the right, proclaimed by the Russian Soviet Federated Republic, of all nations to free self-determination up to their complete separation from the State into the composition of which they enter, Russia unreservedly recognizes the sovereignty and independence of the Lithuanian State, with all the juridical consequences arising from such recognition, and voluntarily and for all time abandons all the sovereign rights of Russia over the Lithuanian people and their territory.

On September 28, 1926, the Republic of Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed a Treaty of Non-Aggression, Article Two of which reads as follows:

The Lithuanian Republic and the Union of Soviet Republics undertake to respect under all circumstances their mutual sovereignty and territorial inviolability.

On April 4, 1934, the Republic of Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed a Protocol, Article One of which reads as follows:

The Treaty concluded between the Republic of Lithuania and the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics signed on September 28, 1926, together with annexed notes of the Governments of Lithuania and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is extended until December 31, 1945.

However, the Soviet Union, violating the letter and spirit of the above mentioned agreements, signed on August 23, 1939, a Non-Aggression Treaty with Nazi Germany with an additional Secret Protocol, Article One of which reads:

1. In the event of a territorial and political rearrangement in the areas belonging to the Baltic States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary between the spheres of influence of Germany and the USSR.

And on September 28, 1939, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany agreed to amend Article One of the aforementioned Secret Protocol by a new Secret Protocol, which declares:

The Secret Additional Protocol signed on August 23, 1939, shall be amended in Item One to the effect that the territory of the Lithuanian state belongs to the sphere of influence of the USSR while, on the other hand, the province of Lublin and parts of the province of Warsaw belong to the sphere of influence of Germany (cf. the map attached to the Boundary and Friendship Treaty signed today). As soon as the Government of the USSR shall take special measures on Lithuanian territory to protect its interests, the present German-Lithuanian border, for the purpose of a natural and simple boundary delineation, shall be rectified in such a way that the Lithuanian territory situated to the southwest of the line marked on the attached map passes to Germany.

On January 10, 1941, in Moscow, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed one more Secret Protocol which states:

- 1) The Government of the German Reich renounces its claims to a strip of Lithuanian territory, which is mentioned in the Secret Additional Protocol of September 28, 1939, and which has been marked on the map attached to this Protocol.
- 2) The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is prepared to compensate the Government of the German Reich for the territory mentioned in Point One of this Protocol by paying 7,500,000 gold dollars or 31,500,000 Reichsmark to Germany.

Following these secret agreements with Nazi Germany, in October 1939, the Soviet Union imposed upon Lithuania its military garrisons and on June 14, 1940 submitted an ultimatum to Lithuania. On June 15, 1940, the Red Army and NKVD units invaded and occupied Lithuania. The President of the Republic of Lithuania went abroad. An emissary sent by Moscow, Dekanozov, set up a puppet government of Lithuania which, with 300,000 Red Army forces on Lithuania's territory, conducted a mock election to the so-called people's diet which, on July 1, 1940, renounced the independence of the Lithuanian state and applied for admission of Lithuania to the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian nation organized an underground resistance and waited for an appropriate moment to make the occupants withdraw. On June 22, 1941, at the outbreak of the war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, a national uprising took place in Lithuania. The insurgents formed a Provisional Government of Lithuania. However, since an independent Lithuanian State was not provided for in Hitler's plans, six weeks later the Provisional Government was disbanded by the German occupation forces and Lithuania was transformed into a "Generalbezirk Litauen", under a Generalkommissar appointed by Hitler.

In 1944 Lithuania was reoccupied by Soviet Russian military forces which re-established the Soviet regime of 1940-1941. This met with a fierce resistance of the Lithuanian nation. Partisan detachments were formed and took up arms to fight the invaders. In the freedom fight against the enemy, over 60,000 Lithuanian freedom fighters lost their lives.

Although armed resistance against the occupying power was eventually crushed, the resistance of the Lithuanian nation continues.

Over 80 percent of the Lithuanian population are Roman Catholics. The Soviet Russian regime seeks to make atheists of them. To achieve this purpose, they persecute the faithful, forbid the teaching of religion to young people, obstruct the training of new priests, impede religious services, forbid religious press — in brief, they are trying to destroy all religious life. Samizdat, "The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church", provides ample factual material on the religious persecution in Lithuania, as well as on resistance against it.

The Soviet Russian regime not only deprived the Lithuanian nation of its right to exercise the self-determination principle. In Lithuania it also trampled upon the fundamental human rights as specified by the United Nations Universal Charter of Human Rights.

The Soviet Union's genocidal policy has drastically depleted the population of Lithuania. According to statistical data, between 1940 and 1958, Lithuania lost at the hands of the Soviet-Russians and of the Nazis 1,276,900 people, i. e. 30 percent of its total population.

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Russification of Latvia

I will analyze briefly how Soviet Russia with its destructive policy is gradually russifying Latvia, with a view to completely absorb the Latvian people into the Russian people in future.

Destructive Policies

These destructive policies include many components. First there were mass deportations of the civilian population in 1940/1941 and in the first five postwar years. A large part of the deportees died.

Another important component is indifference, a lack of interest in reforms needed to restore the natural increment and to safeguard the survival of the nation.

The most topical question today is the Russification of Latvia. Those not aware of the circumstances may think Russification means that the Soviet authorities are forcing the Latvians to become Russians by means of various compulsory measures. But for the time being this is not yet the case. Compulsory measures cannot succeed as long as the people stick together and can resist pressure.

At the present stage Russian immigrants are systematically brought to Latvia and the other Baltic republics and made settle there. These immigrants are recruited by Soviet agencies in various parts of European Russia.

Since we know that the final goal is to destroy the Latvian people as an ethnically separate nation, we have reason to maintain that the Soviet regime is guilty of genocide, although without bloodshed at the moment.

One might ask how we can be sure about the final goal when we are actually experiencing an intermediate stage in the process. The reply is to be found in Russian history. About a

dozen small nations in Russia's neighbourhood have in the past few centuries met with the fate now threatening the Baltic nations. The transition from the Tsars to Communism did not change anything in this respect. Russian Communism has developed a theory of the merging together of all nations under Communism which serves as a guise for Russification.

Elsewhere in the world we can see that remnants of ethnic groups have been absorbed into other nations, e. g., the Indians in America. But as a rule these are less civilized, backward groups. The Latvian people, on the other hand, is viable and as civilized as the Russian people. It has just one drawback: it is a small nation.

Everything I say applies to Estonia also. The situation is the same, in principle, in Lithuania also, although figures may be somewhat different there.

The Baltic Area is not Part of Russia

In their case we have not to do with the merging of ethnically closely related nations. None of the Baltic peoples — the Estonians, the Latvians and the Lithuanians — are Slavs. The Latvians and the Lithuanians are the last surviving Balts. The Estonians are Finno-Ugrians. All these three nations have clearly marked ethnic frontiers dividing them from each other and from Russia. These frontiers are roughly the same as the political frontiers determined in the peace treaties between Russia and the Baltic republics after the First World War.

But the Baltic peoples are not only ethnically different from the Russians. Their history and culture are different also. It is said now and then that the Baltic area belongs to Russia historically. This statement only demonstrates ignorance. The different parts

of the Baltic area were merged with the Russian Empire at different times in the 18th century. The latest Russian acquisition was the province of Courland in south-west Latvia, in 1975. But up to the last decades of the 19th century the Baltic provinces lived their own life administratively, culturally and legally. Only in the last decades of the century Russian administration started to link the Baltic provinces more closely with the Empire and launched a policy of Russification.

All three Baltic nations have languages of their own and use the Latin alphabet. They have their own literature, folklore and a way of life different from the Russian one. This has given rise to a strong awareness of their national integrity. The Estonians and most of the Latvians are Lutherans, the Lithuanians and the inhabitants of Latvia's eastern province are Roman Catholics. The Russians were Greek Orthodox before the advent of the Communist regime. The Baltic nations have always been West-oriented in their culture. Western languages, literature, art are much better known and more widely spread in the Baltic States than in Russia.

How Russification is Carried out

At present the most important element in Soviet destructive policies towards the Baltic States is the influx of Russian settlers.

The average number of immigrants to Latvia is 15,000 - 18,000 and to Estonia 7,000 - 10,000 annually. These figures may seem very small to the big nations in the West, but are very much felt in the Baltic States. Their specific weight is strengthened by the following circumstances: a) the immigration has gone on unceasingly for 30 years since the end of the war; b) simultaneously the Latvians and the Estonians have been decimated through deportations and various recruitment drivers for settlement in Asia; c) nativity among the Latvians and the Estonians is

relatively low, as a result of the harmful demographical policies.

The census of 1959 showed that the Latvians constituted 62.0 per cent of the 2.1 million inhabitants of Latvia, but in 1970 only 56.8 per cent of a population of 2.4 million. Of the 1.2 million population of Estonia in 1959 the Estonians constituted 74.6 per cent, but of the 1.4 million population in 1970 only 68.2 per cent. The Russification process has continued at the same rate since 1970.

The degree of Russification can also be deduced from data on the ethnic composition of the five biggest Latvian towns. In 1959, non-Latvians amounted to 55 per cent of the 580,000 inhabitants of Riga. By 1974 the number of inhabitants had increased to an estimated 776,000 and the share of the Latvians decreased to about 37 per cent. In the second biggest town, Daugavpils (109,000 inhabitants in 1974), the Latvians constituted only 15 per cent, in Liepaja (98,000 inhabitants) about 42 per cent, in Ventspils also about 42 per cent and in Jelgava (Mitau), the old center of Courland, the Latvians were estimated at about 40 per cent in 1974. In other words, the Latvians are already a minority in all the bigger towns of their country, and in smaller towns the immigrants will become a majority within the next few years.

Immigration on a large scale is possible only under three conditions: a) work must be procured for the immigrants, b) housing must be provided, c) administrative support for them must be guaranteed.

Jobs are procured by establishing new industrial enterprises or expanding the existing ones. This is done by the State irrespective of economic conditions or of calculated rentability, the primary consideration being to provide a number of jobs for immigrants.

Immigration has caused a heavy housing shortage in all postwar years. Housing shortage has hampered the establishment of new families consider-

ably and has been one of the causes of the low nativity among the Estonians and the Latvians. New housing is being constructed at a high pace but the supply has never been able to catch up with the demand. The immigrants have priority when new flats and homes are distributed. Last but not least — administrative support is guaranteed because all leading posts are held by members of the Communist Party who obey blindly, to directives from Moscow. The CPSU is mainly responsible for the Russification policy in the Baltic area.

Everyday Social Life

The Latvians are formally regarded as the native majority population and their country is called the Latvian SSR, but in reality it is the Russians who have all the rights. The Russians themselves are convinced that the future of Latvia is theirs.

All political activities are conducted in the Russian language although even Latvians take part in them. Russian is spoken at the meetings of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, at party and trade union congresses, at official celebrations. The laws are compiled in Russian, and often arrive ready-made from Moscow. Later they are translated into Latvian. The law courts work in both languages: the cases are tried either by a Latvian or by a Russian judge depending on the nationality of the parties.

Both Russian and Latvian are spoken in factories and at other places of work. There are factories where the Russians are in the majority. Foremen, if they are Latvians, must be able to issue their directives in Russian, because Russian workers are not willing to learn Latvian. The managements of enterprises use Russian only. Managers can be of either Russian or Latvian nationality.

Russian is obligatory in Latvian schools from the second year of the elementary school onwards. Russian children have schools of their own and

can, if they wish so, learn even Latvian; usually, however, they are not interested. Schools with parallel classes are fairly usual — some classes for Russian children and other classes for Latvian children. In the joint meetings and activities of the entire school the Russian language predominates.

Comparisons with the West

Foreign labour immigrates to Western industrialized countries also and their presence there has occasionally caused unfavourable reactions among the population. But there are several circumstances which make it virtually impossible to compare these two different kinds of immigration.

1. The concentration of immigrants in the Baltic States is much higher and growing steadily.

2. The immigrants in the West come from several countries and cultures, and this means that their presence is not so oppressive as in the Baltic States where virtually all immigrants are Russians or at least adherents of the Russian way of life.

3. Immigrants in the West try to adapt themselves to conditions in the host country and learn the language, but in the Baltic States they force on the native population their language, culture and way of life.

4. Before an immigrant becomes a naturalized citizen of the host country in the West he cannot take an active part in the political life of the country. In the Baltic States the immigrants have all the rights from the first moment and are quite frequently appointed to important political or economic posts on the next day of their arrival. This is because they are actually nominated in Moscow although formally the appointments are made in Riga.

5. The most essential difference in principle is that the Western countries are sovereign and adapt immigration to their own needs. The Baltic peoples, on the other hand, cannot do this, they are forced to bow to decisions made in Moscow.

The Russification of the Baltic Peoples is an International Problem

I called the Russification a genocide without bloodshed. Unfortunately the international convention on genocide does not deal with this kind of crime.

There exist several international agreements containing provisions to protect ethnic minorities who are citizens of another State. Such protection in one form or another is accorded, e. g., to the Tyroleans in Italy, to "Yugoslavs" in Austria, to Italians in Yugoslavia, to Swedes in Finland, etc. These ethnic minorities shall not be destroyed through an influx of the ethnic majority into their territory. Other States, too, respect similar principles without being directly bound by agreements or treaties.

In view of this it is inexplicable why Moscow should be given a free hand in colonizing the Baltic countries.

The United Nations General Assembly and its subordinate agencies have approved a number of resolutions concerning de-colonization, and condemned attempts of the colonial Powers to send settlers to their colonies in order to change the ethnic composition of the

population. A few years ago such resolutions were aimed, e. g., at Portugal. Even today South Africa is warned not to colonize Namibia. If this is not permitted in colonies, why should it be permitted to the Soviet Union to russify its small non-Russian constituent republics?

The Soviet Union is carrying out this genocide without bloodshed by referring to its sovereignty and to the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

Soviet diplomats in the United Nations have stated there is one important difference between the Soviet Union and the colonial Powers: under the Soviet Constitution the Soviet constituent republics have the right to secede from the Union, while the colonies lack this right.

I can bear witness that the nations in the Soviet Union lack this right, too. Those members of the United Nations who cherish human rights and international law, have every reason to initiate an objective enquiry into this matter within the framework of the United Nations. It would be of great service to mankind.

Lev Kwatschevsky

3.5 Million People in Forced Labour Camps

There are at least 3,5 million people engaged in forced labour in the Soviet Union. Directly or indirectly, they participate in the production of industrial technology and consumer goods (e. g. in the timber and mining industries as well as the metallurgical, chemical and automobile industries). The above-mentioned number does not coincide with the overall number in camps, although, theoretically, the camps (3,000), capable of holding 800-1,200 persons each (the new type camps of 1965-1968), and the existing number of prisons, could easily accommodate this 3,5 million.

A new method was introduced in Khrushchev's time, and is still being successfully applied under Brezhnev.

It entails the early release of prisoners tried on criminal charges on the condition that they go to work on large construction projects. This method was obviously aimed at obtaining increased productivity from people permitted a certain amount of freedom of movement within a specified area, and who are paid a nominally full wage.

But whatever the motivation, it can be confidently asserted that there is not a single large construction project on which there are no "chemical workers" (as they were nicknamed in Krushchev's time) employed. This nickname has stuck, although nowadays few of these "chemical workers" have anything to do with chemistry. They are

employed on the construction of the Kama Automobile Works (KAMAZ) and the Baikal-Amur Railroad (BAM), the Ust'-Ilima and Krasnoyarsk aluminum works.

I personally witnessed the inauguration of three large plants in the Lenin-grad 'oblast', which were constructed over the past 4-5 years: they were the Kirishi oil refinery and biochemical complex, the "Fosforit" works at Kingissepp, and the "Belkozin" in the Luzhsk area.

The role played by political prisoners in this picture is a comparatively minor one, if only because of their numbers. I think it would be a reasonable estimate to say that there are some 8-12 thousand political prisoners if one includes all believers and all those tried under Articles 190, 79 and 206 in this number.

In any case, one can say that certain parts of all automated transport in the USSR — be it buses, cars, tractors or bulldozers — were most likely manufactured by political prisoners in camp ZhKh-3851/3.

In 1969-1972 all steering wheels were manufactured by political prisoners. Many owners of television sets manufactured by the Aleksandrovsk factory in the Vladimir 'oblast' have sets which were partially assembled by political prisoners. It must be noted, however, that the working "conditions" here were found to be "unsuitable" for political prisoners, and they were taken off this work. The furniture manufactured in Perm' camps and in the factory of camp ZhKh 385/19 is also widely distributed.

However, as the overall contribution made by political prisoners to the development of the "national economy" is fairly small, it is clear that the arrests made by the KGB cannot be likened to the earlier arrests sanctioned by the "Troikas" with the aim of acquiring labour for Communist construction projects. But the actual number of the political prisoners so employed is not known.

It is hardly known that for every one person arrested in the Soviet Union, there are 10-12 being subjected to so-called "prophylactic measures". As this is a very interesting manifestation, I propose to go into it in some detail. I maintain that the KGB goes to work as follows:

The KGB representatives and operatives in factories, offices, institutions of higher education, armed forces, etc., implement "prophylactic measures" against persons suspected of disloyalty towards the regime. In this they receive the full support of personnel officers (the majority of whom are former KGB men anyway) and of the management.

They then proceed to compile dossiers and circulate false information about those found "wanting" in the screening process. They tap telephones, "bug" living quarters, infiltrate and co-opt informers. "Prophylactic measures" generally yield a certain amount of information, for the object of this kind of "attention" must do certain things to prove that he has "reformed" or that he is loyal to the regime:

a) Write a confession addressed to the KGB Administration, setting forth everything he knows about the circulation of Samizdat and the opinions expressed by certain persons. He must also "voluntarily" surrender any Samizdat materials he may have in his possession.

b) The "best" among these objects of "prophylactic measures" agree to become informers.

The worst, along with those marked for arrest and therefore not undergoing "prophylaxis", become subjects of secret dossiers, and eventually find themselves facing preliminary investigation.

I claim that the KGB could have prevented the Ronkin and Khakhaev case, the VSKhSON (Ogurtsov) and "Hijackers'" cases, had it wished to do so, without resorting to arrests.

Despite the much-vaunted "drop in crime rate" annually boasted of by the MVD, these twin organs (especially the KGB) are not interested in the liquidation of crime. The Soviet system encourages the MVD and the KGB to promote the occurrence of "important cases", and they have a vested interest in the upsurge of crime (even if it is "manufactured") because this is the only way to assure the institution of new departments, of gaining promotion and good pensions.

Thus, on the one hand, the KGB implements preventive measures, and, on the other hand, "stimulates" the very activities it is supposed to combat (e. g. in Bukovsky's case, where the KGB sent along its stool-pigeon to suggest the setting-up of an underground press).

In the face of such active operational work by the interior sections of the KGB, what is there left for the preliminary investigation to determine?

I **maintain** that the investigator is not required to determine the guilt or the innocence of the accused. Arrest by the KGB serves as sufficient evidence of guilt.

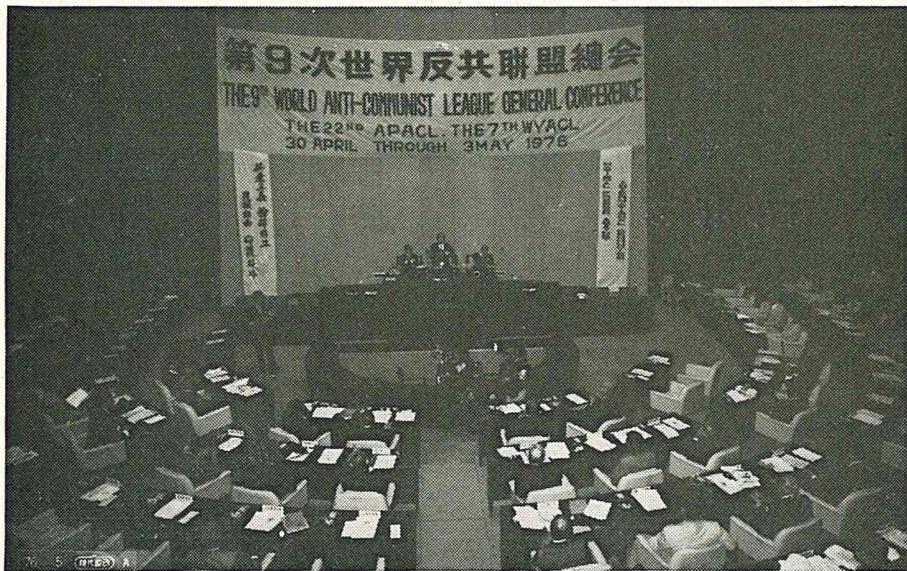
I **maintain** that the final ruling of the court is determined by the preliminary

investigation, and that the actual trial serves a purely "decorative" function. (One of my fellow-accused knew his sentence (3 years) long before his trial, and conveyed this information to his wife two months before he faced the court).

At times, the court ruling changes the predetermined sentence within the range of 1-2 years, but the guilt of the accused remains unchallenged. Changes in terms usually occur if the prisoner has not been "broken" by the preliminary investigation, and the authorities hope to get some more out of him at the trial.

The investigator is also obliged to:
a) "correct" any faults not eliminated by "prophylactic measures" employed earlier. In strict isolation (at times, lengthy solitary confinement, e. g. Zelikson of the "Kolokol" case spent 7 months in solitary), the prisoner must be made to feel his utter helplessness, his total inability to prove anything at all. He must be convinced of the startling fact that the investigator can interpret the Criminal Code in any way he pleases, and of the irreparable harm he can cause his family.

Even if the KGB does not resort to



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physical violence to obtain its objects it can always employ indirect means, such as planting one of its agents in a prisoner's cell. The agent can then beat up the prisoner on the pretext of a private quarrel.

I further maintain that during preliminary investigation the KGB does not resort to direct administration of drugs (injections, etc.), although it is possible that certain narcotics are added to the prisoner's food in order to lower thresholds of resistance. I myself experienced periods of acute and inexplicable desire to talk to anyone at all while I was under preliminary investigation.

Therefore, I believe that many of the "confessions" made by persons under investigation are motivated by fear (even if it is purely subconscious) of the KGB apparatus, fear for one's future. At times, "confessions" are made by agreement with the investigators, who are not interested in whether the prisoner has changed his convictions, but only in obtaining a public declaration that he has done so. In cases like this, everything is decided and legalized out of court, and the trial is nothing but a revolting farce in which the executioners and the victims alike know the outcome beforehand (e. g. the Yakir and Krasin trial).

The situation is quite different if the accused refuses to co-operate, for it brings to light the inadequacy of the investigation organs, their total inability to do anything apart from sending agents after their quarry, their incapability of presenting any convincing arguments because of ignorance and a lack of stable personal convictions — a quality not needed by investigators.

The KGB works subtly and efficiently when it comes to violating its own official rules in accordance with secret instructions (cross-examination of witnesses, blackmail, planting its informers in prison cells).

I maintain that not one political trial during the past 10 years was carried out without the participation of informers planted in the cells of prisoners

under preliminary investigation. During the period of my preliminary investigation (August-December 1968), I came across the following KGB informers: Kustov, a black marketeer; P. Kogan, an engineer who was caught out in illegal currency and platinum operations; A. Chernenko — small-time black-marketeer; Khachaturian — illegal currency operations; Sugrobov, who seemed to be a former employee of the Internal Affairs Administration. All such scum are fitting examples of the high ideals on which the Soviet penitentiary system is based.

In all the 8 years of my "involvement with this system, I did not meet a single 'reformed character'". However, I did meet many average people who had become criminals under the influence of the penitentiary system. In a broad sense, therefore, one could say that it was the Soviet system that made them what they were.

I maintain that the KGB deliberately leaves some loose ends in most cases, referring them to operatives to be used as a basis for the fabrication of new arrests. Part of the available information is filed away "for a rainy day". In view of all the above, this is hardly surprising.

I should like to list the names of some of the employees of the Leningrad KGB Administration which, in my experience, is the most competent (and therefore most negative) department of its kind. In my time, the "star" of this division was one Colonel Syshchikov (presently he is "boss" of the Orel 'oblast'). There was also Captain Kislykh, a nonentity who "struck gold" with the first issues of the "Chronicle of Current Events", and is now a Major working in Moscow (the Krasin case), and likely to rise to even dizzier heights. Then there was Lieutenant-Colonel Elessin, Majors Menshikov, Stepanov, Shchadny, Riabchuk; and Captains Groshchov, Vishniak, Kartashov and many others.

All the above-mentioned gentry, despite being hardened cynics, suffer

from complexes of inferiority and insecurity. And therein lies the explanation for the extraordinary lengths they are prepared to go to in their efforts to break the morale of their victims — for there they feel that they have managed to bring the prisoner closer to their own moral level.

Although one's trial is clearly a farce, it is nonetheless a worrying one. Each new court case inevitably raises certain hopes, for, who knows? — maybe this time more truth will be allowed to surface and a miracle will occur: instead of being dispatched to camp, the accused will be given a suspended sentence?

But to get off this way, one must stoop to unbelievable depths of degradation — and even then, it depends on the case. Occasionally, hopes are pinned on being completely candid. However, with the exception of the Heifetz trial in Leningrad it has been impossible to gain admission to such trials.

I had enough disappointments in connection with trials (even before my own) in 1967. The KGB guards surrounding the court building are not to be caught napping. The court hearing is an educational experience, and proceedings are consequently attended by budding KGB lawyers and selected "workers" anxious to demonstrate their faith in the Legal System and the Party (not to mention the beloved "Organs").

So far I have been speaking only of my own observations and experiences, but this does not mean to say that I have forgotten many others — spiritually, I am still with them. Therefore, I should like to grant them the one small service in my power — to publicize their names to the world.

It must not be forgotten, that G. Rodé is serving a third term in Vladimir prison, where he almost died of peritonitis in 1972. It would be unforgivable to forget the ailing Father Borys Zalyvako, who, because of the purity of his soul, wept when a member of the prison administration, one Obru-

bov, cynically suggested that Father Borys should turn informer.

One should also remember the Ukrainian poet Zinoviï Krasivsky — intelligent and cheerful despite an acute stomach ailment; lame I. Yu. Fedorov, who was declared insane and forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital, yet never lost his willingness to participate in hunger strikes in the cause of Truth; and reed-thin Gabriel Superfin, who "knows everything in the world".

Neither should we forget the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz and Ogurtsov, irrespective of whether we share their views or not.

I should like to remind you, once again, of the names of the "Vladimirovites" Lyubarsky, Bukovsky, Butman, Vudka, Davydov, Pavlenko, Bondar', Lukyanenko, Makarenko, Budulak, Zdorovy, Safronov, Shakirov; and of some of the inmates of the Perm' and Pot'ma camps — Kuznetsov, Chornovil, Svitlychny, Antoniuk, Kalynets, Mendelevich, Khnokh, Ayrikian, Navasardian, Shakhverdian, Penson, Fedorov, Murzhenko; the names of the suffering Belov, Tereli, Chinnov; the names of Lupynis, Plakhotniuk.

It is impossible to maintain indifference when remembering the weary yet determined face of Sergei Kovalev, as I saw him 4 days before his arrest.

A thorough study of the fates of all these people, these hostages, inevitably leads to the only possible conclusion about the true worth of all the declarations we constantly hear in Soviet broadcasts about freedom, democracy and socialism.

Translator's note: Lev Borisovich Kwatschevsky, a biochemical engineer, was arrested in August 1968, and tried in December of the same year under Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda). He was sentenced to 4 years of strict regime camps, and in June 1969 sent to Mordovia. In May 1970 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison to serve out the remainder of his sentence.

"Freedom" of Religion in the Soviet Union

A Short Survey of the Position of Religious Believers in the Soviet Union Brief Survey of the Laws Referring to Religion in the USSR

The "Decree" of Soviet People's Commissars; 23rd January, 1918:

Paragraph 1: The Church is separate from the State.

Paragraph 2: It is prohibited to enact on the territory of the Republic local laws or regulations which would put any restraint upon, or limit freedom of conscience or establish any advantages or privileges on the grounds of religion for citizens.

Paragraph 3: Each citizen may profess any religion or no religion at all. Loss of any rights as the result of professing a religion or the absence of a religion shall be revoked.

Note: To mention in official papers the religion of a citizen is not allowed.

Paragraph 9: The school shall be separate from the Church. Citizens may give and receive religious instruction privately.

The "Constitution", is based on the "Decree".

Paragraph 124: The Church in the USSR shall be separated from the State, and the school from the Church to ensure freedom of conscience for all citizens. Freedom of religious worship and of anti-religious propoganda shall be recognized for all citizens, and the following freedoms are also granted: (1) Freedom of Conscience, (2) Freedom of Speech, (3) Freedom of the Press, (4) Freedom of Assembly, (5) Freedom of Demonstration.

The Constitution is only a slogan for the benefit of other countries, but in fact, in the USSR, believing Christians are tried on the basis of the illegal "Law on Religious Associations" of 1929.

Paragraph 13: For the accomplishment of functions, religious associations elect at their general assemblies

from among their members by open ballot: a religious society — three members, a group of believers — one representative.

Paragraph 14: The registration agencies are entitled to remove individual members from the executive body of a religious society or the representative elected by a group of believers.

Paragraph 17: Religious associations may not: (a) establish mutual-aid funds, (b) give material help to their members, (c) organize for children, young people, and women, special prayer or other meetings, circles, groups, departments for Biblical or literary study, sewing, working or the teaching of religion etc., excursions, childrens' playgrounds, libraries, reading rooms, sanatoria, or medical care.

Paragraph 64: Surveillance over the activities of religious associations, as well as over the maintenance of prayer buildings and property leased to religious associations, shall be exercised by registration agencies, and in rural areas by village soviets.

The "Law on Religious Associations" is still in force, as the trials of Christians continuously demonstrate. Whoever does not accept this law, encounters difficulties, i. e. comes into conflict with the authorities. A true believer cannot accept or carry out the "Law on Religious Associations", because this law directly contravenes the Bible, the Constitution and his own conscience. So the believer is either guilty before God and himself, or before the State. This is the situation Christians find themselves in. This is the main source of all the sufferings of God's people.

I shall quote a few documental facts from the lives of Evangelical Christ-

ians and Baptists over the last fourteen years:

1. The Problem of Registration

Every local congregation must be on the authorized list, i. e. it must be registered. This is legal and acceptable. Believers do not oppose registration on the basis of the Constitution: this is attested by thousands of statements from local congregations addressed to the registration authorities. But, unfortunately, their requests are almost never granted. Why? The answer is, that in Form No. 1, point 4, the following phrase occurs: „I am familiar with the Law on Religious Associations and I promise to act in accordance with it.“ This is the wording of the document. Believers cannot sign it, because the Law contravenes their conscience, the Bible and the Constitution. As a result, they refuse to register. This means that unregistered congregations are declared illegal and can be prosecuted. They have no support from the authorities, nor from the All-World (sic) Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, as the latter includes only registered congregations.

In 1968, the March decree came into force: "For organizing an unlawful religious service, there is to be a monetary fine of up to fifty roubles and deprivation of liberty for up to five years." The fines have reached an inhuman level.

For example, in the town of Perm, G. P. Okunyer, a seventy-nine year old man, was fined a total of one thousand two hundred and twenty-five roubles from 1969 to 1974.

In "Bulletin" No. 16, 1974, A. Gazov, a pensioner and first grade invalid, was reported to have had one hundred and fifty roubles confiscated from his pension. S. P. Pirozhkov was fined four hundred and fifty roubles. P. G. Sanychev was fined two hundred and fifty roubles.

In January 1974, within one month, a group of eight people was fined three

hundred and twenty roubles. In Magnitogorsk, thirty-four people (twenty-one of them pensioners) were fined two thousand three hundred and fifty-five roubles; in the village of Mirolyubovka in Omsk oblast, where I grew up, a presbyter was fined one hundred roubles on one occasion — he had eleven children in his family.

There are thousands of such cases. The total sum involved is over a million roubles, for which people have received receipts; even more money has been confiscated for which there is no documentary evidence, as it was merely taken off wage packets without any further proceedings.

2. It is impossible to enumerate the countless occasions on which religious services have been forcibly dispersed. Officials of the KGB, militiamen, "druzhinniki" laid their hands on people, dragging women out into the street by their hair, turned fire hoses on them, transported them in open lorries to a place thirty kilometres outside the town limits and dumped them there — to get home. There are no words to describe this kind of lawless treatment, which continues to this day.

3. As hundreds of prayer-houses and churches have been demolished, and permission to build new ones is rare, believers are forced to meet in private houses. In Omsk oblast, for instance, there are two registered prayer-houses, and over sixty unregistered ones. This means that believers meet in private homes. Many such houses have been confiscated or demolished by bull-dozers, as in the towns of Barnaul, Novosibirsk, Alma-Ata, Frunze, Kishinev, Tula, and many other towns and villages.

4. As for the number of trials (of believers) over the last fourteen years — there have been about eight hundred and of those tried, many were churchmen who were serving their fourth term in prisons and labour camps (both ordinary and strict regime). Alexander Solzhenitsyn describes the life

of the prisoners in labour camps very clearly and truthfully in his book, "The Gulag Archipelago". All the sufferings of Christians in the Soviet Union are almost unbearable.

Georgi Petrovich Vins, a pastor of the Church, elected at a meeting in 1965, and again in 1969, has been sentenced to ten years, five years prison and five years exile. At the moment, he is in Yakutia. He was sentenced to a second term for not observing the "Law on Religious Associations". We have already examined this illegal document; and until the "Law on Religious Associations" is abolished, there can be no guarantee of religious freedom in the USSR. All accepted human rights are violated in this illegal document. The Constitution of the USSR is not compatible with the "Law on Religious Associations".

5. A very difficult problem is that of children. On 6 July, 1973, a new Article, No. 52, of the Criminal Code was brought into force: "On marriage and the family." "In accordance with Article 52 of the Criminal Code, on the family and marriage in the R.S.F.S.R., parents must bring up their children in the spirit of the moral code of the builders of Communism. Senior Counsellor of Justice, Burdin, Head of the

Directorate of Public Prosecutions. 6. 7. 1973."

On the basis of this law, believers are deprived of their parental rights, and their children are taken away from them by the courts. Such episodes took place in the town of Perm. Romanovich and Zdorov were deprived of their parental rights. Such actions show the inhumanity of the authorities, but God will hear all cries and see the tears of widows and orphans, and the time will come when those responsible will have to account for everything.

6. There have been a series of incidents, where atheists led by KGB officials have tortured believers to the point of death.

The Ukrainian Nikolai Khmara, from Kulunda, was tortured on 9 January, 1969, and his tongue was torn out.

The Ukrainian Ivan Moiseyev was also tortured and drowned in the sea, in the town of Kerch, 16 July, 1972.

The Ukrainian Ivan Ostapenko, from the village of Shevchenko, was hung in February 1974, for sticking to his calling.

Translator's note:

Gerhardt Abramovich Hamm, who emigrated to West Germany from the Soviet Union, 26. 4. 1974.

PROTEST OF LITHUANIAN BISHOP

Bishop Julijus Stepoavicius of Vilnius who has been banished from his diocese for 15 years, has protested to the Lithuanian Communist regime against his prolonged banishment from his diocese and his duties. "To this day

I do not know why I was exiled from my diocese, or how long the exile will last", he wrote to Lithuanian Premier Yonas Maniushis. The letter appeared in the 20th issue of the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania. The bishop denied that he has ever transgressed Soviet law. But, he said, government officials interfered in the church's life. For example, he pointed out that the Lithuanian deputy for religious affairs has continued to forbid the preparation of Lithuanian children in small groups for first Communion.

**A B N — the best
alternative
to I C B M.**

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly

The General Assembly of the United Nations, on 14 December 1960, adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes a "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" in which it solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

The Declaration reaffirms major principles in the United Nations Charter concerning fundamental human rights and the self-determination of peoples. It calls for immediate measures to transfer all powers to the peoples of the colonial territories and for an end to all armed actions or repressive measures against them.

By recognizing the "passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence" the United Nations gave fresh impetus to the historic development which during the life of the Organization has seen scores of dependent territories gain sovereign independence and many others advance to the threshold of statehood.

The full text of the Declaration follows.

The General Assembly,

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life larger freedom,

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace,

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in trust and non-self-governing territories,

Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,

Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic cooperation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace,

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

And to this end **declares** that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservation, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All states shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

Divide et Impera

Divide et impera! Divide and rule! This ancient Roman maxim has been used by Moscow for a long time; and now, perfected by the red denizens of the Kremlin, it is the mainstay of the Russian Communist empire.

During the immediate post-World War II period the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) continued its fight against Russian colonialism similarly as did other national liberation movements in Lithuania, Georgia, Byelorussia, Latvia, Turkestan etc. In response, the Kremlin unleashed the combined military forces of the USSR, Poland and CSSR against the Ukrainian and other liberation forces. Two decades later the same action was repeated by Moscow; but this time against Czecho-Slovakia and with addition to the military alliance of Hungary and East Germany.

Another example of a Soviet-Russian attempt to divide the liberation forces is the recent Western policy of distinguishing between two blocs of subjugated nations — one such bloc supposedly consists of nations conquered by Russia before 1939, the other comprising the nations occupied after 1939. For better or for worse, the Helsinki conference wrote off Western interest in the freedom of all these nations.

Western disinterest in the fate of these nations should have been apparent as early as the fifties, when NATO allowed the brutal crushing of Hungary and East Germany. These facts are generally known but few have drawn the

inevitable conclusions: a united front of all subjugated nations is indispensable to the regaining of national independence by all or any one of them.

The European Security Conference in Helsinki has become a reality. Moscow endeavored for a long time to legalize her conquests in the eastern half of Europe. Finally, in 1975 these endeavors were crowned with complete success. The lingering hopes of East European countries, especially the Baltic and satellite states, for liberation by the West under American leadership received a mortal blow in Helsinki. Now that the dust of our fight against the Conference has settled, it is time not for despair, not for resignation, but for a clear and distinct realization of the cruel fact that the only hope of all our peoples, regardless of whether they are part of the USSR or under its domination, resides in unity, in one strong united front.

There are many obstacles on the road to complete unity. The history of the subjugated nations is punctuated by various claims and counterclaims, animosities and suspicions. But shouldn't these ancient rivalries be discarded in the face of the common danger and the common enemy?

Russian Communist tacticians having replaced Christianity with the Marxist-Leninist ideology developed a new feudal system with various types of dependencies. In this new feudal hierar-

chy satellite countries enjoy some autonomy. But for how long?

There are many Russians, who oppose the present occupants of the Kremlin but refuse to disavow Russian imperialism. England, France, Holland and other European nations have long ago conceded that imperialism belongs to the past. Should't the Russians do the same and join the united front of all subjugated nations? The struggle is not against the Russian nation but against Russian imperialism. Isn't it time for freedom-loving Russians to join our struggle against their empire-building brethren?

In 1943, when World War II was raging on all continents, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was born in the deep forests of north-west Ukraine, an area guarded by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against both red and brown Nazis. The ABN platform promulgated the same basic principles which were later adopted by the UN, and today this platform is in complete agreement with the general trend of world development. ABN leads the struggle against Russian Communist imperialism and calls upon all the freedom-loving peo-

ple of the subjugated nations to unite under its revolutionary banner.

Some people dream of a war between Communist China and/or the US against the USSR, or of an evolution of the present Soviet regime into a democratic government, or of a "palace revolution" which will install in the Kremlin a liberal leadership. They wait patiently and passively hoping that one of these occurrences will bring the liberation of their country. No doubt, some day anything may happen, but ABN believes that the only certain way to liberate subjugated nations is by coordinated revolutions of all subjugated nations, and works systematically on the preparation of appropriate conditions. A strong united front of all the national liberation movements is one of these conditions. Therefore ABN appeals to all brothers and sisters: unite in the struggle against our common enemy — Russian Communist imperialism — and for our common aim — independent national democratic states.

**Let's stand united and victory will be ours!
Our fate is in our own hands!**

A. Sulatyck

From Recent Byelorussian History

Distributed to the Members of the US Congress

The Honorable
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Sirs,

March 25, 1976 will mark an anniversary of great significance for American citizens of Byelorussian origin. On that day, Byelorussians in the United States and in other countries of the free world will celebrate the 58th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. The current bicentennial year of independence of the United States of America is a historic

milestone, marking a great achievement of humanity in its desire for national liberty and human freedoms. This universal trend is also demonstrated prominently by the membership growth in the Organization of the United Nations. Founded in 1945 it listed 51 members. At present there are over 140 members. All new sovereign states, liberated from colonial bondage, joined immediately this international organization signifying progress of decolonization.

However, in Europe and Asia stretches the largest colonial empire of the present, the USSR, which does not

show even the slightest sign of decolonization. Formally the USSR is comprised of 15 national Union Republics. One of them, the Russian SFSR, includes within its boundaries some 17 ethnic Autonomous Republics and ethnic Districts.

Besides this, the USSR dominates completely 7 so-called satellite countries in central Europe. All these subjugated countries are subjected to political oppression, economic exploitation and Russification to the benefit of the Soviet Russian imperial interests.

Byelorussia is one of these colonies. Her recent history is very tragic. National Constituent, the First All-Byelorussian Congress, assembled in Minsk, was brutally dispersed by Soviet Russian troops on December 17, 1917. However, on March 25, 1918, the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic proclaimed the national independence of Byelorussia. The Government and military forces of Byelorussia fought for their national independence against Soviet Russian aggression. But in 1921 the Byelorussian Democratic Republic was conquered and destroyed. The Russian Government created its own fictitious state, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic including it later within USSR.

Despite continuous national oppression and terror, the Byelorussians fought back for their liberation whenever they had an opportunity. There were armed uprisings in the Slutsk district in 1920; in Vyelizh, Homel and other areas in 1922; during the Second World War the Byelorussian Home Guard fought against Soviet Russia. The Second All-Byelorussian Congress in Minsk in 1944 approved the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic and elected the Byelorussian Central Council as the only national representation. However, Byelorussia was conquered again by Soviet Russia.

The recent 25th convention of the Communist Party of the USSR in Mos-

cow presented a new and convincing proof on the continuation of colonial expansion by Soviet Russia. There was not a single word expressed about granting national independence to the non-Russian nations subordinated by Moscow. The boasting by Soviet Premier Kosygin about the USSR presently surpassing any country in the world in production of basic strategic materials as: iron, coal, oil, chemical fertilizers, and some machinery items, is very eloquent. The leadership and support of victorious Communist aggressions in South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Angola were considered as a proper application of the "Brezhnev doctrine" about the obligation of the USSR to give direct military support to Communist attacks everywhere in the world.

The top priority given to the systematic growth of the USSR armaments, especially navy and military bases in all oceans, is posing a direct threat to each independent country at present. The countermeasures of the free world are showing passivity and onesided concessions. This encourages Soviet Russia to use even Cuba for international intervention in Africa.

This present formidable danger shall be discharged effectively by the liberation of non-Russian nations of the USSR, as well as those of the satellite countries. Without their potential and within her own ethnographic boundaries Russia will not be able to conduct conquests on a global scale.

Therefore, we ask you, Sirs, to support the striving of the Byelorussian people for liberation from Soviet Russian slavery and establishment of an independent democratic Byelorussian State.

Very respectfully yours,

Michael Sienko
Secretary

John Kosiak
President

**Byelorussian Congress Committee
of America**

WACL Conference Meets in Korea

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

9th WACL/22nd APACL Conferences
Seoul, Rep. of Korea, May 1-3, 1976

The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) met in Seoul, Capital of the Republic of Korea, jointly for their 9th and 22nd General Conferences on May 1-3, 1976. Present were 310 delegates and observers from 61 national member units and 10 international organizational member units in Asia, the Middle East, Australia, North America, Latin America, Europe and Africa. They reviewed the international situation, pointed out what action should be taken for free world security, national independence, freedom and peace; and in the name of both organizations formulated various plans and made requests for joint endeavors to defeat international Communism.

Messages to the conferences from H. E. President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea, other Heads of State and political leaders of various countries gave great encouragement to the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

At the conferences the delegates confirmed that the international Communists are nowadays increasingly desperate because of the deepened contradictions and discords within their own system combined with the growing unrest of the captive peoples. They sternly condemned the brutal barbarous acts typified by the inhuman massacres of innocent citizens committed recently by the Communists.

It was also confirmed that the international Communists are using "détente" between East and West not as a means of maintaining true peace but as an instrument of their expansionist policy to impose the Communist system of enslavement on free societies everywhere. It was especially noted that

such expansionist policy is developing in the form of intensive psychological warfare on the political front.

Realizing that for the purpose of bringing about the internal split and collapse of anti-Communist forces in free democratic societies, the international Communists are taking advantage of the indiscreet behavior and remarks of the so-called liberals, who are naive and unaware of the deceptive nature of the Communist aggressors, in carrying out their political psychological warfare to lay the groundwork for the communization of the whole world, the delegates resolved to keep up vigilance against the "united front tactics" of the Communists.

It was reaffirmed that stricter vigilance and firmer solidarity among the free and peace-loving peoples of the world and staunchness in their determination to safeguard freedom and national independence are the most effective means to defeat the international Communist conspiracy.

It was also ascertained that unity of purpose among free peoples should be demonstrated through concrete and organized actions condemning the inhuman barbarous acts of the Communists and thoroughly foiling their deceitful campaigns.

Mindful of the fact that the Korean peninsula is the place where the threat of Communist aggression is among the most serious in Asia, the delegates expressed profound admiration for the firm determination and courage of the people of the Republic of Korea, under the outstanding anti-Communist leadership of President Park Chung Hee, who are exerting all-out efforts to defend peace and freedom in the face of the sinister southward invasion scheme of

the north Korean Communists who are among the most militant and barbarous in the ranks of the international Communists.

Through the Conferences, the WACL/APACL succeeded in further enhancing the general desires of the present age to safeguard freedom, national independence and democracy, and resolved to consolidate the free world cooperative bonds for the destruction of international Communism.

The next WACL/APACL Conferences will be held in the first half of 1977.

The delegates expressed sincere gratitude for the hospitality and cooperation extended for the conferences by the Government and people of the Republic of Korea and also showed their appreciation for the Korean Anti-Communist League's endeavors in preparing the conferences.

Plans and Actions

For effective handling of the present world situation, the WACL/APACL Conferences have resolved the following:

1. Stop thinking about winning the Chinese Communists over for the containment of Russia. Any attempt to pit the Chinese Communists against the Russians is a result of inadequate understanding of their nature and will provide additional impetus for their race to destroy the free world.

2. Promote the establishment of a Western Pacific island chain of defense. Support should be positively given to the Republic of Korea, Japan and the Republic of China for enhancement of their political, economic and defense cooperation with the United States and other free nations of the Asian-Pacific region.

3. Promote peace and freedom in the Middle East. For the protection of peace and freedom and for their common goals of development and prosperity, these free nations of the area should be united strongly against Communism.

4. Stand for the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire — the USSR and its satellites — strongly supporting the heroic struggle the national independence and freedom of all enslaved nations, like Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Northern Caucasus, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Croatia, Albania, Cuba and others.

5. Condemn Communist Russian neo-colonialism, neo-imperialism, ethnocide, linguicide, Russification of the subjugated nations, enforced deportation to remote corners of the USSR and mixing up of the peoples in order to form the so-called "Soviet" — in reality to merge them into the Russian — people which would amount to a total loss of identity of all enslaved nations, national oppression, economic exploitation and enforced collectivization of these peoples, integral terror applied by the Russian neo-colonialists.

6. Demand the dissolution and abolition of all concentration camps and forced labour camps, insane asylums designed to destroy political and religious inmates, the number of which is reaching two million, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil and others.

7. Support the heroic anti-Communist endeavors of Latin Americans. WACL and APACL are gratified that forces for freedom in Argentina overthrew the leftist regime. Lend support and solidarity to the governments of Paraguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile for their firm struggle against Marxist-Leninist imperialism for the permanent defense of the democratic institutions, freedom, peace, integrity, and the social and economic development of their peoples.

8. Strongly condemn the military intervention by the Communist regime of Cuba, mercenary of Soviet imperialism, in Angola in an open violation of the

principle of non-interference in the affairs of another country. Also vehemently condemn Castro's regime in Cuba and its clandestine subversive movements in all Latin American countries. Cuba must be tightly blockaded. Positive assistance must be given to the anti-Communist Cuban revolutionaries who are striving to overthrow Castro's tyranny.

9. Strongly defend Africa from Communist infiltration and subversion. Help free African nations eliminate Communist and leftist insurgency. Free Africans are urged to stand firmly on the side of the free democratic camp, and tightly guard themselves against Communist united front attempts to cut Africa's ties with the rest of the free world through so-called "Third World" maneuvers.

10. Support the heroic anti-Communist struggles of those kept behind Asia's Iron Curtain. The WACL/APACL Conferences attach special importance to the gallant anti-Mao and anti-Communist actions of those who took part in the recent Tienanmen demonstration that served to expose the shaky foundation of Chinese Communist rule and decisively destroyed the false pictures painted by those international circles eager to please the Chinese Communists. The conferences positively support the resolute anti-Communist struggles continuing on the Chinese mainland and in north Korea. Positive support should be given to the anti-Communist national recovery efforts of the peoples of Indochina.

The conferences were conscious of the fact that the communications media have a special responsibility to assist in the protection of the free world and to expose fully the true nature of Communist tyrannies. The media must be made responsible for their actions.

The Communists have declared war on the free world. It is a battle for the hearts, minds and souls of people. The conferences recognized the need to

give increased attention to the psychological warfare of the struggle against international Communism and proposed the setting up of a special committee to further study this matter.

The conferences received a special report that had been commissioned by WACL in Brazil in 1975 on the subject of the financing of Communism, Communist economic warfare, and a financial-economic program for halting economic blood transfusions to the Communists. This report was authorized for circulation so that WACL/APACL members could study the documentation and recommendations and consider what action should be taken.

The governments of Britain, France and West Germany were asked to block financial credits and technological assistance — previously blocked by the US Congress in 1974 — requested for the exploitation of the natural gas resources in western Siberia. The governments of the free world are also asked to stop all economic and other aid to Communist countries, particularly the aid promised recently to Yugoslavia by the United States of America.

Congratulations were extended to the provisional government of East Timor and the Indonesian volunteers for their success in defeating the Communist-orientated Fretelin forces in East Timor.

A special message was sent to His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said of Oman congratulating him on his country's success against Communist subversive activities and asked all neighboring countries to give every assistance to His Majesty to maintain a free Oman.

Special greetings were sent to the United States of America on the occasion of the bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence, noting the need for the Americans to support the campaigns of the enslaved nations for national independence from international Communism.

WACL in Support of Independent Ukraine

Whereas Ukraine, with a more than thousand year-old statehood tradition, with 50 million strong nation-minded people, with an indestructible revolutionary-liberating potential, with huge economic riches, occupying the key geopolitical and strategic territorial area — is the Achilles heel of the Russian empire,

whereas Russian exploitation of Ukraine as a land immensely rich in minerals and as European granary, is using and abusing the talents of Ukrainian people with their many inventors, scientists and artists to strengthen the political position of their own Russian empire in the world's opinion,

whereas the separation of Ukraine from Russia, reestablishment of Ukrainian independence and statehood will bring about independence and statehood to the Caucasian and Baltic nations as well as to Byelorussia, Turkestan, and still other nations within the Russian empire, which in turn will create quite a different political situation in Europe, Asia and the Mediterranean sea from the present one, for such simultaneous gains of independence will surely bring about the downfall of the Russian empire.

whereas the dissolution of the Russian empire will complete the process of decolonization now prevailing in the world and thereby secure a just and lasting peace —

THE IXth WACL CONFERENCE:

supports the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for its independence, realizing the important changes of the political situation in the entire world such independence would bring about, requests, that all available means and efforts be applied to force Russian occupying troops and the Communist terror apparatus out of Ukrainian territories,

requests that the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationlists), popularly known as **Bandera Movement** be granted by the United Nations the same **status** as was recently granted to PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization),

demands bringing to an end the Russification of Ukraine, Russian continuous destruction of Ukrainian culture, persecution of Ukrainian catacomb churches (Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church, protestant faith), severe national discrimination directed against Ukrainians, integral economic exploitation, as well as massive deportation of Ukrainian young people to remote corners of the Soviet Union, which amounts to ethnocide,

appeals to all non-Communist governments and freedom loving peoples throughout the world to raise in defense of Ukrainian political inmates and religious prisoners, like Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, Svyatoslav Karavansky, Eugene Pryshlyak, Irene Senyk, Ihor Kalynets, Irena Stasiv-Kalynets, Ivan Ilchuk, Oleksa Bilsky, Vasyl Stus, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, Ivan Svitlychny, Zinoviy Krasivsky, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Vasyl Lisovy — and all the others, demanding their immediate release from Russian jails, concentration camps and insane asylums and permission for them to leave the Soviet Union, since most of them have already renounced their Soviet citizenship,

appeals to all democratic countries in the world to invite these freedom fighters and believers offering them homesteads and respective citizenships,

appeals to all decent men and women in the world to use their influence and protest in every walk of life to bring about total liquidation of concentration camps, abuse of insane asylums and release of political and religious prisoners in the Soviet Union.

RESOLUTION

concerning the recognition of, and support to the National Freedom Movement of Byelorussia and other enslaved nations.

WHEREAS the Communist aggressors are continuing their relentless efforts to conquer and enslave the Free World, and

WHEREAS the Communists are openly instigating the subversive Communist elements in the Free World, and are fully supporting them materially and diplomatically in their activities to undermine and destroy the Free Civilization, and

WHEREAS the Free World's authorities have consistently refused recognition of and support to the National Freedom Movements in Byelorussia and other nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, and

WHEREAS the Communist oppressors are interpreting this Free World's refusal as weakness and fear on the part of the Free World, and are extensively using it in their propaganda to destroy the enslaved nations' faith and trust in the Free World, and

WHEREAS the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism are the closest and most dependable friends and allies of the Free World in its fight to save Freedom, and

WHEREAS the National Freedom Movements in Byelorussia and other enslaved countries, are in very great need of moral support and, particularly in need of honest and unbiased Radio NEWS in their own language about the efforts and steps made on their behalf in and by the Free World, and

WHEREAS the recognition of and rendering the very much needed basic assistance to the Byelorussian and other enslaved nations will renew and strengthen their faith and trust in the Free World, as well as their courage and determination to continue the fight for their Freedom and Independence,

Therefore,

the World Anti-Communist League at its 9th General Conference held in Seoul, Republic of Korea, has expressed its full awareness and appreciation of the urgent need for assistance to the Byelorussian and other enslaved nations, and undertakes to use its resources, facilities and influence throughout the Free World to provide and sustain the said assistance until Byelorussia and other enslaved nations are again Free and Independent . . .

The 9th WACL General Conference Salutes The American Bicentennial Revolution

Whereas is this year the people of the United States of America are commemorating the Bicentennial of their Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1976; and

Whereas, in contrast to the Russian October Revolution, the American Revolution achieved true freedom and national independence from an empire; and

Whereas the essence of the achievement of the American Revolution continues to move and inspire all peoples and nations to seek national self-determination, independence and freedom from the Communist and other empires; and

Whereas even the theme of our 9th WACL Conference — "National Freedom against International Communism"

— does in part express the spirit of the American Revolution.

Now therefore be it resolved by the 9th WACL Conference that the participants warmly and wholeheartedly salute the American Bicentennial of their Declaration of Independence and join with the American people in pray-

er and mutual determination for the realization of the essence and spirit of the American Revolution among all peoples and nations throughout the world, particularly those in the Soviet Russian Communist Empire and others under the Communist yoke in Eastern instead of going to a camp.

Moroz Moved To Serbsky Institute

Moscow, May, 1976

Valentyn Moroz, famous Ukrainian historian, has been moved to the Soviet Union's leading institute of criminal psychiatry.

Raisa Moroz told western correspondents here that officials of the Interior Ministry's Medical Service informed her on May 18th that her husband had been transferred to Moscow's Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry.

Mrs. Moroz came to Moscow the day before to find out where her husband was after being told earlier this month that he was in an unspecified medical institution.

The Serbsky Institute has been frequently accused by the dissidents of declaring critics of the regime to be insane, and several prominent dissidents have passed through its doors at various times.

Leonid Plyushch, the Ukrainian dissident cyberneticist who was allowed to emigrate to the West with his family, was held at the Serbsky before being confined at the Dnipropetrovsk asylum for two years.

Moroz was due to complete his prison term at Vladimir, where he has been confined since November 18, 1970, on June 1st.

The move could mean that Moroz, whose health has not been previously questioned, could be committed indefinitely to a psychiatric prison hospital instead of going to a camp.

Other sources report that Moroz was moved because Soviet officials claim that he became a religious fanatic who speaks with God.

To many Ukrainian patriots Moroz's confinement in the Vladimir Prison has been a symbol of steadfastness in the face of Soviet oppression.

October 1972, Amnesty International reported that Moroz had been gravely wounded by some criminal inmates in the prison. He was subsequently transferred to a prison hospital in Kyiv.

During the summer and fall of 1974, Moroz staged a 140-day hunger strike in protest against the officials' treatment.

Three Canadian parliamentarians touring the Soviet Union in September 1975 were told by Soviet officials that Moroz could leave the USSR in 1979.

The three, Raymond J. Perrault, Senate majority leader, James Jerome, House of Commons speaker, and Stephan Paproski, a Ukrainian Canadian MP, inquired about Moroz's physical and mental health, prison conditions, and possible release from prison and emigration.

"After his second arrest, he refused to recant his views and was sentenced to nine years incarceration instead of five years and, therefore, will be released in 1979. If the Americans will still want him, then they can have him", said a spokesman for the Supreme Soviet.

Lukianenko, Kandyba Finish Terms

Sentenced For Proposing Secession of Ukraine

Lev Lukianenko and Ivan Kandyba, members of the so-called "Jurists", a group of Ukrainian lawyers who called for the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the Soviet Union were released from 15-year incarceration.

Lukianenko, 49, and Kandyba, 47, were arrested in 1961 and charged with treason, membership in an anti-Soviet organization, and anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

At the time of the release, Lukianenko was confined in the Vladimir Prison, and Kandyba was imprisoned in the Perm concentration camp no. 35.

During the trial, the defendants argued that they did not commit any acts of treason. They said that what they proposed was guaranteed by Soviet law.

According to them, if a vote were taken in Ukraine, and a majority of the people favored secession from the USSR, then based on Soviet law, Ukraine should be accorded that right.

The prosecution did not produce any anti-Soviet material and the defendants pleaded not guilty. Nevertheless, the Lviv oblast court found them guilty on all charges.

They were sentenced to death by a firing squad, but the sentence was later commuted to 15 years in prison.

Lukianenko spent his years in the Mordovian and Perm concentration camps and also in the Vladimir Prison. During his confinement in the Mordovian camp no. 3, Lukianenko documented the facts surrounding his trial, and they were subsequently published in the West. As a disciplinary move he was incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison from 1968 to 1971.

He was again transferred for the second time to the Vladimir Prison on June 28, 1974, along with Simas Kudirka and Davyd Chornohlaz. They were accused by the camp authorities of taking part in a demonstration against the

beating of a fellow prisoner, Stepan Sapeliak, by a Capt. Melentiy.

Lukianenko was frequently sequestered for disciplinary reasons after participating in protest actions.

Reports indicated that Lukianenko persistently refused all attempts at compromise with the KGB. Soon after his imprisonment, he was told by the secret police that his charge would be reduced to "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" if he signed a statement renouncing all moral support from emigre Ukrainian organizations.

He was born in the Horodnianska region of the Chernihiv oblast. A World War II veteran, Lukianenko is a graduate of the Moscow State University Law School.

He first practiced law in the Lviv oblast, where he advised many religious believers of their rights under the law. During his incarceration Lukianenko became a fervent Orthodox.

Lukianenko told a psychiatric commission interrogating him that when he is released he will devote his time to his family.

"All remaining time will be spent gaining a deeper knowledge of philosophy and history", he said.

Kandyba was also confined for three years in the Vladimir Prison for unknown reasons. While the sentencing called for 15 years of strict regime incarceration, he was placed in the Vladimir Prison from 1967 to 1969.

Late in 1971, Kandyba and other political prisoners in the Mordovian camps wrote a petition to the Supreme Soviet and to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, describing the lawlessness in the camps.

They told of the tortures by prison officials and the harassments faced by families of political prisoners.

Kandyba and his fellow inmates staged a protest hunger strike on Human Rights Day that year.

Book Reviews

A study, "Panslavism and Russian Communism" by the Estonian authoress Miss Salme Pruuden published by Foreign Affairs Publishing, Co. Ltd. (England)

reveals the striking similarities between the Panslavic Union advocated in the 19th century by the Russian historian Nikolay Danilevsky and the present Soviet-Russian empire.

Communist ideology is merely a thin veneer to justify chauvinistic Russian ambitions.

A vivid description is given of repression in Estonia, a part of Russian-occupied Europe situated only a few miles from where the Helsinki Agreement was signed. The extent of ruthless Russification, the flagrant denial of civil liberties and the remorseless persecution of Christians is clearly exposed. Appendices contain a rare collection of present day demands by Estonians for human rights and self-determination.

Miss Pruuden wonders whether the West is in decline, but feels that:

"If the West still possesses the will to live and chooses the way of self-de-

fence, it must first purge itself internally and put its house in order... The main thing is — Europe must be united. If the West will overcome its difficulties, keep firmly together and act together, it will survive."

In a foreword, Sir Frederic Bennett, M. P., writes:

"History does show that no tyranny survives for ever; and it is because of this that it is all-important that we in the West never formally endorse what the USSR has done... The Kremlin has done its best to obliterate not only Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia as sovereign states or even satellites, but also to expunge all public memory of their ever having existed!'"
"Miss Salme Pruuden's book is a timely reminder that this falsification of history is not acceptable to anyone other than their stooges blinded by the propaganda of red imperialist Russia."

Available price 60p (US-\$ 2) from Foreign Affairs Publishing Co. Ltd., 139, Petersham Rd., Richmond, Surrey, TW 10 7 AA, England.

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of

VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated

by John Kolasky

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Underground Magazine from Ukraine

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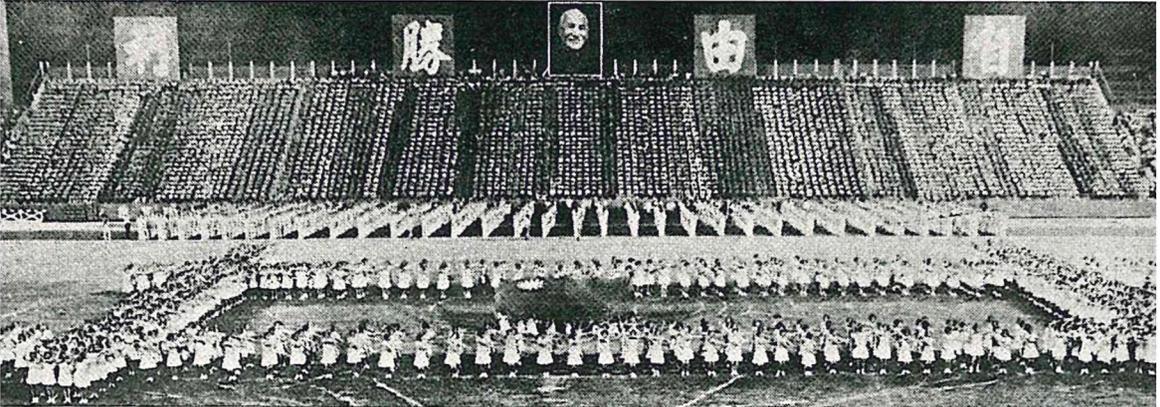
*Containing details on the trial of Valentyn Moroz and the
brutal murder of Alla Horska, unpublished poems by Vasyl
Symonenko and news of repressions against the Ukrainian
intellectuals. Poetry translated by Vera Rich.*

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Captive Nations Rally In Taipei, 1976



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The International Situation in the Light of the Olympic Fire 1976

The traditional Olympic Games are held again this year, with athletes and spectators from all over the world participating. Olympia — where originally only the best athletic performances were decided — has gradually become the symbol of the union among peoples incidental to the spirit of chivalrous competitive sports with the teams of various nations.

Fairness in contest, respect for the defeated rival, and modesty proper to the winners of Olympic gold had of course to be shown. The floating flags on the Olympic terrain with the national colours of all participants and the national hymns played for honouring the winners were also designed to manifest a kind of international solidarity.

However, at the time of the present Olympiad the world is farther off from these Olympic symbols and ideas of civilized mankind than ever. A large section of its population has been languishing for many a long day under Russian foreign rule in the guise of so-called World Communism having built up the biggest nuclear war machinery of all time under Moscow's management and at the cost of the wanting captive peoples. In view of this acute danger the other part of the world including the American "superpower" is prepared to make ever new concessions to Russian imperialism. Complying with coexistence, the so-called *détente* and the Helsinki agreements the Free World only helps Moscow to consolidate the Russian colonial rule in Europe and carry ahead the unremitting Bolshevik world conquest.

Simultaneously Moscow makes use of the tolerance on the part of the western democracies and of the lack of political experience on the part of the peoples of the so-called "Third World" to seduce large groups of the population of the still Free World by means of hypocritical propaganda. Thus nowadays the so-called Union of Socialist Soviet Republics may pretend without being challenged to be fighting imperialism and colonialism and may commend itself as the standard-bearer of progress although it exercises the most brutal colonial rule of all time over a series of civilized peoples and emphatically objects to any protest on the part of the world public as "an interference in domestic affairs" quoting the notorious Final Act of Helsinki. On the other hand, despite all protestations at Helsinki Moscow is entitled to object to any attempts on the part of the western democracies at keeping Communist agents out of their civil service, i. e. not admitting them as teachers, judges, officers etc. As against that, the Bolshevik terror within the Soviet Union and within the entire Soviet Russian sphere of power continues to grow unobstructedly. Besides thousands of anonymous citizens who have opposed the barba-

rous Communist system of violence or national oppression renowned intellectuals, representatives of all captive nations, are affected. In Soviet Russian concentration camps and psychiatric institutions the following personalities from Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Latvia and Estonia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, East Germany, Rumania and Hungary, who are well known in their home countries are now rubbing along: Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, Sviatoslav Karavansky, M. Plakhotniuk, Z. Krasivsky, I. Svitlychny, Stefa Shabatura, Iryna Senyk, Ihor Kaly nec, Vasyl Stus, E. Pryshliak, O. Bilsky, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, I. Ilczuk, Viacheslav Chornovil, B. Penson, Yonas Zimokaitis, Algis Statkevicius, Gunars Ode, Ivars Zukovskis, Mati Kii rnd, Kaljo Mättik, Artem Yaskesevych, and many others.

The noble Olympic tradition resumed in 1976 engages the world public to audibly voice a world-wide protest against the barbarous persecution of the above victims as well as hundreds of thousands of unknown ones in order to compel the Kremlin despots to release them.

If the Free World continues to tolerate these Bolshevik inquisitions without protest and indifferently watch innocent people languishing in concentration camps or psychiatric institutions who deprived of their personality by drugs are doomed to a slow death, the world of today will no longer be worthy of this noble Olympic tradition.

United in the ABN as spokesmen of the peoples oppressed within the Soviet sphere of power we do not at all intend to beg the western world for liberation, bring on a new world war or even a nuclear catastrophe which would be the doom of all of us. However, we are justified in demanding the Free World and its responsible governments particularly to discontinue any aid contributing to the consolidation of the Russian colonial empire and thus cease smoothing the way for its world conquest. We wish to suggest to the western democracies in their very own interest that they definitely put a stop to Communist infiltration and no longer fall into the trap of the hypocritical machinations of Bolshevik imperialism. Our peoples have been immune against any Communist infamy for a long time from their own bitter experience. In the Free World, however, large groups are susceptible to Communist catch propaganda to a critical extent, especially its uninformed and spoiled youth lacking experience of Bolshevik reality. If the democracies continue to let go the reins and grant priveleges of fools they will paradoxically enough dig their own grave in the name of a misconceived democracy.

Try to imagine what the living conditions in our countries are like, if Bolshevik rule could be maintained from the outset only by means of deterrent executions, inhuman imprisonment verdicts and merciless spying through state security agents, if potential opponents of the regime

have to be physically liquidated or thrown into jail, if day by day innumerable men and women try to cross mined borders risking their lives just to escape this hell of a life, and if finally the rulers are afraid of truth and freedom to such a degree that they even have to send state security agents to guard the teams participating in international competitive sports to try to prevent them from deserting into liberty.

With what title does this sort of "Socialist community", use the innocent name "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics", if a mere attempt of the peoples forced therein to break out or just relax the fetters put on is thwarted by brutal military invasion, is crushed with tanks and drowned in blood, as has happened in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia yesterday and has since ever been the case in the so-called Soviet Union itself with Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, Georgians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, and others having been kept under Moscow's rule against their will and being russified by brutal means.

Not disarmament, coexistence and détente, but rather resolute support for the captive peoples striving for freedom and independence can constitute an alternative to nuclear war. The only reason that this immense potential has not yet led to a national liberation revolution extending over the entire Bolshevik sphere of power is that all uprisings and revolts were so far bloodily crushed before the very eyes of the whole world by the Kremlin despots remaining unpunished. The present trend in the eastern politics of many a western power towards minimizing the Bolshevik reign of terror, towards appeasing the Soviet Union and consolidating the status quo in the spirit of Helsinki is rather likely to precipitate the subjugated peoples into resignation, isolate their fighting potential for the benefit of the tyranny and thus smooth the way for the Kremlin's designs as to world domination. These designs will be realized the more rapidly the more readily the Free World is going to sanction the status quo and the longer the territory conquered so far will remain Moscow's ideal stepping-stone for its world conquest.

INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT

by VALENTYN MOROZ

In 16 languages: — Ukrainian, English, French, Bulgarian, Croatian, Slovakian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Hungarian, Flemish, Dutch, Persian, Turkish.

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Hon. Sabit Osman Avci

Former Speaker of the Turkish Parliament

Turkish Victory Over Communism

The free world must solve the problem of Communism being a nightmare.

In order to be able to overcome Communism, it is not enough to be in a defensive position against its assault. This does not solve the problem.

A propaganda war must be carried on in an active and effective way.

It is possible to overcome Communism and to push it into a defensive position.

By just complaining about this danger nothing can be gained.

Under Communist regimes nobody has the right to complain. The rulers do not take care of complaints. It is not possible to come to an agreement with the Communists which would mean to surrender.

However, we should prepare the basic plans and strategies to fight Communism.

Propaganda feared by Communist rulers is much more effective.

Communism is against human nature, the human aims at living in dignity and freedom and at enjoying human rights.

Communism denies these rights. In these types of regime morality is disregarded.

Our strategy against Communism should not just consist in stopping its spread. It must also provide for the freedom of the millions under Communist rule, because as we know they are under the Communist slavery involuntarily.

The Communist world is following the policy of "détente" deceiving the free democratic front. On the other hand, Communist authorities maintain that "détente" and "coexistence"

are no obstacles for Communist expansion.

In the United States, some people wish a sincere "détente" policy with the Soviet Union, whereas the Soviet Union strongly wants a "détente" policy to realize her further goals.

Everybody wishes a "détente" policy between the two superpowers if it is believed to be sincere.

It is not improbable that America will withdraw into isolation as a result of such "détente".

This is what the Soviet Union wants also, wishing to realize her century-old dreams in the Balkans, Mediterranean and Middle East.

The policy of "détente" cannot but fail and "coexistence" cannot but lead to surrender and slavery, unless precautionary measures are taken by the West.

For this reason all anti-Communist countries must unite.

Today, those who want to spread Communism use different methods and different propaganda tactics corresponding to the social and political structure of the country in question.

If they get 34% of the votes in a country, they try to gain power there by elections. If in a country they do not have sufficient vote potency, they ask the people to revolt calling the elections "a bourgeois trick" or "false democracy".

They use all methods of provocation.

They always declare that they will come to power by elections but they never say that they will depart from power by elections.

As is known, the fundamental rule of the free democracy is to come to power by elections or vice versa.

If the Communists have the opportunity to gain power once, that means they will never go.

Their aim is to conduct Communist activities legally.

One of the Communist Chinese Intelligence Service Chiefs U-Te-Nu-Su says that "Communism would not be able to come to power in China, if the Communist Party were not accepted as being legal, in other words if its activities were not allowed."

After these general remarks, I would like to inform you about the Communist activities in Turkey.

The starting point of the Communist activities in Turkey goes back to the days before the War of Independence, during the National Struggle.

During the War of Independence in 1919-1922 against the Western imperialists we were in need of financial and military aid and got it from the East and our neighbour in the North. Although Atatürk received this aid, he did not want not to let Bolshevism spread in Anatolia.

At that time the Communist Revolution took place in Russia. Some people thought that the result of the Turkish struggle would be the same.

The War of Independence resulted in Turkish victory, whereafter Turkey's differences with the West were set aside.

In 1925 the Turkish Communist Party and the Communist activities were

declared illegal. Atatürk said: "Communism is the greatest enemy of the Turkish Community and should be crushed wherever encountered". After this attitude Communism continued its "intellectual action!".

During the period of 1925-1960 Communists were arrested and punished, but from time to time continued their underground activities.

After 1960 a new Constitution was adopted but the new system caused some economic and social problems. These problems forced the Communists into the scene. The new face of Communism was to cause anarchy in the Universities.

In 1971 they reached the peak of their subversive activities against the Turkish State. The Turkish Nation and its Armed Forces being sensitive historically to Communist movements put an end thereto. The Communists were arrested.

As you know Turkey is bordering on the Communist empire but stands as a fortress of democracy and freedom. Turks very well know what Communism is. There are few nations in the world who know the danger of Communism better than the Turks.

Today there is a coalition government in Turkey which takes the necessary measures against the danger of Communism. Its program has been approved by the Turkish National Assembly and the government has got the vote of confidence.

Documents about Encroachments upon Human Rights in the USSR

published by **Amnesty International (AI)**, January 1976

Section of the Federal Republic of Germany,
registered association
2000 Hamburg 76, Stückenstr. 70

Hon. A. S. Mohale

Minister of transport and communications, secretary general of the ruling Basotho National Party

Lesotho's Firm Stand

One does not lightly destroy a tradition, forged in battle, maintained and developed through over a century of history and proudly shown to the world as an enviable achievement. One does not give up those things one is most proud of. It is my contention, that to accept Communism would mean giving up our identity as a nation, because Communism cannot accept a genuinely independent nation, it debases the dignity of the human being and by its atheism, it is the sworn enemy of any religious tradition .

Let us not be fooled by their words. Communism has preached independence to nations under colonial rule, only to subject these nations to its own brand of colonialism and imperialism. I do not have to give you an annotated list! Every nation of Europe which fell under Communist domination after World War II is today a satellite of Mother Russia. Here in Asia, Communist China spreads its tentacles over as many neighbouring countries as it can. Back home in Africa, wherever either Russia or China have put their foot in the door, that door can no longer be shut. Through gifts, loans, funded projects and various other means they bring into the countries their ideologically trained personnel and through them, subvert the minds of the gullible until the day one more nation wakes up and finds itself tied hand and foot to a totalitarian system which does not allow any independence of thought or of action. One cannot be half-Communist. One cannot be Communist in one's own way. It is all or nothing, and "all" means subjection to an ideology which is not only foreign to Africa, but which also contradicts a way of life which we Africans

hold sacred. No Communist country would have accepted to govern Moshoeshoe and to let him rule his people. It would have told him in no uncertain terms: Where we govern, we also rule.

A totalitarian regime must absorb the whole man. Here too let us not be fooled by words. When a country has to proclaim itself in large letters a "Popular Democracy", it is usually in order to hide the fact that it is neither popular nor democratic. How can a Communist country be popular when it is the party hierarchy that makes all decisions without considering the people's wishes? How can it be democratic when even the slightest criticism is branded "revisionism", "reactionary behaviour" or "treason"? Why should a popular democracy need so many concentration camps? Why should dissenters be eliminated, re-educated or sent to psychiatric hospitals, if not in order to brain-wash them into thinking as the party does and as the party wants them to? If they are so popularly democratic, why don't they let the people talk freely, criticize freely, go where they want and make their genuinely personal and mature contribution to the welfare of the country? But of course, the people do not really understand! They are immature children who must be led by the hand of that all-wise and infallible "father figure" — the State. One has but to look at the adulation with which the people are required to venerate dogmatically the wise words of Chairman Mao, Lenin, (Stalin when he was in favour), Kim Il Sung to realize that, outside the upper echelons of the party, the people are children who must recite their lessons like children in a kindergarden. We are poles apart from the sacred

respect which Moshoeshoe manifested for the wisdom of all his people.

Finally, one does not have to go far to see what happens to religion in a Communist country. Here too the "freedom of religion" which most Communist countries proclaim in their constitution is, in fact, nothing more than window dressing. Every support is given to atheistic propaganda, but every possible obstacle is put in the way of the exercise of religions, of whatever kind. To be religious is considered a kind of mental aberration which can at best be tolerated in some irrecoverable cases, but of which the majority of the people must be cured and preserved. Churches, where they are not closed on some pretext, are turned into a kind of "psychiatric ward" in which those who are incurably infected with religiosity can, under strict control, give vent to their fancy. But everything is done to ensure that this plague is confined in the hope of gradually eradicating it. Africa is fundamentally religious. Long before the arrival of Christianity and Islam, the old traditional religions were so solidly interwoven into the cultures of Africa that one cannot speak of African culture or philosophy, without getting involved in African religion. Even Christianity never managed to completely wipe out this deeply engrained natural belief. Communist atheism is about as foreign to the African soul as any ideology could possibly be.

Communism is a dogma which enslaves the mind, because it is a dogma which denies freedom and therefore the dignity of man. It is a dogma which has at its service a powerfully structured bureaucracy and a totalitarian State. It is therefore a dogma which is not merely presented to man as an ideology to which he can, if he is so inclined, freely subscribe. It is physically forced upon whole populations by a minority party. This party is organized for subversions by infiltration in order to provoke a revolution from

within the State. Thus, the moment it can take over, it becomes an all embracing and ineradicable machinery, which streamrolls human beings, institutions and traditions into submission. Such a prospect is, by itself, fearful enough. But where a system is as diametrically opposed to an existing tradition as Communism is to the Basotho way of life, Communism is more than a threat. It would represent for us a national, cultural, social and personal suicide. Both as individuals and as a nation, we would have to destroy our identity to become something entirely different from what we are. We have remained Basotho through all the trials of our history and even throughout the almost hundred years of colonial rule. This identity we are not prepared to renounce, not even for great material wealth. How much more ridiculous it would be for us to renounce it for the material and spiritual poverty of Communism.

In our part of the world, we have noticed with increasing alarm that Southern Africa has become the pawn in the selfish, greedy scramble for world domination by Russia and other Communist satellites. It seems fashionable for despotic, totalitarian dictators formerly despised for their cruelty and bloody extermination of all opposition, to take upon themselves the responsibility of liberators moving into the African continent with tanks and guns blazing, bringing permanent liberation to thousands of **dead** Africans. Acceptance of any form of liberation by the Communists means spiritual death which we in Lesotho cannot tolerate.

Distance may separate us but we remain spiritually united through the conferences of the World Anti-Communist League. On behalf of the Government and the people of Lesotho, I wish you the best of luck in your deliberations.

*) Moshoeshoe the founder of the Basotho nation and its first president.

General Sir Walter Walker, KCB, CBE, DSO

Formerly NATO Commander in Chief, Allied Forces, Northern Europe

Soviet Design Around the Indian Sub-Continent

There is nothing new about Soviet designs in Southern Asia. Throughout history Russia has wanted secure and multiple access to the Indian Ocean.

Keeping India In Hock

India is kept increasingly in hock to the Soviet Union under the charade of the 'Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation'.

According to India's Ministry of Finance, Soviet aid to India during the 1974/75 fiscal year totalled Rs 139 million. However, in the same year India's payments to the Soviet Union in servicing outstanding debts and the interest thereon amounted to Rs 567 million. In other words, India had to repay the Soviet Union over four times the amount she received in aid during that year.

This anomaly came about through India acceding to some heavy demands by the Soviet Union following the devaluation of the rupee, as a result of which the revised valuation of India's debt to the Soviet Union escalated by over Rs 4,000 million.

The visit to Moscow in 1974 by Mr. Chavan, who was at that time India's Minister of Finance, to seek some easement of India's increasingly crushing financial indebtedness failed to secure any favourable reaction from his country's creditors. This would seem to reflect a somewhat cynical spirit of 'friendship and co-operation'.

'Co-operation In Production'

'Co-operation in production' is the name of the game by which the Soviet Union uses India as a dumping ground for surplus capital equipment. This in turn ensures that industrial development in India remains substantially dependent upon Soviet technology. Meanwhile India's natural resources, which include cheap labour, are used to produce goods which the Soviet Union 'accepts' in part payment. It comes as no surprise to find certain commodities being 'accepted' in excess of the demand of the Soviet domestic market. These are sold on the world market at handsome profit. While benefitting the Soviet Union this impacts upon India's own export capability and therefore her potential to earn badly needed foreign currencies.

'Asian Collective Security System'

At the 25th Party Congress Mr. Brezhnev carefully avoided any reference to the once vaunted Soviet proposals for an 'Asian collective security system'. Instead he called for the Soviet Union's continued and active participation in establishing peace and security in Asia by 'collective effort'.

In spite of strenuous efforts to promote an 'Asian collective security system', the idea was not received by potential customers as eagerly as the Soviets had hoped. Indeed, when the Soviet Ambassador in Nepal tried to cash in on Nepal's own declaration that it was a peaceful zone, on the grounds that it was closely linked to Soviet proposals for a collective security system, he was given short shrift by the local press. One authoritative weekly wrote scathingly of Soviet intentions to expand its sphere of influence by making the peoples of Asia fight among themselves.

No Soviet Support For Others' Peace Initiatives

On the other hand, no such support came from the Soviets for Mrs. Bandaranaike's proposal that the Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace. Equally significant was the abstention of the Soviet representative at the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council sessions from voting on resolutions for turning the Indian Ocean into a peaceful zone. Small wonder when the Soviet Union has been at pains to secure the use of twelve naval and military bases in that area and set up strategically placed buoys for mooring numbers of her thirty or so warships in these waters.

Bangladesh — A Soviet Warning

The overthrow of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his regime in August last year did not in any way please the Soviets, who were further disappointed when a counter coup failed in November. The following month Pravda openly warned the Government of Bangladesh that what happened in Bangladesh was of great importance to other countries 'interested in peace' in that part of the world.

British Indian Ocean Territories and Seychelles Group Political Situation

The whole area is due to become independent under the Government in the Seychelles on 29th June 1976. The President of the new country will be Mr. Mancham, the present Prime Minister.

Mr. Mancham's party stood for complete integration with Great Britain. Against the wishes of the majority of the new country, Independence is being foisted on the Seychelles and the British Indian Ocean territories by the British Labour Government.

Economic Situation

Local business men and politicians cannot see how the Seychelles are going to survive economically on their own. Apart from the export of coconuts and some other vegetables, tourism is the main base of the economy.

The country is, at present, experiencing a population explosion which it can ill afford in view of the severe lack of space.

Strategic Position

In 1972 an airfield was built, ostensibly to open up the tourist industry. In fact, it was financed by the United States Government so that they could build a missile and satellite tracking station which is now situated on the main island, Mahe.

The airfield can take jets up to Boeing 707 size and must be of considerable strategic importance in view of its position midway between East Africa, Arabia, India and the Far East.

A nephew of the Shah of Iran has recently bought an island in the Amarantes group for £ 1 million. Officially this has been purchased to develop the island as a hotel and tourist area. An airfield is to be built. A cynic or realistic observer might draw a different conclusion.

The harbour of Mahe is being improved, doubtless dockyard facilities could easily be built. The waters are very sheltered.

The islands have no defence force except for their own civil police. They are quite incapable of defending themselves.

Mr. Mancham has stated that he wishes the new country to become 'neutral' after Independence.

My conclusion is that after 29th June 1976, the Seychelles will be up for 'grabs', when the Russians decide to take over, one frigate will be all they will require. Nothing will stop them.

LEBANON

The Present Symbol

It is still only a matter of months since Lebanon might have been regarded as the safest bet in the Middle East in terms of political stability.

Although the population is divided delicately between Christians and Moslems (shades of Ulster), things were so arranged that every minority group felt it had some reasonable degree of representation in the order of things. This, together with a wonderful climate, beautiful scenery and a free currency zone made Lebanon into something approaching a modern day Garden of Eden.

Maybe the departure of Aldo, the Italian of international fame in charge of the bar of 'Les Caves du Roy' — which must have been one of the most relaxed night clubs in the world, signified the shape of things to come; or maybe the failure of M. Gaie Para's enterprise over the now

famous Byblos Hotel in the South of France should have warned us that the 'Lebanese Miracle' was coming to an end. Certainly the high life of Lebanon was something to be savoured, and it was epitomised by places like 'Les Caves'.

Now the symbol of Lebanon is the smoldering wreck of the Holiday Inn and streets littered with garbage and the unattended dead.

Chaos Caused By Soviet Subversion

This situation was caused by deliberate Soviet subversion and intrigue. Let nobody be fooled into thinking it was the result of years of religious tension and ill-feeling. Both communities — and remember each is made up of a number of Christian and Moslem sects which complicate matters still further — have lived on manageable terms with each other for years, and might have done so indefinitely helped by the mature political skills of such responsible Moslems as M. Saeb Salam and M. Rashid Karami and Christian politicians like M. Raymond Edde.

Launch Pad Into Israel

However, this was not to be. The Soviet Union, confronted by the growing disenchantment of Egypt, required another square on the world's chess board as a launch pad from which to attack Israel by proxy. Lebanon, with its delicate religious infrastructure and the built-in detonator of a substantial number of Palestinians living in refugee camps, was now a natural after years of careful preparation. The country's southern frontier with Israel was the sort of bonus the strong always seem to collect. To cap it all, the Soviets had a ready made Kerensky in Kemal Jumblatt, the wild Druse politician of Leftist persuasion.

It is therefore necessary to understand quite clearly that Lebanon is regarded by the Soviet Union as its launch pad into Israel by proxy. Once it is established as such the significance of the Golan Heights on the Syrian/Israeli frontier as a dominating factor reduces accordingly.

What should The West Do Now?

Israel, a lynch-pin in Western defences, must not be lost. What course of action, then, should the West adopt?

First, we should be prepared for a demand for Partition from either the Christians or the Moslems, and then we should support it to the bitter end until it becomes a fact of life. This will not be easy and it will take courage; however, the West has the means through economic sanctions against the USSR provided it has the will to carry them out. The question of Partition will almost certainly arise unless, through some great good fortune, the internal situation is properly resolved.

Partition will, for a number of valid local reasons, require the grouping of the Christian community in the south of Lebanon, thus safeguarding the vital frontier with Israel.

Second, the West must decide who their friends are and back them with full and unwavering support not only while the Lebanese crisis exists, but subsequent to its resolution.

President Camille Chamoun — Friend of the West

Now an elder statesman, but still as though as they come and a politician par excellence, former President Camille Chamoun is a realist and has never for one moment disguised his pro-Western attitudes.

As long ago as 1958 Sir Anthony Nutting, British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from 1954-56, wrote in 'I Saw For Myself' (publishers — Hollis & Carter, 25 Ashley Place, London, SW 1):

'President Chamoun of Lebanon had been only a little less emphatic in the views he expressed to me in Beirut on my way to Baghdad. The worst thing, he said, that Britain and America could do for people like the Lebanese was to go their separate ways in the Middle East and to present a constant spectacle of rivalry, jealousy and misunderstanding between each other. Though he had not joined the Baghdad Pact, he had publicly proclaimed that Lebanon was with the West in the great world struggle against Communism. For this he was being subjected to a sustained attack by Egypt and Syria. The Egyptian and Syrian secret services, aided and abetted by the Russians were continually at work to stir up trouble in Lebanon. Arms were being smuggled from Syria to the Moslem parts of Northern Lebanon to try to upset by force the precarious balance between Christians and Moslems, and to start up civil disturbances throughout the country.

In 1956 during the Suez crisis this solid friend of the West, who heads the Christian community of Lebanon and who looks like a film star and talks like a statesman, had shown enormous courage in dealing with what had promised to be an ugly situation for Britain and the West. Bombs had been smuggled in by Egyptian military attaches and thrown at the British Embassy and other Western institutions. The Lebanese Government had panicked and formed up to the President to demand that Lebanon should break off diplomatic relations with Britain and France and steer an anti-Western course of policy.

Chamoun acted without hesitation. He dismissed the Government and appointed a new one on whom he could rely to pursue his own pro-Western policy, he sent Egyptian attaches packing and he arrested and imprisoned the perpetrators of the bomb outrages. Chamoun therefore had a right to criticize us and to say that, if Britain and America really wanted to help him hold the Lebanon to his pro-Western course, they must first stop squabbling and show by their actions that they are working together to support those who resist Communism in the Middle East.,

We failed to listen to President Chamoun twenty years ago. We should listen to him now.

(From International Summary Issue No. 7)

Ben C. Limb (Korea)

Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League

What Should Be Done

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am convinced that the results and significance of this 9th Conference are remarkable.

In the first place, the timing is very significant.

In the wake of the Indochina debacle two major currents have emerged on the international scene. One is the so-called Vietnam-Style armed struggle

I find it very significant that the General Conferences of WACL and APACL consisting of 69 member countries which believe in freedom have now been held to reaffirm the gravity of our mission.

Secondly, the site of this meeting is meaningful.

It is meaningful in that the WACL conference was held for the first time



WACL Chairman Hon. Ben C. Limb addressing WACL Conference, Korea, Hon. Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Mrs Anna Marie Stuvén and outgoing Chairman Dr. Carlo Barbieri Filho, (from right to left).

spreading through a number of developing states of Asia and Africa. The other is the growing menace of the Communist force that is noticeable even within the traditionally free nations of Europe.

The fate of mankind thus depends on whether a breakwater can be built to stem these currents or not.

in Seoul where the WACL Secretariat is located. More important, the conference was held at a place only 40 kilometers from the truce line across which one million soldiers on both sides of Korea are poised against each other, and in the capital city of the Republic of Korea which serves as the foremost bastion against Communism in Asia.

Thirdly, discussions at the conference have been of grave consequence.

We have condemned the Communists' ambition to bring the entire world under their rule, but also exchanged substantial and sincere views on what should be done to defeat Communism, expressing our firm determination to take actions to that end.

We paid our profound respects to President Park Chung Hee of Korea for pressing ahead unflinchingly in the van of the Asian anti-Communist front carrying the agony and faith of the Free World on his shoulders in the peculiar conditions of Korea, and affirmed our resolution, in the name of all anti-Communist citizens of the 69 countries we represent, to strongly counteract in unity any challenges and barbarous acts by the Communists in the future.

As Chairman, before declaring the close of the conference, I should like to relate my philosophy based on experiences gained in my anti-Communist struggle so far.

First, although Communism has been subjected to severe criticism, ridicule and contempt by the freedom-loving peoples of the world, nobody can deny that it has continued to expand miraculously. In the late 19th century when I was born, no Communist state could be found on earth.

But today about one half of the globe has been communized. It is indeed a miracle. One cannot think of it without astonishment that such expansion of

Communism has been possible in a period of only 60 years from 1917 to 1976.

Second, the Communists are a group of brazen-faced gangsters who believe in the philosophy of force and seek to fulfill their desire by taking advantage of unguarded moments and the degeneracy of the Free World people.

This judgement is based on my careful observation of the nature and behavior of the Communists who have indulged in murder and destruction. I was already 25 years of age when the first Communist regime on earth came into being.

Third, it is we, the citizens of the Free World, that are responsible, in the final analysis, for the expansion and vicious acts of the Communists.

If the intellectuals of the Free World had spared no efforts to expose the unreasonableness of Communism to the general public and had not been reluctant to fight it with the firm attitude of countering force with force, the evil Communists could not have achieved such a miraculous expansion in such a short span of time.

As the chairman who presided over the conference, I am immensely delighted and proud to note that the 9th WACL General Conference has carefully analyzed and discussed all these problems and accurately set the direction of countermeasures.

(Closing remarks at the WACL Conference, in Seoul Korea, May, 1976)

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National China's Support To Captive Nations

From the Address by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Chairman
Captive Nations Week Rally of the Republic Of China

Taipei, July 23, 1976

President Yen, distinguished guests,
ladies and gentlemen:

For many years now, Captive Nations Week has become a great movement of the free world working for the liberation of the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain. Today's rally in the Republic of China in support of Captive Nations Week is indubitable evidence that we are standing firmly on the side of the democratic camp and fighting for human freedom for all peoples of the world.



1. The Present Favorable Anti-Enslavement Situation

A favorable anti-enslavement situation is fast developing. The objective conditions for the liberation of the enslaved peoples are shaping up at an accelerated pace.

However vociferous the Communist advocates of violence may be, however rampant Communist aggression is, the following points are crystal-clear:

To begin with, the free nations now know only too well that the Communist objective of communizing the world and enslaving mankind will never change; they know how economically poor and backward the Communist regimes are; they know the absolute necessity of preserving freedom and security through strength. The awakening of the free world and the upsurge of the forces of freedom are turning the international situation for the better.

2. What the World Expects of the United States

Just as the anti-enslavement struggle on both sides of the Iron Curtain is entering upon a new stage, the United States is celebrating its

Bicentennial. As the American war of independence has served as a good example of mankind's fight for freedom and against enslavement, the strenuous efforts the United States has exerted in the last two centuries for the preservation of human freedom and against despotic totalitarianism have likewise made vital contributions to the human cause. Now that all the enslaved peoples in Asia, Europe, and Latin America are waging a life-and-death struggle against Communism and fighting for freedom, all peoples in the world look up to the United States as the initiator of the Captive Nations week to give full expression to its traditional national spirit and constantly refuse to recognize all **faits accomplis**. They look up to the United States to abandon once for all the dangerous tactics of "aligning with the Peiping regime to checkmate Soviet Russia", and to render all-out support to the enslaved peoples' fight for freedom.

**President Yen Chia-kan's Address to the Mass Rally Supporting
the Captive Nations, July 23, 1976**

(Extract)

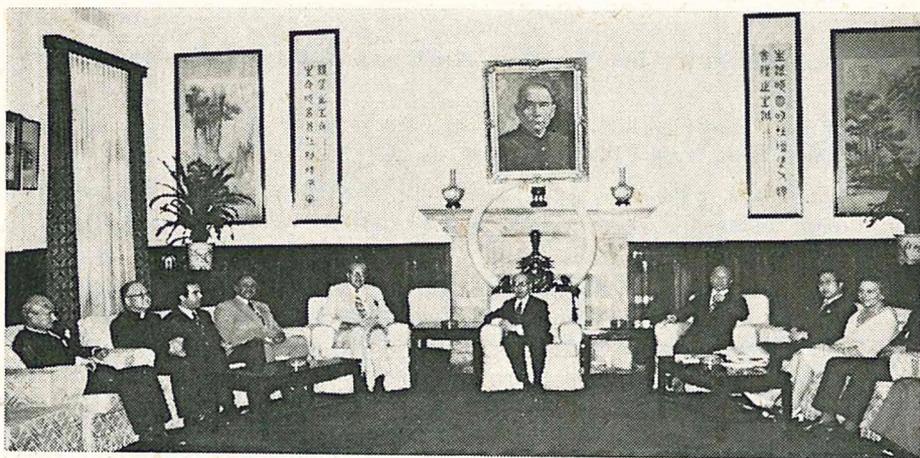
The history of evolving human civilization is to be equated with humanity's overcoming of violence and with freedom's victory over slavery. Those people who struggle for freedom have always won the final victory with the greatness and resolution of their will and dauntlessness of their spirit. This means that in all history there has never been an



Speakers at the rally, US Congressman Edward J. Derwinski, his wife; J. T. Kolane, Speaker of the National Assembly of Lesotho; Eduardo Galil, Brazilian Congressman; Prof. Giorgio Roberti, from Italy; Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine); (from left to right).

enslaving tyranny which was not destroyed by anti-tyrannical people, and there has never been a freedom-depriving totalitarianism which was not swept away by those striving for freedom. Today, the evil forces of Communism are rampant and the adverse current of international appeasement is running high. Yet this is a mere transitional period of darkness before the dawn. I believe implicitly that man's conscience is intact and that the torch of freedom continues to burn brightly and, fully in keeping with the trend of history, is straightforwardly marching toward victory.

The people of the Republic of China are the vanguard of anti-Communist freedom fighters. We heed the last testaments of our Founding Father Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the late President Chiang Kai-shek in taking our stand for benevolence and righteousness and in seeking the salvation of our country and the world. No matter how the world situation may change our will to struggle forward will never waver and our anti-Communist undertakings will never cease. We shall not just wait to see the Chinese Communists collapse, but shall take the initiative and defeat the enemy before he knows. We are supremely confident that "success rests in our hands". We shall close ranks with all the freedom and democracy-loving and anti-Communist and anti-slavery peoples of the world in this common struggle. In so doing, we shall add a glorious page to our history and assure a brilliant tomorrow for the world.



President Yen Chia-kan and Dr. Ku Cheng-kang with foreign guest speakers.

From the Speech by Hon. Edward J. Derwinski

Congressman of the United States of America

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, honored guests, friends,

Communism has created a completely artificial structure in the economic, educational, and political programs dictated by Red governments. Therefore they must resort to constant propaganda and self-deception. Trapped by their own rhetoric they cannot acknowledge the true reasons for their failures.

Circumstances clearly force Communist regimes to reject any deviation from rigid dogma. They are growing more rigid at a time when technological progress in the free world offers us even greater individual opportunity and well-being.

We must make use of the talent, energy, individuality and resourcefulness that is available in the Free World. We must maintain the offensive in economic, educational, cultural and scientific fields; and we must accentuate the battle for the minds of men by increasing use of communications facilities to penetrate the Iron and Bamboo Curtains with messages of truth.

The Communist bloc is slowly but surely disintegrating. Red dictatorships cannot reverse this process. Once again he legitimate forces of nationalism, the great strength of traditional forces are overcoming a military-imposed ideology.

I appeal to you to increase your efforts to hasten the disintegration of the Communist world — chaos is inevitable on the mainland. The nationalist spirit of the non-Russian peoples is growing and causing internal problems within the Soviet Union. Eastern Europe Communist governments are under pressure from their citizens to draw away from the Soviet Union. Cuba is isolated in Latin America and all Communist governments face a multitude of self-imposed problems.

A great American president, Abraham Lincoln, during my country's Civil War said. "This nation cannot exist half-slave and half-free".

I say to you the World cannot exist half-slave and half-free. Freedom for all peoples, Communism for none, is our battle cry!

50,000 Join Rally to Hear Leaders at Climax of Captive Nations Week

A grand rally climaxing the activities in observance of the 1976 Captive Nations Week was held at the Taipei Municipal Stadium at 7 p. m. yesterday.

More than 50,000 people took part, including government officials, members of the Taipei foreign diplomatic corps, visiting foreign dignitaries, and representatives from all walks of life in the nation.

Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R-II.), of the United States; Speaker of the Lesotho National Assembly, J. T. Kolane; Rep. Eduardo Galil, of Brazil; Mrs. Slava Stetsko, chairman of Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; and Prof. Giorgio Roberti of Italy, delivered speeches at the gathering, which was presided over by Dr. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, honorary president of the World Anti-Communist League.

At the meeting, a rally declaration was issued, calling on freedom-loving peoples of the world and suppressed people on the Chinese mainland to join hands in the struggle to defeat Communism.

(China Post, July 24, 1976)

Dynamic Forces of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle

Ukrainian nationalism has always formed its planned directives for action, cultural in content and idealistic in outlook, through a long and active struggle, full of sacrifices, as the generation of the persecuted has again confirmed. Our youth has not grown up isolated from the revolutionary processes of OUN-UPA,¹⁾ but has grown up on the sacrifices of the fighters of OUN-UPA in the national struggle on two fronts. The current revolutionary-liberation process in Ukraine should thus be regarded as an integral fact.

Against enemy subversive activities

In the period of psychological warfare, which is a composite part of modern warfare as imposed by Moscow, the enemy has attempted and keeps on trying to redirect the Ukrainian liberation movement from an idealistic-political basis and thus tear it away from its true roots. Many forms of various subversions have been attempted, such as trying to assimilate the ideological content of our liberation movement into the enemy's ideology, or to reduce it to the role of mere sectarianism, pseudonationalism, deprived of social, economic and cultural originality in growth through struggle. The enemy's plan includes the division of the Ukrainian revolutionary process into two, away from the concentration of all forces of national life into a general uprising which would mobilize all strata of the population. The nation stands united behind its armed forces when actions in all fields of life are fundamentally directed at armed conflict.

¹⁾ OUN-UPA — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

When the revolutionary-liberation movement was headed by Col. Ye. Konovalets, Gen. Roman Shukhevych and Stepan Bandera the ideological-political diversions of the enemy were always uncovered in time and successfully combated. Such protection of the purity of the liberation movement's line is an inseparable part of the ideological battle.

The process of Ukrainian liberation is unfolding in a unique age in the history of liberation movements. In my opinion, a great achievement in the current epoch of the liberation movement is the realization by the leading and political elite in general of Ukrainian national rights, the apprehension, creative solution and defence of many aspects in life of original Ukrainian qualities, spirituality, sociality, traditionality, a deeper study of the origins of our history, and the projection into Ukrainian ideas of the spontaneous aspirations of a nation, thus guaranteeing its invincibility.

Revolution and tradition

"Back to tradition, back to original Christianity" — these are the revolutionary slogans of our epoch, though the concepts of revolution and tradition may seem contradictory. A nation enslaved always goes back to tradition, to revolutionary means, the origin of its strength. Even Solzhenitsyn tries to seek salvation for Russia in this, thus imitating Berdiayev.

Tradition not only encompasses the spiritual values of a millenium, but also the social and juridical institutions, the style and way of life of a nation. Although the general strategy of liberation can nowadays be outlined as the defence of a nation, the offensive character of the struggle on the ideologi-

cal, ethical, cultural and political levels cannot be denied. The formula for the current revolutionary-liberation struggle is to defend oneself by taking the offensive.

No process of revolutionary political uprising is fully completed until the supreme state power is taken over by the nation. Revolutionary movements in all aspects of life must aim at one central point — the rule of the nation. However, this cannot be achieved without a political commanding organization which brings the various processes of struggle under one common denominator and organizes the nation for the decisive armed uprising.

The clandestine revolutionary-liberation movement of OUN with its heroic fighters, proven in battle, its leaders in concentration camps, of massive strikes and armed conflicts with the enemy, and also unbroken spiritual leaders — put forward the alternative of Ukrainian national rule. The alternative of Ukrainian national rule is thus the revolutionary force leading toward the uprising of a nation today. The nation's struggle nowadays is not only for "land and liberty" but for national rule, land and liberty, caused not only by the situation within the empire of the Soviet Union, but also by the collapse of empires from the international aspect and the influence of this phenomenon upon the revolutionary processes in Ukraine. The indestructibility of the revolutionary liberation organization is a fact, as its characteristics show — a common ideal, a common direction

of actions, carried out through modern methods for the mobilization of the whole nation, and technical contacts on a high technological level.

The ideological, political and operative concentration, aided by modern technical means, together with organizational and technical deconcentration, has been the continual aim of a clandestine organization which has many forms. On the whole, all organized revolutionary processes meet at one centre of command, without which there can be no liberation. The revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary idea, revolutionary action, people and ideas in many aspects of life and creativity and not only in the armed or ideological aspects — these component factors of the revolutionary process interweave into one fundamental union whose principal purpose is opposition to the whole national enemy body. What was gained in battle serves as a stepping stone to further achievements, for this is a struggle not for any partial gains but for the whole. People are dying not for an 8-hour day, but for social justice. Instead of merging into a foreign cultural, social and political body, they are struggling for a Ukrainian way of life and its manifestation in various aspects of life and creativity.

A struggle for Ukrainian law against injustice

One of the greatest revolutionary slogans of our days is the struggle for legality and justice, according to Ukrainian law. Herein lies our struggle: all the actions of OUN are legal in the eyes of God and the free Ukrainian law, because any occupation, any foreign coercion in occupied lands, is a crime. Force can never legitimize laws. The seizure of foreign land by an invader can never be legitimized since it is against God's, human, national, and international laws. The nation is the highest spiritual community, and the national idea, according to writers

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

from Ukraine, catalyzes the purest ideas of mankind, and having enriched them in the national climate thus enriches the treasure-house of world culture. Therefore, in view of ethics and heroic humanism, violence committed against a nation is the worst crime possible. Furthermore, there are no non-national cultures, and denationalization is the absence of culture, that is, a despiritualization, deheroization, and demoralization of life.

Thus, the current revolutionary slogan in Ukraine is: „Against injustice — for justice, Ukrainian and international legality, and the restoration of national rights to Ukraine and the Captive Nations!“ International law which permits the violation of every nation's right to independence and legalizes servitude is not valid, since it is against God's and human law. Ukraine's fight against Russia — who has broken the law of nations, human law and God's law — is legal and just. The actions of OUN are equally just and legal — the actions of Moscow and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are illegal and criminal!

The fight against injustice and for legality is the driving force of our struggle. I would like to draw attention here to several instances connected with the period of "calling upon the Constitution", "legal procedures" and "legal exonerations" regarding the actions of several cultural workers, especially: the systematic illegal actions committed by the enemies regardless of the fact that they were violating their own laws; the underlying political motives of several cultural workers in pointing out the lies of the regime, and, in general, calling upon universal laws, such as the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Under no circumstances can this section of the national struggle be classed under the category of attempted reformism or "liberalization", or a struggle to make reality conform to the USSR-Constitution, or under the category of

Ukrainian "dissent". The principal aims of our fighters are: national and human laws, the restoration of national sovereignty, the realization of a fully Ukrainian way of life, the realization of traditional and historical Ukrainian qualities, and the defence of Ukraine. **There are no Ukrainian dissident-patriots.** The position of Russian reformers and 'liberalizers' — dissidents trying to rectify the system from above or below but keeping the empire intact — is completely opposed to that of Ukrainian cultural workers. The Ukrainian fighters for national and human rights in the cultural elite can in no way be considered naive, just as they cannot be accused of having no experience in the struggle with the KGB.

Thus the actions of OUN, which objects to any calling upon of the occupant's laws, give that historical section a definite place in the system of extending a wider front against the enemy, and includes the more timid elements, who supported the cultural workers by throwing flowers to the arrested and protested by letter against illegal actions. The process of revolutionizing and mobilizing wider circles has got further than ever before . . .

The universal ideological basis of our actions

The journal of the "People's Labour Alliance", "Possev", comparing Valenty Moroz with Pomerants, a Russian dissident, described him as a man of an extraordinary character, high morals, courage, and of genius but . . . as a "man of yesterday" with his ideas of a new national and international political, ideological, ethical, traditional, cultural and religious order.

It is important to point out that our persecuted Ukrainian fighters consider nationalism and humanity not in opposition to, but as part of, the one whole, since people live in nations and world culture lives only through national

culture. Humanity is not the mechanical sum of individuals — it exists through nations. Humanism is not the antithesis of nationalism, but the ethical and social qualities of a person as a social individual. Religion is an inherent part of culture, and ethics have their origin in religion. The human "I", that is, the veritable "I" of individuality, is similar to the divine, according to Skovoroda, whose philosophy is close to the spiritual principles of Ukrainian nationalism. Social order is thus based on the respect of individuals and their nations.

Moroz — is a representative of the new Ukrainian national order, which is to save the world not only from an atomic cataclysm but also from barbarism and the cult of idol worship — puts forward the fundamental national, traditional and cultural principle of differentiation, and the harmonious international mosaic of diverse national beings. This is called into question by Pomerants, who is considered by Possev to be a representative of the real "progressive" world, and who enumerates the various "facts" about the so-called Soviet people: the intermingling of nations, the creation of a supra-national culture based upon selected intellectuals from various nations, nations torn up from their roots.

In order to explain abroad all the existing contradictions between historical and dialectical materialism on the

one hand, and Russian national-imperialistic messianism on the other, as the Russian nation is founded on the former and the international proletariat on the latter, the Russian imperialistic order has linked the Russian nation and its world interests with the international proletariat and the so-called proletariat internationalism, completely in accordance with the messianic ideology of Dostoyevsky. Thus the 'Soviet nation' is supposedly something higher, a denationalized community, a 'historical reality', "a new creation on the path to withdrawal from nationhood". The vision of Pomerants' Babylon is a delusion for "useful idiots" thought out in the sclerotic head of the ideologist Suslov; it is a delusion as a model of 'a higher level of human development' for the unification of a denationalized international community. Furthermore, the Constitution of the USSR defines the USSR not as a "union of national republics" but as 'a workers', 'farmers' and working intelligentsia's state" from which one easily arrives at the concept of a "Soviet people".

Ukraine has commenced the struggle against such an unlawful, unnatural world order, behind which hides brutal Russian lawlessness. Thus the ideological, national and political fight of Ukraine against Russia has nowadays taken on a revolutionary meaning of universal dimensions. B. Ork.

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE
the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
by John Kolasky

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Fires of Independence Smolder in Soviet Georgia

The Talk of Tbilisi

Brooding eyes, dark with smoldering anger, look out from behind the raised glass of white wine. To the United States of America, the toast begins, the final bulwark of democracy and freedom. Let the American people not forget the Georgian people, who seek their own democracy and freedom.

The toast and the eyes belong to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, an intense Georgian nationalist and separatist who lives a precarious life in advocacy of the independence of Georgia from the Soviet Union. He knows 20 or 30 other Georgians who feel the same way.

If placed on an American political spectrum, these Georgian dissidents would be farther to the right than almost any American conservative, for they would welcome United States military force to help "liberate" Georgia.

"If the Voice of America were to say two words about Georgia", one of them declared hopefully, "the next day — because of the Georgian way of exaggerating — they would be saying that it had talked for two hours".

An Ancient People

Whatever silent chords of sympathy such separatist sentiments generate within the Georgian population, they lie well beneath the surface of accommodation between Georgian culture and Soviet political rule.

The Georgians are an ancient people, really an array of neighboring tribes and cultures scattered from the Black Sea coast through the foothills and into the mountains of the Caucasus. Their rich heritage of literature, dance, language and religion has remained intact through centuries of conquest and domination by Mongols, Turks and Persians, and now also in a period of Russian pre-eminence, which began in the

early 19th century after Orthodox Georgia sought Russia's protection against the Moslems.

In its most overt and apolitical forms, Georgian culture seems as plentiful as the succulent fruit of Georgian vineyards.

Georgian Culture Common

The Georgian language, with its distinctive alphabet, is used in television broadcasts, films, books and plays. At the Rustaveli Theater recently the program for Brecht's "Caucasian Chalk Circle" — performed in Georgian — was printed only in Georgian, not Russian.

The Georgian-language newspaper, *Komunisti*, has five times the circulation of its Russian-language counterpart, *Zarya Vostoka*.

The museums are filled with the frescoes, icons and gold of Georgian artists.

The roots of antiquity are visible everywhere. Filigreed balconies lean out over crooked cobblestone streets. On dry rural hilltops, the ruins of ancient church-fortresses look as if they have grown the rock itself, like the Moorish castles in Spain.

In the streets of Tbilisi, the Georgian capital, there is a fluidity and a subtle current of unruliness as different from Moscow as Rome is from London. The busts in the university are mostly of poets and painters, rarely of Lenin.

The wife of a well-known officially approved artist wears a jade cross on a chain around her neck. In the town of Mtskheta, Georgia's capital until the fourth century A. D., a wedding ceremony has just ended in the ornate chapel of the 11th-century Sveti-Tskhoveli Cathedral.

"All Georgians are believers", says the bearded priest. "It is an ancient tradition."

"We've kept our own language through invasions and wars", argues a young woman guide for Intourist, the Soviet travel agency."

Mr. Gamsakhurdia describes a process of Russification: Thirty percent of all Georgian children now attend Russian-language schools by their parents' choice, he maintains. Some take Russian first names; for instance, the Intourist guide, whose Georgian name is Natella, or Nata for short, often calls herself by the Russian name Natasha.

Vocational institutes often assign Georgian graduates to Russian cities for their mandatory three-year tours of duty in their professions. Mr. Gamsakhurdia contends, and he believes that Georgian writers, hampered by censorship, now produce little that is peculiarly Georgian or particularly good.

Campaign Against Customs

Last November, the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party issued a decree "to intensify the struggle against harmful traditions and customs", a measure aimed at eradicating certain "religious Festivities", "name-days for various 'saints,'" animal sacrifices during religious ceremonies, blood feuds and vendettas, arranged marriages, extravagant wedding and funeral feasts, showy marble mausoleums, excessive drinking and other forms of conspicuous consumption for which Georgians are famous throughout the Soviet Union.

The apparent author of this campaign is Eduard A. Shevardnadze, the Georgian party chief, who has aroused so much positive and negative feeling here that rumors circulate of a secret party decree against telling anecdotes about him, or about the party in general.

Just how the campaign is proceeding is unclear. When pressed, several party members conceded that they would be reluctant to admonish anyone they did not know well to avoid traditional customs. One engineer, a party member who could name only seven of the

15 Politburo members, explained over a late-night dinner that there would be "no shouting — just saying, 'you do not need it'".

Another Communist, a newspaper editor, remarked, "We can't eradicate everything with a magic wand". Then, blushing citing traditional Georgian hospitality, he opened a bottle of wine. It was 11:30 A. M. (New York Times)

Purge in Georgia Stepped up

Communist party leaders in Georgia, the maverick Caucasian republic which was recently the scene of bomb attacks and arson, were ordered yesterday to step up their fight against corruption and nationalism.

As the decree was made, Tass, the official Soviet news agency, announced that Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a prominent freedom fighter from Georgia and son of the republic's most revered man of letters, was detained by police for accosting a woman in a Moscow street.

Gamsakhurdia, 37, a writer and a member of the Soviet branch of Amnesty International, later said that police took him into custody to confiscate his papers and books, and that there was no woman involved.

According to Soviet law, police cannot simply detain a person without a warrant or complaint. That, Gamsakhurdia said, was the reason they fabricated the accusation.

Moscow Alarmed

The Georgian decree, made by the Soviet Communist party's central committee, applauded efforts by Georgia's strongman, the former police chief Eduard Shevardnadze, to purge the republic of trouble-makers.

It made no reference to a series of incidents earlier this year, including a bomb attack on the Council of Ministers building in Tbilisi, which have been alarming Moscow.

Instead, he was told to wage a "relentless struggle against relapses into

philistine and petty-bourgeois thinking, against manifestations of nationalism, money-grubbing" and outdated and harmful customs and religious prejudices".

Sheverdnadze took over as Communist party chief four years ago following the enforced retirement of Vasily

Mzhavanadze, who is since said to have been involved in corruption and nepotism.

He purged hundreds of officials and is said to have made many enemies in his efforts to put an end to protectionism in official positions.

(Daily Telegraph)

Repressions Against Ukrainians Increasing

Valentyn Moroz was transferred on 10th May 1976 from Vladimir Prison to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow, that is, to a mental hospital. For some time now the prison authorities have begun to spread rumours that Moroz has apparently become very religious, "he talks to God", and the like, so that he should have been transferred earlier for "treatment" to the psychiatric institute.

The regime of other prisoners in Vladimir Prison has recently also been intensified. Apart from Moroz there are imprisoned Yuriy Shukhevych, Zinovi Antoniuk, Yevhen Proniuk, and Oleksander Serhienko.

Z. Antoniuk was sentenced by the Kyiv Oblast Court between 8th and 15th August 1972, presided over by the well-known stalinist and sadist Dyshel. Antoniuk was sentenced to 7 years strict regime and 3 years exile. For violating camp regime he was transferred from Perm camp no. 35 to Vladimir Prison where the state of his health has deteriorated drastically.

Y. Proniuk was sentenced at the beginning of December 1973 by the same court in the case of V. Lisovy and I. Semeniuk, to 7 years strict regime and 5 years exile. He also stayed in Perm camp no. 35. In 1976 he was sent to Vladimir Prison.

V. Lisovy was taken in December 1975 from a Mordovian camp to Kyiv where the KGB tried to "influence" him to recant. At the end of December they again transferred him to camp without achieving any kind of recantation.

In recent months repressions against

Ukrainian youth have increased, particularly against intermediate pupils.. For instance, back in December 1975 in intermediate school no. 75 in Lviv, a group of pupils of the 5th, 6th, and 7th classes were arrested, accused of "painting *tryzub". More and more frequently by way of repression, they are also moving Ukrainians from the Lviv oblast to other oblasts in the east.

After 15 years imprisonment Lev Lukyanenko and Ivan Kandyba, were released from Vladimir Prison and Perm camp no. 35 respectively.

Murders And Psychiatric Hospitals For The Faithful In The Soviet Union

Three years ago 18 year-old Vitaly Oykevich arrived in Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, from Vinnytsa in Ukraine. He was preparing to enter the Catholic Ecclesiastical Seminary in Kovna, since there are no Ukrainian Catholic seminaries in Ukraine. While living in Vilnius he took an active part in church services, serving at the altar and because of this he fell under the suspicion of the KGB police. The police called Vitaly several times for very long hearings. During one such hearing they proposed that he collaborate with the security police and promised in return to help him to enter the Ecclesiastical Seminary even without doing military service. Vitaly refused to collaborate with the police.

On 14th May 1975 Vitaly's badly mutilated body was found in his apartment on Hardino Street in Vilnius.

*) tryzub — trident, the Ukrainian national emblem.

The Mysterious Death Of Two Ukrainian Priests

Reports from Ukraine indicate that on 30th January 1975 the execution of a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priest, **Father Mykhailo Lutsky** from Drohobych took place without trial near the town of Stryh.

Father Lutsky was a member of an underground group of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests who continue to serve the faithful in Ukraine despite government bans.

On the day of the execution Father Lutsky was called out by KGB agents dressed in civilian clothes, on the pretext that a sick man needed his attention. On the next day his body was found hanging from a tree by villagers.

Claims made by the Soviet Government that Father Lutsky committed suicide, have been strongly refuted by the villagers who knew him.

Father Luchkiv was born in 1934 and was parish priest in the village of Drohovyche on the Dniester in the Mykolaiv region of the Lviv oblast.

On 12th February 1975 Father Ivan Luchkiv rose at dawn to celebrate mass; it was the Feast-Day of the Three Saints. Since it fell during the week, mass had to be celebrated before people went to work. On leaving his house Father Luchkiv was seized by strangers, who beat him up, gagged him and hung him from a ladder in a barn. There is no doubt that his enemies were responsible. Crowds of people came to the funeral from the neighbouring villages.

The police did not interfere with the funeral in any way, although they imposed a ban on talking about it, with a fine of 25 krb. The police spread a rumour that the priest's wife was responsible for his death, since she suspected him of being unfaithful.

Father Luchkiv was a good priest, a great patriot and a fine preacher. The villagers believe that this did not please his enemies and that therefore they tried to destroy him.

The names of Father Ivan Luchkiv and Father Mykhailo Lutsky should not be confused.

The Fate Of Serhiy Babych

Accurate reports have reached the West about the fate of a Ukrainian political prisoner Serhiy Oleksandrovich Babych. Babych was born in 1939 and worked as a carpenter in Ternopil where he was arrested in 1960 for his protest against policies of Russification, difficult living conditions and low wages. That year he was sentenced to 3 years in a strict regime camp. He spent the first two years in the Mordovian camps, though in 1962 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison, where he worked right up to the time of his release on 13th April 1963, then on 27th September 1963, he was again arrested for distributing leaflets containing criticism of Krushchev. He was sentenced in Rivno on 19th February 1964 to ten years strict regime. On 14th August 1964 Babych succeeded in escaping from camp, though he was caught within two days (he was betrayed by a woman at whose house he spent a night). Locked in the isolation cell Babych tried to escape through a tunnel which he dug underground, but at the last moment he was discovered by the guards and taken to another cell.

In October 1964 a court sentenced him to an extra three years for trying to escape. During transit to Vladimir Prison Babych escaped again. He obtained some civilian clothes from the criminal prisoners whom he was being transported with and at the railway station in the town of Vladimir he left the convoy. In pursuit of him a KGB major wounded him in the leg. Babych was brought to Vladimir Prison. On orders from the administration he was not taken to hospital but to a cell and they demanded that the sick prisoner obey prison regime. For not fulfilling his work quota he was frequently put in SHIZO. On 19th February 1966 another trial took place and Babych's

sentence was increased by three years for his attempt to escape. He stayed in Vladimir Prison until 1968, and later was transferred to a special zone and is at present in Zone 19 of the Mordovian Camps.

Deep Concern About The Fate Of M. Plakhotniuk

The Ukrainian doctor Mykola Plakhotniuk, has been interred in a psychiatric prison in Dniepropetrovsk and deprived of all contact with the outside world. The KGB confiscates all M. Plakhotniuk's letters and because he has no close relations who would have the right to visit him, he is actually in a state of complete isolation which gives rise to great concern for his health and fate. They have been "treating" Plakhotniuk in the prison of ill renown from as early as 1972 and his friends are concerned that his condition may be similar to if not worse than the state which L. Plyushch was reduced to. It is known that Plakhotniuk is suffering from tuberculosis. His friends have turned to the West, primarily to medical associations and individual doctors, asking them to intercede with their protests on behalf of an accomplished human being and a professional colleague.

Dr. Plakhotniuk was born in 1936. After completing his medical studies he specialized in the field of tubercular science and made a great contribution to the methods of treating tuberculosis, in his capacity as Senior Laboratory Assistant at the Kyiv Medical Institute and as a doctor at a tuberculosis clinic in Dymyr near Kyiv. Alongside his professional activities Plakhotniuk was deeply interested in the literary, cultural and national processes which took place in Ukraine during the Sixties. As far back as 1963, after Vasyl Symonenko's death, he organized a literary evening in memory of the poet, in the Kyiv Medical Institute. In November 1969 the organs of the KGB summoned Plakhotniuk to an interro-

gation concerning the young poets I. Sokulsky, V. Savchenko and M. Kulchytsky- the authors of the well-known protest: "Letter from the Creative Youth of Dniepropetrovsk". Plakhotniuk refused categorically to give any kind of evidence and when two days later the directors of the Medical Institute suggested that he resign "of his own accord", he declined to do so. With this proposition they summoned Plakhotniuk unsuccessfully on twelve occasions, and in January 1970 regardless of the protests of his fellow workers Plakhotniuk was dismissed from the Medical Institute "due to cuts in personnel" with a declaration that no matter how many vacant positions there might be, he would not find a job anywhere in the Kyiv oblast. In April 1970 Plakhotniuk wrote an article "truth is behind us", in which he replied to the slander directed at the Dniepropetrovsk poets and severely prison in Kyiv. On 13th November was included in the second issue of the samvydav publication "The Ukrainian Herald".

In the summer of 1970 the KGB again summoned Plakhotniuk, on this occasion in connection with the case of Valentyn Moroz. Ignoring this persecution Dr. Plakhotniuk did not abandon his position and continued to defend the repressed in Ukraine. During the wave of mass arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in January 1972, Plakhotniuk was also arrested and like L. Plyushch he was committed to the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute in Moscow, where he held a prolonged hunger strike in protest against the violence and injustice perpetrated against him.

After a medical "examination", which established that Plakhotniuk was suffering from "paranoid schizophrenia with periodic lapses of responsibility", he was transferred to a KGB isolation prison in Kyiv. On 13th November 1972 the Kyiv Oblast Court in Plakhotniuk's absence, investigated his case under article 62 of the Criminal Code

of the USSR (anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation) for disseminating a samvydav publication "The Ukrainian Herald". The court's decision even according to Soviet norms was juridically unique: Plakhotniuk was to be sent since he was "not responsible for his actions", for an unprescribed length of time for compulsory treatment to the "special psychiatric hospital" and after his recovery he was to be tried, as already responsible for his actions, under article 62. They have now been "treating" Plakhotniuk for three years in Dniepropetrovsk, and he has yet to face the actual legal penalty. In April 1974, Plakhotniuk underwent another "examination", although it emerges that the "new diagnosis" was supposed to be a formal excuse for cruel treatment. The address of the psychiatric prison where Plakhotniuk is being kept is: —

USSR, Ukrainian SSR,
m. Dniepropetrovsk,
vul. Chicherina 101,
p. ya. YE 308/rb -9,
Plakhotniuk, Mykola H.

Declaration By Stepan Soroka To The Politburo Of The CC CPSU

(3rd June 1975)

"In the spring of 1952 I was arrested for reading banned nationalist literature (5 pamphlets), for organizing several "meetings" and founding a youth organization completely dedicated, according to the sentence, to learning about anti-Soviet, nationalist literature (that is the same 5 pamphlets). At that time seven of us in all were arrested. Again in 1952 the Rovensky MDB military tribunal sentenced me to 25 years in correctional-labour camps in remote regions.

In 1956, the Committee of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR examined my case and released me, annulling the conviction. In December 1957 when N. S. Khrushchev came to Kyiv for the 40th Anniversary Celebrations of the Ukrainian SSR, as a result of false information (that I was

planning the assassination of N. S. Khrushchev) I was again arrested. The order to arrest me was sanctioned by the Procurator of Ukraine Panasiuk and the Head of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, Nikitchenko. During the course of the trial it was firmly established that I did not even have anything like that on my mind. But, nevertheless, they did not free me from imprisonment. The reason why is quite obvious. First of all, they made a big fuss of the "assassination", so that Krushchev himself even knew about it. When it was revealed that the "assassination" was the result of the gullibility of the organs of state security, the organs were frightened that Krushchev might or actually would bang their heads together for frightening him and causing a stir, and therefore the Kyiv KGB represented by Nikitchenko disaffirmed by their own means the decision of the commission in 1956.

In this way, without a trial, I emerged guilty and was sentenced to 25 years VTT (correctional-labour camps), and they removed all traces of the assassination", obviously, at the expense of my life and suffering.

And so the years went by. Krushchev had long since disappeared from the political arena and life itself — and it seemed that a gesture all be it late, could and should be made in my direction, (since the better years of my life had been taken away from me and layed waste, and my health undermined).

However, nothing happened. The situation that existed was neatly and precisely explained by Major Ruban, who worked for the Kyiv KGB — later his other colleagues were to repeat the same thing. — "Can Soroka be released? He'll start telling people about everything!" (That is, about his case and about serving 25 years for no reason).

This phrase contains the essence of the matter. It appears that my most heinous crime was my innocence. Where do we go from here — nowhere.

In early spring this year, I was suf-

fering from a blood clot, however, destiny willed it that there was no heart or brain effusion. I lay ill in hospital for 1 1/2 months and on being discharged, I felt that I had cancer of the throat. I asked for a consultation with a throat specialist, and they promised me that one was on his way.

But for the time being I am required to work, sewing bags.

Don't you think that such rank injustice cries out to heaven.

An Appeal By The Mother Of O. Serhienko

A new petition dated 5th January this year by the mother of Oleksander Serhienko, Oksana Meshko, circulated by samizdat in the USSR and directed at worldwide public opinion, has reached the West. We give the complete text of the letter below; —

"My son, Oleksander Serhienko, was born in 1932 and sentenced by a secret court in Kyiv to 7 years strict regime and 3 years exile, during the period of the subsequent campaign of political arrests in Ukraine and the persecution of the creative intelligentsia and cultural workers. It is a year since he was taken away to Perm camp no. 36; allegedly for disobeying internal camp regulations he was thrown into Vladimir Prison for three years to perish.

Serhienko has for several years been suffering from an incurable type of tuberculosis: both his lungs are affected. He will not survive the inhuman conditions in which he is being kept in prison and which present a real threat to his life. The camp administration, ignoring the instructions about the upkeep of prisoners suffering from tuberculosis, are even intensifying the methods of punishing the seriously ill prisoner:

1. For writing a letter of complaint to the local procurator, Obrastsov, in defence of a prisoner who had been beaten up by the guards, Serhienko was sentenced to three weeks in the lock up cell as punishment.

2. Because he demanded the status of a political prisoner and refused to perform compulsory work duty in prison conditions where there do not exist the elementary norms of industrial sanitation, he was transferred to hungry regime for six months, that is — 19.5 kop. daily.

He has now been brought to extreme physical exhaustion and an acute condition of tuberculosis. They starve him, and give him injections of typhacite which together with poor food does more harm than good. Everything is aimed at killing a person who is innocent of any anti-constitutional crime or misdeed against society.

Through his professional and socio-theatrical activities in the sphere of his native culture, Serhienko made a wise, beneficial and eternal contribution. Do not allow the death of a human being and a citizen!"

5th January 1976

His mother: Meshko-Serhienko.
P. S. The Prison Governor, Zavyalkin.

Persecution Of Former Prisoners Continues

After serving their full sentences in prisons and concentration camps the following were recently released: Levko Lukyanenko (15 years), Ivan Kandyba (15 years), Nina Strokata-Karavanska (4 years), and Nadia Svitlychna (4 years). However, administrative repression is still being carried out against them in the form of a prohibition against them living in the larger towns of Ukraine, particularly in Kyiv, and obtaining employment according to their profession, and continual police observation and so forth. As a result of this they have all found themselves without a permanent residence or material income.

The "Release" Of Ivan Sokulsky

Ivan Sokulsky, who was arrested in 1971 for alleged complicity in the authorship of the so-called Letter of the Creative Youth of Dniepropetrovsk, has

been released from Vladimir Prison. Shortly before his release Sokulsky was transferred to the Serbsky Institute for psychiatric examination where it was decided that he was insane.

However, he was allowed to go free with the threat that if he continued to take part in "anti-Soviet" activities he would be put in a psychiatric prison for a long period.

Persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Continues

Events In Ternopil And Lviv

Recently in Ternopil members of the Komsomol planted a bomb in a church. The bomb exploded but no great damage was caused. In Lviv a church was converted into a restaurant. The church is situated in Zyblikevich Street, now Ivan Franko Street. The Ecclesiastical Seminary was destroyed during the war. Its clock tower is still standing. The church on Rus Street has now been under repair for a long time.

The Stavropihia is also closed. The Armenian church is being repaired. St. George's Church is open. The majority of those who attend mass are from the east. There is no lack of agents. In Cracow Street the church is finely decorated with embroidery; the Galicians mostly go there. All the Polish Roman-Catholic churches are closed except the cathedral on Halych Street. On Horodetsky Street at the Leo Sapiha corner someone who wanted to take down the cross from the church spire fell to his death. At present this church is in neglect. On Yaniv and Horodetsky Street the Polish Roman-Catholic church has been converted into a furniture warehouse.

The centre of Lviv has not changed. On the other hand the so-called area of New Lviv, where the Russian administration lives has grown enormously beyond the Stryh Rohachka.

Terror Intensified after 25th Congress of the Communist Party

During this year's Easter Celebrations the scolding of the faithful and the priests of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church was increased to prevent the conducting of religious

services on Easter Sunday. This new policy arose at the end of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1976. Police cordons were set up on the roads to the villages in the Sambir and Horodetsky regions (Pidhaichyky, Khlopchytsi, Dubanevychi, Zadnistriany, Hradivka and others) which checked cars, buses and motorcycles, searching for priests whose photographs were in their possession.

In the village of Pidhaichyky-Sambir region, the KGB beat up a Ukrainian Catholic so badly that he lost his hearing.

The Orthodox Church is also being persecuted. For example, in the Lviv oblast near Mykolaiv the secretary of the party group, the headmaster of the school and the head of the kolhosp (kolkhos) called out an Orthodox priest late one evening, stabbed him in the back three times and hung him from a ladder by a bandage near his home, where the doors had been closed in advance. This is how the people who supposedly want to build a "paradise", (a devil's paradise) on earth, act. They forbid the confession of children and teaching them religion and so forth.

In the village of Stavchany-Pustomytsk region and in many other villages, before the blessing of the paska, the organized theft of holy articles in the churches took place, vestments and other embroidered materials were destroyed or damaged, and no one has tried to find the culprits...

The KGB ceaselessly intimidates and strives to force Ukrainian Catholic priests to become Judases, killing in various ways those who do not succumb.

Mrs. Moroz's Appeal in the Canadian Press

"Let him be put in a forced labor camp. But please do not let him be put in an insane asylum."

This dramatic plea was made on May 21, in a telephone conversation with *The Star*, by the wife of Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian historian who has been transferred from his solitary cell at a prison near Moscow to the notorious Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry for a "psychiatric examination".

In the past two years, thousands of Canadians have marched in demonstrations of support for the Ukrainian dissident who in 1970 was sentenced to a total of 14 years of prison, forced labor camps and exile in remote areas. His crime was the illegal circulation of four of his nationalistic essays.

Mrs. Moroz said: "Let him be moved to a forced labor camp. The labor is hard, but there at least he would be among friends. Let him be sent to a camp. I don't care about that. But he is a healthy person and must not be kept at the Serbsky.

"I fear the insane asylum, and he fears it, too. Every healthy person dreads spending years in a madhouse. Even a healthy person would go mad if kept with the insane for three years."

Mrs. Moroz said a woman doctor at Serbsky told her Moroz would have to undergo a "psychiatric examination" because he had lately "become morose".

But Mrs. Moroz said that when she was allowed to see her husband at Serbsky on Wednesday, he told her he had been informed he required an examination because of his excessive religiousness" and his "attempts to mutilate himself".

Four years ago, Moroz said he was stabbed in the stomach by his prison cellmate, a petty criminal who was declared to be a "political" prisoner after he tried to escape from the Soviet

Union. Now, Soviet authorities insist there had been no such attack, and that Moroz had cut himself in a fit of mental instability.

The Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry has become known in recent years as one of the most sinister KGB (secret police) institutions, with political dissidents subjected there to powerful drug treatment that tended to destroy their mind and will.

In the House of Commons in Ottawa Friday, May 21, 1976, Paul Yewchuk, a Tory MP for Athabasca, attempted to raise the issue of Moroz's transfer to the Serbsky Institute through the device of a priority debate. His intention was to ask the government to intervene in the historian's behalf. Through a misunderstanding, the motion was blocked by J. J. Blais, Liberal MP for North Bay.

Moroz was transferred to the Serbsky Institute on May 10, and according to his wife, the "psychiatric examination" will last "at a minimum" for 30 to 40 days. In some previous cases, political dissent has been regarded by the secret police doctors as evidence of psychiatric disorder.

Moroz's name has been in the news since 1965, when he was sentenced to four years of detention in a corrective labor camp in Mordovia. His crime, as he described it in a 15,000-word report smuggled out of the camp, was "propaganda directed at separating the Ukraine from the USSR." In fact, he had protested against the Russification of Ukraine.

Released in the fall of 1969, he again was put on secret trial in 1970. This time, he was accused of "seditious intention and conspiracy", and sentenced to six years of imprisonment and eight years of detention in a forced labor camp and exile in remote areas.

World protests against his treatment began in 1971. By the summer of 1974,

when Moroz went on a 145-day hunger strike, Canadians by the thousands demonstrated before the Soviet embassy in Ottawa.

Moroz was to complete his six-year prison term next month and be transferred to a forced labor camp. Instead, Moscow decided to move him to the Serbsky Institute to determine if he is "insane".

Moroz's fate was brought up in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 25, when Stanley Knowles of the NDP asked the government to make new representations for the release of the Ukrainian. The government said it was "sympathetic and concerned", and promised to contact Moscow, "bearing in mind the provisions of the Helsinki agreement".

Protest campaigns are also being mounted in Canada, the United States and Europe. But more is needed. For Soviet barbarism does not affect its victims alone; it also does heavy damage to that faith in civilized standards which must underlie peaceful relations among nations.

If the Soviet Union cannot tolerate Moroz's independent spirit, it can, as a minimum act of decency, let him and his family come to the West instead of thrusting him among the insane.'

(The Toronto Star
Saturday, May 22, 1976
and Wednesday, May 26, 1976)

Canada House of Commons Debates

Friday, May 21, 1976

External Affairs

Suggested representations to Soviet Authorities to prevent incarceration of Mr. Moroz in psychiatric institution Motion under S. O. 43

Mr. Paul Yewchuk (Athabasca): Mr. Speaker, I rise under the provisions of Standing Order 43 to raise a matter of urgent and pressing necessity. The Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz

who for a number of years has been in a Soviet prison, has recently been transferred to a psychiatric institution for later transfer to a prison psychiatric hospital. His wife has made an appeal to the West to prevent this transfer from occurring, since she believes he is not mentally ill.

I move, seconded by the hon. member for Fundy Royal (Mr. Fairwether).

That the Parliament of Canada, through the office of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, make a representation to the Soviet authorities on humanitarian grounds with a view to preventing Mr. Moroz from being incarcerated in a psychiatric institution.

Mr. Speaker: Such a motion pursuant to Standing Order 43 cannot be presented to the House in the absence of unanimous consent. I might add that, in line with the ruling I made last week I have some serious misgivings about the jurisdictional aspect of this proposed motion —

An hon. Member: No!

Mr. Speaker: In any case, there not being consent, the motion cannot be put.

Tuesday, May 25, 1976

External Affairs

Request for representations to Soviet Union on behalf of Valentyn Moroz

Mr. Stanley Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Secretary of State for External Affairs may I direct a question to the Prime Minister concerning the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz along the lines of a motion that the hon. member for Athabasca sought to move on Friday. As Your Honour knows, those of us who were members of the delegation, of which you were the leader, to the Soviet Union last September tried to make representations on behalf of Valentyn Moroz so we are aware of the difficulty, but even so, in view of the news that he is being transferred to a psychiatric insti-

tute, the result of which is likely to be quite ominous, will the government again make representation to the Soviet authorities for the release of Valentyn Moroz?

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Miss Monique Bégin (Parliamentary Secretary to Secretary of State for External Affairs): Mr. Speaker, in the name of the Secretary of State for External Affairs I recognize that the hon. member expresses the views of many, many Canadians represented by members on both sides of the House.

Some hon. Members: Hear, Hear!

Miss Bégin: The hon. member just said that he knows that the rule of international law is that of not interfering in the domestic affairs of another state. He also knows that we have taken, and will be taking every chance to put very strongly to the Soviet authorities our concern in the case of Valentyn Moroz, in the context not only of the concerns of Canadians but also of the Helsinki agreement.

The West in Defence of Valentyn Moroz

In recent months pressure on the Soviet Authorities to release Moroz and put an end to the cruelty inflicted on him has mounted, especially in view of the decision on his sanity. As before Ukrainian communities in the West have demonstrated their solidarity with Moroz and have received support not only from international organizations, but from scholars, artists, playwrights, and government circles.

Great Britain

British actors, historians and writers have protested to the Soviet Authorities in defence of Valentyn Moroz. In government circles both the House of Lords and the House of Commons have made representations to the Kremlin on Moroz's behalf. 135 MP's have thus far signed a Common's motion in defence of Moroz. 12 bishops recently signed a letter defending Moroz which appeared in the press.

United States

78 members of the American Congress and Senate have appealed to the Kremlin to release Moroz. The American Pen Club have made similar intercessions on his behalf. The Philadelphia Committee in defence of Moroz has been in contact with many US Senators, Edward Kennedy amongst them, in its defence work.

Canada

The Canadian Parliament passed a resolution for the release of Valentyn Moroz, on 3rd June 1976. Canadian scholars have written letters to the Soviet Authorities in defence of Moroz. The Canadian Committee for the defence of Valentyn Moroz has appealed to Prime Minister Trudeau, Kurt Waldheim and the International Health Organization to defend Moroz.

Germany

The German Section of Amnesty International together with German MP's of both the Christian Democrat and Social Democrat parties, Bishop Scharf of the German Evangelical Church and the Trades' Union of I. G. Metall have appealed to the Soviet Authorities in defence of Moroz.

France

The "Comité pour la défense de V. Moroz" organized a protest meeting on the occasion of Moroz's transfer to the Serbsky Institute.

Switzerland

The Swiss Evangelist Church sent a telegram to President Podgorny appealing for Moroz not to be put in a psychiatric hospital.

Australia

Australian psychiatrists have threatened to boycott the International Congress of Psychiatrists in the USA if Soviet psychiatrists are present.

According to reports from the Ukrainian SSR, if groups in the West continue to defend Moroz and demand his release then it is extremely likely that he will be released and allowed to come to the West with his family.

An Open Letter From Tatyana Khodorovich To Leonid Plyushch

Tatyana Sergeevna Khodorovich — is a member of the Initiative Group in defence of human rights in the Soviet Union. In the West she is known for her actions in defence of Leonid Plyushch — and first and foremost for the book "A history of the illness of Leonid Plyushch" . . .

Dear Leonid Ivanovich,

For several years my spiritual strength has been concentrated on your "case", on the "case of Leonid Plyushch", that is, that this scandalous affair — the incarceration of a mentally sound man for an unlimited period of time in a special psychiatric hospital — should become known to Soviet and Western societies.

The hours spent by the gates of the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. How many of those hours have there now been when I waited for your wife; and she would come out after the latest meeting, pale, shaken, depressed: the same "treatment" as before, his memory was fading, his speech deteriorating, he was dying. Could I have hoped that the moment would come when you too would appear at the gates of that terrible prison, leaving behind your butchers but not the memory of them, not the mental and spiritual experience, gained at the price of such suffering?

And all the same that moment came, and the first glad tidings that you had crossed the border, that you and your family (for four years it had also been my family) were safe, and that you were met in Vienna and welcomed in Paris. Finally I listened to the radio and later read about your interview. A mixed feeling of joy and triumph, bitterness and bewilderment took hold of me and has not left me since.

How could one not celebrate the fact that you were at liberty and freely expounding to free people the views, for

which in your own country you were sentenced to torture by madness?

And here are your views . . .

I knew when I began the fight for your release, that you were a Marxist, that is a person who propagates an ideology which rejects all that is sacred to me: God, Christianity, freedom as the highest good inalienable from mankind, as distinct from Marxian "freedom as a realised necessity"? Of course I knew. And still I fought. I fought first and foremost because you were being punished inhumanly for non-violent acts, because of your convictions embodied in words and worthy deeds.

And then I hear — I hear from your lips — that the horrors endured by our country, the horrors from which none of us are immune, and which you experienced in person — are only flaws, "twists", solitary deficiencies, which discredit the "bright ideals" of Communism, but according to some strange inscrutable logic do not touch upon its essence.

You are not deluding Western public opinion — you are communicating facts honestly, and honestly, that is sincerely, propagating your views. However, it is impossible for me in accordance with my ethical stance, not to regard your views as evil, and their propagation fortified by your authority as a steadfast courageous man who has been worn out by suffering — as the temptation of evil.

From time immemorial each human being has been endowed with the only real freedom — the freedom to choose between good and evil. I see my mission as a human being, the meaning of my life in the negation of evil, in charity, sympathy, compassion and helping those, who are in need of this. I reject violence, and do not recognize the "dialectics" of good and evil, their re-

lativity or "class nature". Never, would I begin to preach revolution in any place. Both in another country and in another epoch I would preach that same "abstract humanism" which official Soviet morality despises and mocks, destroys and insults so much.

I defend the trampled rights not of hundreds of thousands or millions; but tens and hundreds of people; I have never asserted and do not assert that I am authorized to speak on behalf of the masses or even of some "silent majority" — I do not know them, I have never counted up those who share my opinions. People, in whose opinion statistics are identical to morals and who substitute the magic of large numerals for convictions, are probably bound to find this position absurd.

However, it is not at them that I direct my words and hopes. They are aimed at those who do not examine truth by arithmetic, who regard spiritual freedom as the most inalienable quality of life, its holy essence, which as it cannot be taken away from millions of people for the sake of one man, so it cannot be taken away from one man for the sake of millions of people. Such is my chief and hallowed conviction.

The second also main and most hallowed conviction: any ideology or world view which preaches violence or "good" bought at the price of violence should not be forcefully imposed and should be rejected.

I have not seen any contradiction between the theory of the class struggle which we were taught in school and the indiscriminate arrests, the weeping of girlfriends who in one night had lost their parents, the fear which was inseparable from our way of life — in short, that entire atmosphere which is so well known to the world thanks to Solzhenitsyn, and which we still breathe and dote upon in our country.

But then people appeared (and continue to do so) who told me and tell me that everything that happened to

you took place illegally, because of someone or other's fatal or criminal mistake, that Marxist Communism does not at all postulate countless sacrifices, "fear and trepidation", but on the contrary, the flowering of the individual and freedom, that, if I read "early" Marx or "late" Lenin, I will be able to convince myself, that in fact everything should have taken place quite differently. I read both "early" and "late" Marx and Lenin and became convinced that everything came about correctly "in theory", that it could not have been otherwise.

That same Marxism, the "bright and pure ideals" which you revere, with internationalism forming as it were the very core, the innermost essence of Communist doctrine, you certainly attach a high value to, that Marxism in the words of Engels sanctions and proclaims the regularity, the inevitability, "the historical necessity" of the absorption of weaker nations by stronger ones, but which the Czech nation which you respect so much, calls "the death of the Czech nationality". Furthermore:

"The sole and inevitable part of these dying nations (Engels adds to their number "the Czechs, Corinthians, Dalmatians and others" — T. Kh.) lies in allowing the completion to come about of the process of decomposition and the absorption by stronger neighbouring nations." (Marx and Engels. Works., vol. 8 Gospolitizdat, 1957).

Don't you think that Hitler's reasoning might well have been the same — and the theoretical basis — on the eve of the seizure of Czechoslovakia in 1939? And that there is no contradiction between the views of the "founder" on the fate of small nations and peoples and the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet armies in 1968?

But is it just Czechoslovakia? And are we only referring to 1968?

Evil exists and has always existed in the world, recognizing strength (vio-

lence) as the most weighty argument: "victors are not put on trial". However, a man, who calls an ideology based on violence and which appeals to him "bright and pure ideals", takes a sin upon his soul more terrible than the evil itself, for he is substituting evil for good, destroying the gulf between them.

In calling upon the progressive forces of the West to fight for the release of I. Svitlychny, E. Sverstiuk and other representatives of the nationally minded Ukrainian intelligentsia, what kind of spiritual impulse do you yourself find in the Marxism which you preach and which is hostile to all national self-determination and self-consciousness, unless they belong to the strong nation — whose "physical and intellectual capacity for subjugation, absorption and assimilation by its neighbours" (Engels) has been "proven" by history?

How can you — a human being without silencing the ideologue in you defend the interests of your friend Alexander Feldman, who served a 3 year prison sentence in a severe regime camp for an act of hooliganism which he did not commit, but in fact for this and this reason only, that for profoundly thought out and deeply felt national motives (Zionism that is) he wanted to leave for Israel?

"The Jewish question" stands thus: assimilation or isolation? — and the idea of a Jewish "nationality" has an overtly reactionary character not only among its staunch supporters (the Zionists), but also among those, who try to unite it with the ideas of social democracy (the Bundists) . . . Karl Kautsky, having in mind the Russian Jews especially, expressed himself even more energetically. Hostility towards alien sections of the population can be eliminated "only if the alien sections cease to be different and blend with the general mass of the population. This is the only possible solution to the Jewish question, and we should support everything that promotes the

elimination of Jewish isolation". Lenin (vol., 5).

Why did Lenin, after rejecting word for word Karl Kautsky's views on all the political, strategic and tactical questions of European social democracy, show complete solidarity with him only on one question — the Jewish question? Was it not because in Lenin the Marxist-"Leninist", the most characteristically Marxian "ethical aim" has "brought about" — the total rejection of individual spiritual origin which stands in opposition to socio-economic determinism, no matter whether this individual spiritual origin manifests itself in separate individuals or in separate nations.

It seems that this fact has still not been appraised or interpreted, that non-Jews can emigrate from the USSR (with the rarest of exceptions) only by way of a summons from Israel. The idea of an identicalness between "dissidence" and "Jewish interests" is being stamped assiduously on the consciousness of Soviet citizens. "The internal and external enemy has assumed clear, easily recognizable features of "the dissident Zionist". All this is a most dangerous galvanization of Black-Hundred psychology with its savage hatred of the intelligentsia and the Jews.

Of course, Leonid Ivanovich, as befits a decent, cultured man you hate and abhor anti-semitism and you obviously consider that Marxian Communism is incompatible with it. But again I still do not see any contradiction here: in today's outbreak of Soviet anti-semitism, in my opinion, two traditions have met and combined wonderfully — the one — elemental, provoking pogroms, and of the Black-Hundred tradition — the other — ideologically "class" based Marxist doctrine. For not one anti-Soviet publication does not manage without the help of references and quotations from the "classics" and "founders". But don't you think that the persecution of Jews as Zionist-Imperialists and enemies of the proletariat — is no

better at all — than calling for the slaughter of "sellers of Christ" and "murderers of Christ"?

The stream of dark hatred, threats, and senseless spite which has been poured over the pages of the Soviet press and has been directed against "dissidents — mental cases — Zionists", testifies to one thing: which has become manifest but which was conceived in secret, light has been thrown on the secluded crannies and the underground activities of the Soviet way of life, which were being guarded and protected from the light of day with particular care — and the system will now begin to avenge itself.

The fact that "Literaturnaya Gazeta" in the article "Baseness" described among others A. Yakobson, V. Fainberg and the husbands of the Titiovy sisters as being mentally ill is not frightening; nor even the fact that in some cases — true, in some cases, this is a lie. What is frightening is another fact: the consciousness of the Soviet people is being cultivated in the conviction, that quasi-psychological illness renders it quite impossible for a human being to be of value morally, creatively, or intellectually, and what is no less terrible quasi-"dissidence, heterodoxy — are the consequence of (and even the reason for) the deviation from psychological norms.

Psychological illness is in fact a disease and, like every other disease does not take account of ideologies, which have nothing to do with it. Depression, despondency, insomnia, agitation, innumerable fears (phobias) ... Not one of our contemporaries is insured against this verbiage, in the same way as neither Christian, Marxist, nor unemployed "dissident", nor responsible party worker are insured against cancer.

The society whose members to a man (or whose notorious majority) are physically and mentally healthy ("harmoniously developed") — is not a healthy society, whereas the society which

is guided by healthy thought, wholesome criteria and by a scale of values is. And these criteria have always been love and freedom, and the complexity and depth of the human personality.

You Leonid Ivanovich, have called the Soviet system "sick". In the context of your speech the "sick" and "rotten" system is divorced from the "healthy" Marxist-Leninist world view. Is this logical?

How can a system be healthy when it is based on an ideology which divides the world into camps and classes, a system which controls spiritual, creative and artistic activity, for, according to the chief commandment of Marxism, such activity must "serve" someone? In fact the ideology continually impels the system to continually deny, brand and "expose" someone, to create enemies and hate them.

You appeal to public opinion in the West to mount a more decisive struggle for the release of all political prisoners. I do discriminate between the acts which people commit in the name of their convictions. Not only would I not begin to defend a terrorist, but also to sympathize with him: bloodshed cannot be atoned for by any political convictions.

Imagine, dear Leonid Ivanovich (although this is farfetched), that those Soviet political prisoners whose interests you are defending at present will be released. Imagine something far from implausible: their places will not be taken by new prisoners immediately. You know our life and its unwritten laws so well, surely you don't think that Soviet society will not find dozens of ways to deal with all aspects and shades of dissidence — political and religious? The impossibility of incarnating spiritual, and religious experience into words accessible to others, in print or through a sermon, the impossibility of bringing up children in a religious spirit without putting their future on the block; the impossibility of having free unmonitored associa-

tions of people interested in religious, philosophical, or artistic problems — all this exists and will continue to exist in our country while it is run by the "only credible" doctrine of class warfare, classless (bereft of hierarchy) society and "the primacy of the material over the spiritual". How and where in such conditions it is possible for the creation of "healthy forces amongst the peasants, workers and intelligentsia" about whom you spoke — I do not know. I do not see them. Spiritually healthy forces in this country are found more and more frequently in the camps and special psychiatric prisons.

Dear Leonid Ivanovich, I am not calling upon you to change your world view. I have no right to do so, nor the words, the strength, nor the hope. You retained your convictions through suffering and that cannot but give rise to the deepest respect for you.

Not, however, for your convictions.

I call you to account for this: because your words, thanks to the very moral loftiness of your cast of mind, are at present immensely powerful and persuasive.

People by nature identify an idea with the person proclaiming it. Unfortunately they are a great deal less sensitive to the link between ideology and reality. We however, you and I all of whom live or have lived in the Soviet

Union, are dutybound, our consciences awake, to keep a particularly close ear to, and an especially sharp eye open to everything concerning the "bright ideals", the "rebuilding of the world", the "creation of a new man" and so forth.

Are you convinced that the West after saving you and giving you refuge will remain the same West if it instills into its people a belief in Marxism-Leninism?

In this necessarily open letter I am not only polemicizing with you, but am taking advantage of yet another possibility to tell the West (the free West) about how we live, about the atmosphere of hostility, fear and suspicion, which is becoming ever deeper and gloomier. And, Leonid Ivanovich, Soviet propaganda much more frequently and actively than before your imprisonment and emigration is turning now to that same ideology, whose correctness you have proclaimed and the open propagation of which you now regard as your right and exalted duty.

I want more strongly and more urgently as many people as possible in the West to recognize and understand my true motives and impulses, so that they consider my views with the same thoughtfulness and attention as they have yours.

T. Khodorovich.

Moscow, Prospect Mira, 68, ap. 156.

OUR ALTERNATIVE

ABN and EFC Conferences

Brussels, November 12th - 15th, 1970

Speeches, reports and messages.

In English and French.

Popov on Persecution of Religion in the USSR

Popov, who was pastor of the largest Protestant church in Bulgaria, was in Washington to offer testimony before the Joint Committee on International Relations. Rep. John Buchanan, R.-Ala., is sponsoring a bill whose objective is to appeal to the Soviet Union to show good faith in its international promises to guarantee real religious freedom to all its people.

Like others who testified verbally, Popov's written statement was a plea for the release of dissident Baptist Georgi Vins, a Ukrainian serving his third prison term in Siberia because he cannot in good conscience obey Soviet laws which put atheist government officials into the governing role of churches whose mission is to proclaim God's love.

This is to Vins and thousands of unregistered believers of numerous faiths an anomaly that is unthinkable, no matter how much easier it might be for them to conform.

Popov, because of his religious convictions, served 13 years of unbearable torture in Communist prisons. Fourteen others were arrested with him. That was in 1948.

"We were only 15 of the millions who have been sacrificed to build the brave new world of Communism," Popov said. "Times have changed since then, but the principles of Communism have not. Modern technology has simply enabled it to use more sophistication and subtlety in terrorizing and oppressing its people."

But what about all the reports by visitors to the Communist countries that the churches are full and that religion is vibrant and vital? That may be so for the religious groups which conform to atheistic administration in their internal affairs, but the non-recognized groups such as Pentecostals, the big Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the underground Baptists and Jehovah's

Witnesses, among others, end up on the run constantly or in prison.

Or the grave.

"In order to realize Communism's goal of world conquest", he said, "the Soviet Union has presented to the world an appearance of tolerance and freedom. It guarantees freedom of belief in its own constitution because even the mass slaughter (under) Stalin could not eliminate the truth of God from the hearts of the people.

"It tries to make the world think it respects freedom of belief by the signing of the Helsinki Agreement while ignoring international demands for the release of Georgi Vins. Its word is given by the ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and yet, in a secret trial, sentences one of its citizens, Vladimir Osipov, to eight years of hard labor because of his Orthodox Christian faith.

"He has joined the tens of thousands of political prisoners in the growing Gulag."

Popov then listed the names of people he knows who recently have been murdered for a faith that has been expressed outside the parameters of the party-monitored and controlled recognized churches.

But he says that murder isn't really necessary to suppress that kind of belief. The most modern tools of repression are being used. Psychiatric prison walls and the use of mind-destroying drugs are used to turn many thousands of dissidents either away from the follies of their ways or into drug-induced vegetable matter.

The repression of the Church, he said, is well documented. Visitors see the many churches which are open in the large cities but forget that 10,000 Orthodox churches alone have been closed.

"Official policy allows freedom of religion", Popov said, "but unofficial

policy has had specific objectives" to disallow it as much as the traffic will allow.

The unofficial policy, he said, is to:

- Control and destroy the Church.
- Separate the Church from state, school and social involvement — especially by prohibiting the instruction of children and the distribution of religious information by any media.
- Reduce church attendance by closing churches, by not building new churches, and by social and economic pressures so that those with families, jobs and a hopeful future "will not dare step inside a church".
- Restrict the celebration of holy days and religious ceremonies.
- Convert believers and non-believers to atheism through widespread propaganda efforts.
- Create the ideal citizen who is a militant atheist and "a brave new builder of Communism."

"In the light of these blatant denials of human rights, the relationship be-

tween the United States and the Soviet Union must be re-evaluated in all its implications", Popov said.

"Neither a nation nor a people can long ignore broken agreements without denying justice itself. The responsibility rests on one to restore the agreement and on the other to demand its restoration.

"Spokesmen like Georgi Vins represent the thousands behind the Iron Curtain who have had the courage to stand for what they believe in, for the principles that a free people cannot live without. We dare not demand less."

Popov is president of the Evangelism to Communist Lands mission (P. O. Box 303, Glendale, Calif. 91209) and often is on the road three months at a time, bringing his message and appeal to hundreds of churches in the United States, England and Canada.

"As long as there is oppression, as long as there are people like Georgi Vins", he said, "it is not right for me to sit still or any of us to sit still. We cannot afford to be naive about what is going on."

CROATS COMMEMORATED 1945 GENOCIDE

This year Croats throughout the world commemorated the deaths of over 250,000 of their countrymen who died at the hands of the Yugoslav Communists in one of the most horrible acts of genocide of World War II. On May 15, 1945, in Bleiburg, Austria, the Yugoslav Communists began a systematic massacre of unarmed Croatian soldiers and civilians which continued until the fall of 1947.

This genocide has been documented in many books and articles, most notably in „Operations Slaughterhouse" by John Prcela. Some survivors of this massacre live in many Croatian communities in the free world.

Memorial services were held in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New

York, Milwaukee, London, Paris, Munich, Madrid, Sydney, Melbourne, Buenos Aires and many other cities.

Since 1945, commemorative services have been held yearly at the site of the massacre in Bleiburg by Croats. These yearly commemorations have been a continuous embarrassment to the Yugoslav regime.

In February of this year, Nikola Martinovic, a Croatian organizer of the annual Bleiburg massacre commemorations, was assassinated.

In most recent developments, Austria has bowed to pressure from Yugoslavia and has exhumed the remains of many of the massacre victims transferring them to an Austrian military gravesite.

Croatian Information Service

The Mass Closure of Monasteries in the USSR after the 21st Congress of the CPSU

During and after the First World War, the Orthodox community in the USSR was given back several churches that had previously been seized from it. The struggle against religion in the Soviet Union has, generally speaking, not ceased for the past 58 years. Nevertheless, at particular moments the Church has succeeded somewhat in strengthening its position. After the so-called reunification of the western oblasts with the USSR (Bukovina, Galicia, Western Byelorussia, Moldavia, Zakarpal'e), several thousand churches and a number of monasteries came under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. Some of them had already been Orthodox before; others, like the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic (Uniate) monasteries and churches, were united with the Russian Orthodox Church "at the request of the people".

In the beginning, all the Orthodox churches and monasteries situated in predominantly Greek-Catholic oblasts had almost complete freedom of action. This customary political gesture of the regime was to demonstrate to new citizens of the USSR that they "enjoy complete freedom of religion", but was simultaneously to further the "reunification" of the Greek-Catholic and Ortho-

dox Churches with the help of the Orthodox clergy.

In the end, this policy did not succeed, and a new faith was forcibly imposed upon the Uniates. After the Orthodox Church had strengthened its position in Ukraine, Moldavia, and Byelorussia, the authorities once again intensified their struggle against the Church in the western and in the central oblasts of the USSR. (It may be assumed that the 21st Congress of the CPSU in 1959 sanctioned this fresh attack on the Church.)

From data published in the Soviet press in the period from 1959 to 1961, it emerges that 684 churches were closed in eight dioceses. The Synod of the Orthodox Church Outside Russia reported that 1,500 churches in the USSR were closed in 1961 alone. There were not eight but eightythree dioceses in the USSR; thus it is quite possible that many more churches suffered.

According to the *New York Times*, when the Moscow Patriarchate requested that the Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR be admitted to the World Council of Churches, the following facts were quoted in the application:¹⁾

| | |
|--|--------|
| Number of Russian* Orthodox dioceses | 73 |
| Number of Russian Orthodox priests | 30,000 |
| Number of Russian Orthodox parishes | 20,000 |
| Number of Russian Orthodox monasteries | 40 |

Information on the state of the Orthodox Church in the USSR published in the encyclopedia *Der Große Herder*²⁾ gives quite a different picture.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Number of Russian Orthodox dioceses | 83 |
| Number of Russian Orthodox priests | 40,000 |
| Number of Russian Orthodox parishes | 22,000 |
| Number of Russian Orthodox monasteries | 90 |

The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the encyclopedia's in-

formation was gathered in 1958 — i. e., on the very eve of the great offensive against the Church.

*) "Russian" incorrectly includes Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other non-Russian churches and monasteries.

In January 1976, the newspaper *Izvestia* published an interview with the president of the Council for Reli-

gious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, Vladimir Alekseevich Kuroedov. Repeating for the umpteenth time that citizens of the Soviet Union enjoy freedom of religion, as guaranteed under the basic law by the Constitution of the USSR, Kuroedev stated among other things:

"More than 20,000 Orthodox churches, Roman Catholic churches, synagogues, Lutheran churches, churches of the Old Believers, mosques, Buddhist temples, prayer houses of the Evangelical Baptists, seventh Day Adventists, etc., and about twenty monasteries and convents are active in the USSR".³⁾

Thus it may be concluded that while in 1961 there were 20,000 purely Orthodox churches in the USSR (according to the figures of the Patriarchate cited by the *New York Times*), the same number of churches in 1976 is said to include Roman Catholic churches, Synagogues, Baptist prayer houses, mosques, and so on, as well as Orthodox churches. How many Orthodox churches then still remain in the USSR? Kuroedov is silent on this point. One thing is clear: in recent years they have become considerably fewer in number.

The question we wish to try to shed some light on is how many Orthodox monasteries have been closed over the last 30 years and how many monasteries are still active in the USSR. Official spokesmen for the Soviet authorities and for the Moscow Patriarchate have frequently stated that nobody in the USSR has closed churches and monasteries and that they continue to carry out their functions. In June 1965, for instance, Archbishop Aleksii (now Metropolitan Aleksii Rediger of Tallinn and Estonia) gave an interview to a *Tass* correspondent about the press conference of Archbishop Antonii Bartashevich of Geneva (Orthodox Church Outside Russia) on the subject of the persecution of believers in the USSR, including the treatment of the Pochaiv and other monasteries. Aleksii said that:

"It is not the first time that Archbishop Antonii has tried to mislead public opinion. However, whatever he may say, Pochaiv monastery (Pochaiv is not a Russian but a Ukrainian monastery), one of the ancient Russian Orthodox monasteries, like our other monasteries, continues to live in complete concord with its rules and traditions."⁴⁾

Today, as at that time, these people continue to affirm that monasteries have not been closed and that nobody is persecuting their inmates. It will be interesting to see who is misleading whom.

The Missing 70 Monasteries

In 1958, 90 monasteries (encyclopedia *Der Große Herder*) were functioning in the USSR; but in 1961 there were 40 (*New York Times*). Now, however — in 1976 — Kuroedov cites the estimate: "about 20". What on earth has happened to the other 70 that were mentioned just 18 years ago? They could not have simply disappeared. After all, the official organ of the Orthodox Church, *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, has so far not made any mention of the fact that certain monasteries have ceased to function.

On the basis of reports published in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, commencing in 1948, it has been possible to compile a list of monasteries that were still functioning in the USSR after the Second World War and that were in the main closed between 1959 and 1961. This information is set forth below, preceded by a list of monasteries known to be functioning currently in the USSR.

Altogether there are 17 monasteries and convents left at present in the USSR. Of these **nine are in Ukraine, two in RSFSR, two in Latvia, and one each in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Moldavia, and Estonia.**

¹⁾ *New York Times*, 28 April, 1961.

²⁾ *Der Große Herder*, Vol. 7, p. 1441.

³⁾ *Isvestia*, 31 January, 1976.

⁴⁾ *Tass* report of 7 July, 1965.

List of Monasteries still functioning in the USSR

1. The Monastery of the Holy Spirit, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2. The Zhabsky Convent of the Ascension (Diocese of Kishenev in Moldavia)
3. The Monastery of the Assumption, Zhirovitsy (Diocese of Minsk), Byelorussia.
4. The Florovsky Convent of Ascension, Kyiv, Ukraine.
5. The Pokrovsky Convent, Kyiv, Ukraine.
6. The Trinity Convent, Korets (Volynsko-Rovensky Diocese), Ukraine.
7. The Convent of St. Nikolai, Mukachevo (Zakarpatsky Diocese), Ukraine.
8. The Pskov Monastery of the Caves.
9. The Monastery of the Assumption, Odessa, Ukraine.
10. The Rozhdestvensky Convent (Diocese of Odessa), Ukraine.
11. The Pochaiv Monastery of the Assumption, Ukraine.
12. The Convent of the Assumption, Puhtitsa (Diocese in Estonia).
13. The Trinity - St. Sergius Convent, Riga, Latvia.
14. The Pustyn Wilderness of the Transfiguration (under Convent of Riga), Latvia.
15. The Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius, Zagorsk (Diocese of Moscow).
16. The Chumalevsky Convent of the Ascension (Zakarpatsky Diocese), Ukraine.
17. The Pokrovsky Convent, Krasnogorsk (Diocese of Cherkassy), Ukraine.

Sources: *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, No. 12, 1974; Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 12, 1975; and Nos. 1 and 3, 1976; *Stimme der Orthodoxie*, No. 1, 1976.

List of monasteries closed in the USSR in the last 25 years

Up to 1959, there were fifteen monasteries in Moldavia, of which only one, the Zhabsky Convent of the Ascension, is still functioning. It has been possible to determine the names of nine of the monasteries that have been closed.

1. The Varzareshtsky Convent.
2. The Girzhavsky Monastery.
3. The Gerbovetsky Monastery of the Assumption.
4. The St. Cyprian Monastery (closed in 1961).
5. The Kitskansky or Novo-Nyametsky Monastery (70 kilometres from Kishinev).
6. The Rechulsky Convent.
7. The Tsyganeshtsky Monastery (closed in 1961).
8. The Khirovsky Convent.
9. The Frumoasky Monastery.

Up to 1959, there were 29 monasteries in Zakarpat'e, Karpato-Ukraine (Mukachevo-Uzhgorodsky Diocese). (Of these only two are still functioning, the Mukachevsky and Chumalevsky Monasteries.) It has been possible to determine the names of six of the monasteries that have been closed.

1. The Bedevlyansky Monastery.
2. The Domboksky Convent.
3. The St. Dmitry Monastery, Dubovsky.
4. The St. Nikolai Monastery, Izsky.
5. The Lipshansky Convent.
6. The Monastery of the Transfiguration, Tereblya.

Monasteries closed in various dioceses in the USSR

1. The Convent of St. Vasily, Ovruch (Zhytomyr Diocese), Ukraine.
2. The Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, Ukraine.

3. The Ioanno-Bogoslovsky Monastery, Kreshchatinsk, (Chernovitsky Diocese, closed in 1959), Ukraine.
4. The Monastery Kozatskie Mogily (Volynsky Diocese, closed in 1959, Ukraine)
5. The Mikhailovsky Monastery, Kyiv, Ukraine.
6. The Vvedensky Convent (Diocese of Odessa), Ukraine.
7. The Vydubetsky Monastery (Diocese of Kyiv), Ukraine.
8. The Vvedensky Monastery (Diocese of Chernovits), Ukraine.
9. The Trinity Convent (Chernigovsky and Nezhinsky Diocese), Ukraine.
10. The St. Mikhail Convent, Alexandrovka (Diocese of Odessa), Ukraine.
11. The Monastery of the Ascension (Irkutsky and Chitinsky Diocese).
12. The Pavlo-Obnersky Monastery (Vologodsky Diocese).
13. The Zosimovsky Pustyn (Formerly part of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius at Zagorsk).
14. The Glin'sky Pustyn (Diocese of Kursk, closed in 1961).
15. The Kresto-Vozdvizhensky Convent, Poltava (closed in 1961), Ukraine.
16. The Lebedinsky Convent (Diocese of Cherkassy), Ukraine.
17. The Brailovsky Convent (Diocese of Vynnytsa), Ukraine.
18. The Vilensky Novosvetsky Convent (closed in 1961).
19. The Convent in the town of Bar (Diocese of Vynnytsa), Ukraine.
20. The Kremenetsky Convent, Ukraine.
21. The Bogoyavlensky Monastery, Zhytomyr, Ukraine.
22. The Rozhdestvo-Bogoroditsky Convent, Gorodishchensk (Diocese of Khmel'nitsk, closed in 1959), Ukraine.
23. The Blagoveshchensky Convent, Ufa.
24. The Hermitage of the Pochaiv Monastery of the Assumption, (destroyed in 1959), Ukraine.
25. The Dermansky Monastery (Diocese of Kremenets) Ukraine.
26. The Bogoyavlensky Monastery- Kremenets, Ukraine.
27. The Tikhvinsky Convent, Dniepropetrovsk (closed in 1959), Ukraine.
28. The Balt'sky Monastery (Diocese of Odessa), Ukraine.
29. The St. Nikolai Convent, Lebedinsk (Diocese of Kyiv, closed in 1961), Ukraine.
30. The Kozel'shchansky Convent (Diocese of Poltava), Ukraine.
31. The Satanovsky Convent (Diocese of Kamenets-Podolsk), Ukraine.
32. The Grodnensky Convent (Diocese of Byelorussia).

(East-West Digest, London, Great Britain)

A Ukrainian Christian Harassed In Prison

Fears for the life and safety of a leading Reform Baptist in Ukraine have been expressed by 536 of his fellow-believers from Kharkiv region in a declaration to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Borys Maximovych Zdorovets was due for release from a strict regime labour camp on 2nd May 1976. He was arrested and sentenced, for a second time, in 1973 for preaching at a large youth meeting outside the town of Kharkiv. Although he is nearing the end of his sentence, his fellow-believers

state that the camp authorities have been attempting to create conditions under which his sentence can be prolonged. A prisoner has been bribed by the KGB to give continual information against Zdorovets, alleging that he has been violating camp regime.

Zdorovets, a semi-invalid, has also been subject to physical harassment. The declaration, written in February 1976, describes an incident in which a group of prisoners forcibly dragged Zdorovets into a room and held an impromptu trial against him. They then

threw him outside. When Zdorovets asked a camp official who witnessed this to take measures to stop such acts, the latter replied: "They did right — that's what you deserve". The writers of the declaration are troubled by this incident:

"The officer's statement constitutes an incitement to physical reprisals against Zdorovets. We are deeply concerned for his life, since we have witnessed many similar situations in the past with respect to Christian prisoners, which have led to tragic consequences."

In order to prevent Zdorovets passing on news of his situation, he has been deprived of the right to correspond with his family. Moreover, he is unable to write to his friends, as all his addresses were confiscated in a search. He was also officially forbidden to rep-

"These Ruins Accuse"

A publication with this title gives a pictorial survey of the destruction of churches and of their use for other purposes — as kolkhoz storehouses, sports halls, concert halls, museums, etc.

Its preface states among other things: "In 1939 there were 297 Lutheran churches in Latvia. In 1974 there were only approximately 90 places of worship left for us by their congregations. About 40 churches were destroyed in the war, and no one cared to rebuild them. In the last few years many churches have been converted into cultural and social centres. Thus, historic churches such as the 12th century Dome in Riga, Valmiera's 13th cent. St. Simeon's, the church in Kuldiga and other churches have been transformed into concert halls. The Russian Orthodox Cathedral's cross in Riga was broken off and a museum of astronomy was installed. The stately Church of St. Peter in Riga is being rebuilt as a museum... "The number of churches still left to the congregations constantly diminishes because the remaining church members are unable to pay the exorbitant state

ly to two letters which he received from abroad.

The family of Borys Zdorovets in a declaration confirming the facts described by the Kharkiv believers add that Zdorovets had been in solitary confinement for 10 days prior to the time of writing (9 February 1976) and that he had taken no food. Addressing themselves also to the Procurator-General of the USSR, they point out his responsibility in these events:

"If, notwithstanding all the petitions to you, the case of our father/husband ends in tragedy, all the responsibility for possible consequences will rest with you, and we shall reckon that it happened with your knowledge."

It is reported that Zdorovets, his wife and four children wish to emigrate to Israel on his release from camp.

imposed tax on the use of the building.

The booklet is published by the Latvian National Foundation in cooperation with the Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Churches in America. The publishers wish to bring to the attention of the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation the tragedy of the Church and people in Latvia, and state as follows:

"These ruins accuse those who, having thrown aside God's, Laws and Christ's Gospel, relentlessly seek to destroy the Christian Church..."

"These ruins accuse those who look indifferently at the sufferings and persecution of their brothers and sisters in faith..."

"These ruins accuse those who know, but suppress the truth..."

"These ruins accuse the leaders of the Churches who lack the courage to call the Soviet Union by name when they speak of freedom of religion and human rights..."

These Ruins Accuse. Latvian National Foundation, S-101 21 Stockholm 1, Box 108.

British Defence Of V. Moroz

To the Ambassador of the Soviet Union
Mons. Nikolai M. Lunkov
13. Kensington Palace Gardens
LONDON W 8

British Members of Parliament who have Ukrainians living in their constituencies have formed a group in the House of Commons, and I am the Chairman of the Group.

The members of the Group have taken a great interest in the plight of Ukrainian political prisoners and they are disturbed to find that in the treatment of these political prisoners there appears to be violation of human rights guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR, by the constitution of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, by the Declaration of Human Rights and by the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. We feel that respect for human rights and fundamental freedom, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, by the Soviet authorities could do much to enhance the image of the USSR throughout the world, and we would very much like to see a change in the attitude of the Soviet authorities towards those whose only crime has been to adhere to the view that freedom of thought and expression is paramount, and that ancient traditional cultures should be preserved.

At the moment we are particularly concerned about Valentyn Moroz, who has been transferred from Vladimir prison to the Serbsky Institute of Psychiatric Medicine in Moscow.

We understand that four reasons have been given for his transfer, as follows: —

- (1) that he went on hunger strike;*
- (2) that he deliberately injured himself. (It is not clear whether this is a reference to an occasion when he was attacked by two inmates on the orders of guards, or whether this refers to a more recent incident);*
- (3) that he bears animosity towards the guards;*
- (4) that he believes in God.*

Too often we have had reports of people shut up in mental institutions where attempts are made to destroy them as sane human beings, and we pray that this is not to be the fate of Moroz.

Moroz has now been in prison since 1970 and has surely been severely punished already. May we please ask you to convey to the Soviet authorities the suggestion that the release of Moroz now could do much to still doubts of so many people about the motives of the Soviet Government in signing the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference?

William Whitlock M.P., House of Commons, London

Will you help?

The visit of Andrei Andreevich Gromyko to Britain for talks with the Foreign Minister and Prime Minister is a prelude to a much more important occasion later this year, when either Brezhnev or Kosygin are to come here on an official visit.

In view of the importance of this preliminary meeting, it is worth considering the social and political system that these rulers of the Soviet-Russian empire preside over.

It has been estimated that this empire 'has at least 75,000 political prisoners. Amnesty International calculates that there are 330 prisons and concentration camps in the USSR for political prisoners alone.

The Ukrainian prisoners of conscience have been deprived of their liberty not because of some unpardonable inhuman crimes against their fellows, **but because they believe that people should be allowed to hold and express many different types of ideals and political views** — not just those dictated by Moscow.

People like the historian **Valentyn Moroz**, the journalist **Sviatoslav Karavansky**, the lawyer **Lev Lukyanenko**, the artist **Stefania Shabatura** and the poetess **Iryna Stasiv Kalynets**, have paid the price of being incarcerated in a prison or concentration camp for terms ranging from eight to fourteen years **simply for holding these elementary democratic ideals.**

They undergo imprisonment and torture because they believe that Ukraine should be separated from the Russian empire and exist as an independent state which, in theory, it is already supposed to be. They and their families are subjected to every kind of humiliation and repression only because they continually stress that the 'Soviet internal system' ultimately relies for its existence on the presence of **force**, and that **it has never stood the test of free elections.**

Despite their imprisonment, countless numbers of Ukrainians have **continued to protest vehemently** at the Moscow authorities' arbitrary attempts to impose the Russian language and culture on the fifty million inhabitants of Ukraine. Amnesty International has stated that there has never been an acquittal of a political defendant in the 'USSR' and that political considerations override 'Soviet' criminal law and theory.

All these facts are known to the British Foreign Minister.

He is also aware that in the House of Commons there is at present a Motion, signed by over 130 MP's calling for the release of Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainians and condemning Moscow's maltreatment of political prisoners.

Despite all this, successive British Governments continue to formally hold polite discussions with representatives of a regime that is a former ally of nazism and fascism, and which is in no way less totalitarian, extreme, repressive or authoritarian than that of Mussolini's Italy or Hitler's Germany.

People are being tortured and are dying in prisons, psychiatric hospitals and concentration camps throughout the Soviet Union.

We appeal to you to help them by doing one of the following:

Write to your MP asking him to sign the Motion in parliament in defence of Valentyn Moroz and Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR, and also to write to the Soviet ambassador in London.

Write to your local or national newspaper condemning Russian imperialist action in Ukraine.

Join us now and raise your own voice in defence of Ukrainian political prisoners in the Russian empire.

(Leaflet distributed in London, Great Britain in March, 1976)

For the Disintegration of the Russian Empire

WACL Resolution adopted unanimously

(Refusal of Recognition of the Helsinki Agreement and Appeal to the Free World Nations)

Whereas the Helsinki agreement granted status quo to the Soviet Union and by having done so — to the Russian imperial expansionist policies, establishing de facto Moscow's inviolable right to domination in Europe and beyond,

whereas the Russian empire does not and never will respect any signed agreements as far as basic human rights and national aspirations are concerned,

whereas no imperial system, the more so a Communist Russian totalitarian one-party system, could ever respect the aims of the Nations enslaved in said system — national independence being the basic prerequisite for any enslaved Nation to make human rights attainable at all,

whereas détente between the tyrannical Russian empire on the one side and the Western democratic world on the other is and will continue to be used by Moscow to expand its dominance over those who are still free, for it does include in its so-called "ideological warfare" a diabolical cunning by supporting the (often unsuspecting) liberation movements and "national-liberation wars" (Angola), civil wars (Vietnam), armed interventions and direct assaults by its own troops, to supposedly protect, "socialist achievements" (Hungary, CSSR),

whereas by expanding its thermo-nuclear as well as conventional arsenal and naval power which at this very moment already equals or even surpasses that of the United States — the red Russian empire aims at exercising total control over the free world,

whereas Russian chauvinism in the guise of Communism has intensified its aid to terrorists all over the world, continues ethnocide and linguic-

icide within the enslaved Nations, persecutes dissenters and freedom fighters who aim at attaining national liberation for their native lands, breaks or jails cultural workers as well as priests of all faiths and their followers or condemns them to insane asylums,

whereas in Soviet jails and concentration camps, organized and maintained by the Russians and turncoats throughout the unholy "Union" almost 2 million political and religious inmates are now serving unheard of sentences.

whereas brutal murders, motivated by religious and political intolerance, take place within that vicious system and not only go unpunished but are often instigated by the KGB (Alla Horska, Rev. Lucky, Rev. Luchkiv).

The IXth WACL Conference resolves:

1. Reclining upon the God-given, natural rights of every Nation to be independent, upon the inalienable right of every human being to express his creative spirit in freedom, upon the United Nations' declaration of 1960 (reconfirmed in 1972) concerning the de-colonization of the entire world by granting national independence to all former and present Colonies, reclining upon the United Nations Charter and upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, taking into consideration the Declaration of the United States Congress regarding the Captive Nations Law (1959) which guarantees the support of the United States to all captive Nations and satellite Countries in the struggle for their independence.

THE WACL CONFERENCE neither accepts, nor recognizes the validity of

the Helsinki agreement, but rather condemns it.

2. Taking into consideration the above statements the WACL CONFERENCE calls upon all Nations of the Free World to fight against Moscow politically, psychologically and ideologically, to include into its complex the true national-liberation wars conducted by the captive Nations by all means available (they aim at freeing themselves from Russian occupation and Communist tyranny) that is, morally and actively support national-liberation revolutionary activities in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Turkestan, Northern Caucasus, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Poland, East Germany, Cuba, and other countries, including Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and North Korea.

3. The WACL CONFERENCE appeals to the United Nations' representatives of every non-Communist country to demand equal representation in the UN for the captive Nations' revolutionary representatives, both, active

in their occupied countries and in exile, similar to the representation granted to PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization).

4. To denounce and condemn on the United Nations forum Russian colonialism, imperialism, chauvinism, ethnocide and linguicide, Russification, concentration camps, labour camps, arrests and placements into insane asylums of freedom-loving political and religious people and to demand free exit visas out of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries for all, who so desire.

5. To refuse any aid to those who practice tyranny and slavery, any aid to any Russian arms build-up, by ceasing all economic dealings with the USSR and its satellites, but rather to support the liberation movements striving for the downfall of this last powerful colonial empire in the world and for the destruction of the Communist system of slavery, to condemn armed intervention of Moscow and Cuba in Angola and to intercept this and possible future interventions.

NOTICE

We hereby bring to your attention that Mr. **Yaroslav Shevchuk** is the Chief Representative of the Financial Department of the Central Committee of ABN in the USA.

Mr. Ya. Shevchuk is authorized to collect debts owed to ABN. We, therefore, kindly request your cooperation in this respect.

Please contact him at the following address:

Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk
3438 Heresford Drive
Parma, Ohio 44134
USA.

Financial Department of the Central
Committee of ABN in Munich



NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

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UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine

Issue IV

Containing details on the trial of Valentyn Moroz and the brutal murder of Alla Horska, unpublished poems by Vasyl Symonenko and news of repressions against the Ukrainian intellectuals. Poetry translated by Vera Rich.

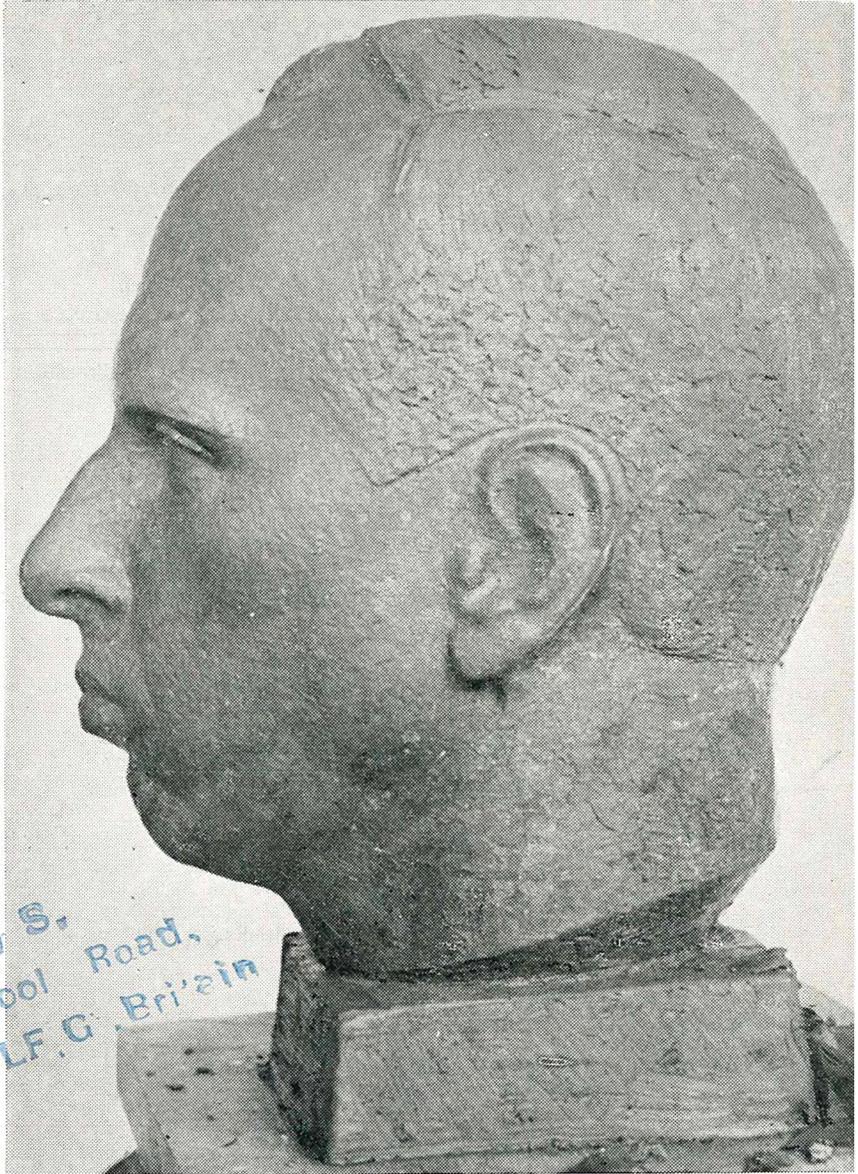
ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Stepan Bandera

Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) met a hero's death for the independence of the Ukrainian nation in Munich, on the 15th October, 1959. He was killed by a Russian agent — on the USSR's Government order.



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The Occult Doctrine of the State Department

Mr. Sonnenfeldt a famous "kremlinologist" elaborated a doctrine of his own "expertise", showing how the United States should handle its relations with the Soviet Union and the satellite countries. The newspapers called it "the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine".

Mr. Sonnenfeldt, born in Germany, after appropriate and necessary studies, entered the State Department in 1952 where he was entrusted with the management of the Agency for Disarmament Control. As a result of this position, in 1966 he was transferred to the Agency for Soviet Union and East Europe Issues. In 1969, Mr. Sonnenfeldt was raised in his career by Mr. Kissinger and introduced in the National Security Council and later he became First Councillor of Mr. Kissinger.

During the month of December 1975, Mr. Kissinger convoked a conference in London of the United States Ambassadors in Europe, to explain for their information the American foreign policy following the act of Helsinki. The conference took place behind closed doors and all participants were obliged to keep "top secret" the matters discussed there. The principal speaker of this conference was Mr. Sonnenfeldt.

What did Mr. Sonnenfeldt say in broad lines and what policy did he propose in relation to Soviet Russian empire and its satellites?

"An intervention of the United States in Eastern Europe does not enter into the plans of America. It is inconceivable for the reason that the results would be counter-productive. The best American strategy would be to help Soviet Russia consolidate its influence in that zone."

"The sorely lacking ability of the Soviets to win over the loyalty of Eastern Europe is a lamentable historical failure because the very unnatural relations between these countries and Soviet Russia could sooner or later explode, provoking a Third World War. Eastern Europe", according to Mr. Kissinger's second-hand man, "presents a greater danger for world peace than the conflict between East and West."

To avoid this lack of balance in the East, which could involve the United States in a war, what does Mr. Sonnenfeldt propose?

"Not only should American diplomacy refuse to encourage the aspirations of independence of the peoples in Eastern Europe, but on the contrary, it must help constitute an 'organic ensemble' between the Soviet Union and its satellites. By consolidating the Soviet sphere of influence, not only is the risk of war eliminated but one could obtain, in a reciprocal course of action, the continuation of Western Europe's 'status-quo'."

Consequently, Mr. Sonnenfeldt considers that the final act of Helsinki does not offer sufficient guarantees of stability of the Communist empire and that it is necessary for the United States itself to collaborate with

Russia so that it could absorb the satellite countries within the inner structure of the Soviet Republics. Only after this last concession will be made for its sake, that is after the last vestiges of sovereignty and national independence will disappear from Eastern Europe, Soviet Russia will declare itself fully satisfied and will no longer set on a course of expansionist doctrines towards the West. Therefore, we are forced to accept the total and definitive integration of Eastern Europe into the Soviet Union in order to obtain the assurance that Western Europe will continue to remain in the Free World's sphere of influence, and in the process to avoid a Third World War.

Immediately after the publication of the excerpts from the speech delivered by Sonnenfeldt in the press, Mr. Sonnenfeldt attempted to deny their authenticity but Mr. C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times had the occasion to speak to several ambassadors who attended the conference and the latter agreed that the Evans-Novak report about Sonnenfeldt's speech was correct (Christian Science Monitor, April 7, 1976).

Doubtlessly, Sonnenfeldt's statements were issued with Mr. Kissinger's approval and represent the official position of the State Department. Faced with the facts, Mr. Kissinger did not disavow the existence of these statements, he merely complained about their interpretation.

To the revelations of the Evans-Novak report, the State Department answered with a short note in which it defined its point of view concerning the problems of Eastern Europe: "American policy never allows any domination of the countries in Eastern Europe."

There is a clear and evident contradiction between President Ford's recent repeated statements and the "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine". While Ford has taken the belligerent anti-Communist stance, going as far as saying that the word "détente" no longer exists in his vocabulary, especially after the Soviet intervention in Angola, Sonnenfeldt recognizes a policy of new concessions which surpasses the spirit of Yalta and even the act of Helsinki.

In the April 6, 1976, issue of "The Christian Science Monitor", Mr. Joseph C. Harsch observes very well that there seems to exist "a gap between America's declared and operating-policies for Eastern Europe. The declared policy is to favor the liberation of the satellite peoples. The operating policy is to avoid, above all, anything which might destabilize the existing condition."

A Sound of Alarm in Western Europe

The discovery of the "occult doctrine" of the State Department naturally provoked a grave uncertainty among the members of the NATO ALLIANCE. Is America still ready to defend Europe or does it look only for pretexts to withdraw across the Ocean? The government of the United States is losing its credibility before its allies in NATO. Only several

months after the signing of the Helsinki agreement, where the present frontiers of Europe were recognized, thus trampling under its feet the principle of self-determination of nations, a new concession in favor of Soviet Russia is being prepared in order to strengthen its domination in Eastern Europe. Who can then believe that the American game will not be repeated throughout Europe?

A mere five months have passed since the Helsinki Conference, and the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine uncovers all its secrets and true intentions for which it was convoked.

Since Mr. Sonnenfeldt invites the Soviet Union to absorb the satellite countries into its own empire, liquidating even the last fiction of sovereignty, at Helsinki the present frontiers of Europe as we have previously written, were definitely recognized as being valid and final.

On the other hand, those points from the Helsinki agreement which stipulated the free movement of men and ideas on both sides of the Iron Curtain remain dead letters because what value could they still have if Sonnenfeldt offers to Brezhnev, with a title of definitive property, the Eastern countries? To what avail is the free exchange of ideas and men if the Eastern countries will cease to exist, except as provinces incorporated into the vast Bolshevik empire? These "liberal" paragraphs were introduced in the act of Helsinki to throw dust in the eyes of the many people, showing that the Westerners too had gained something in exchange for the huge concessions they made. Not one of those who signed ever thought they would be respected.

The spirit of Yalta triumphs again to the very last consequences with the appearance of the "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine". There will no longer be even enslaved people; just a mass of humanity lost in the Siberian stretches of land, who were called, once upon a time, Ukrainians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Poles, etc.

Mr. Kissinger, the patron of the Sonnenfeldt enterprise, would offer the Soviet Union the opportunity to transform Eastern Europe into a sanitary cordon of its protection against a wave of new aggressions coming from the West, as it happened in Napoleon's time, and in the course of World War II. However hypothesis does not fit into the expansion plans of World Communism. The Soviet Russians do not want to annex these countries, for transforming them into a system of defense, but as a point of departure for conquering the remainder of Europe. However, before unleashing this attack, the Kremlin must be assured that the enslaved peoples will not revolt in case of war and cut the lines of communication of the Red Armies with the Atlantic. The Sonnenfeldt solution, that is, the incorporation of these territories into the Communist empire, offers Soviet Russia exactly what it lacked until that point: the guarantee that it can dispose of these peoples as it wants to, and prevent them from further representing a potential danger.

The Communist System in Agony in the Subjugated Nations

(Speech held at the WACL Conference. Seoul, Korea)

While Communist parties within the Free World have recently obtained some substantial gains (in European countries, like Italy and France; or in Africa, like Angola), within the countries behind the Iron Curtain enslaved by the Communist totalitarian system, Communism as far as ideological, socio-political, and economical matters are concerned, is getting bankrupt. At least this situation calls for a somewhat paradoxical diagnosis: should the nations presently enslaved within the USSR free themselves through national revolutions? They could in the future, after their own liberation, come to assistance of some Western countries and help to free them from the Communist yoke, by which these countries are now directly endangered.

How come that Communism is in crisis within the countries controlled by it and what are the means to get rid of the Communist menace?

The Communist system did not grow organically out of the life of the peoples in their own countries. The enslaved nations neither selected the Communist way of life by free will, nor by democratic election, nor civil wars within their boundaries. Not one single subjugated nation within the USSR nations (Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan Armenia, Northern Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and others), nor any of the satellites (Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Croatia, and others) established Communism upon themselves by their own desire and efforts. Communism was bestowed upon them by the tips of Russian bayonets and maintained by force of the occupying troops.

During 1918, and a short time after, the independent states of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia and others (some even with Socialist governments) were re-established by the will of the peoples after the downfall of the Tsarist regime, defending their independence. The „advent“ of Lenin was a clever masking of the Messianic, imperialist Russian-Communist ideology by which the new Russian chauvinistic mafia was trying to save the empire namely, by replacing the corrupt Tsarist elite with a Bolshevik one. New slogans took over the old. Instead of the old Messianic ideology of the Tsarist regime in defence of the „Orthodoxy“, Pan Slavism — there came to be a new one, with more perfidy and deceit, yet just as Messianic as before, preaching proletarian, international Communism aiming at „proletarian revolutions“ throughout the world. Such „ideas“ had been stated already before, it was Dostoyevsky who wrote late in the XIXth century: „The Russian national idea is a universal idea, therefore, all people must become Russians“.

The Tsarist ideology, and the system, therefore, became the **modern** Communist Russian **neo**-Imperialist and **neo**-Colonialist ideology and system, in that order. Lenin had Marxism applied to the Russian realities, to the collectivist mentality and sociological needs of the broad Russian masses. Russians were always used to a collectivist way of life, having their **mir**, their **obshchina**, their „collective“ tilling of the earth. Yet, Karl Marx had meant his doctrines for the industrially developed nations and had excluded any possibilities for them to take root in Imperial Russia.

Russia counting upon the cowardice of the Western powers

Marx did warn the world of the "advent" of Russian imperialism. During 1853-1856 he wrote a series of essays in the **New York Tribune**, which later were included in the collective volume **Eastern Question**, published in London (1897) by his daughter. Communist publishers in the USSR and elsewhere never did bring these essays to public attention. There Marx exposes Russian imperialism from a historical perspective, shows that it always used deceiving ideas in order to get a hold of and rule the entire world. Here are some quotations from what Marx had to say:

"What remains constant and unchanging is the politics of the Russian government. Methods can change, but Russian politics remain the same . . .

. . . Pan-Slavism, as a form of Russian imperialism, is not a movement which aims at national independence, it is a movement which aims at Europe, aims to destroy all that, that was created by thousands of years of history. And it cannot be achieved without burning out of the world's map Hungary, Turkey, and a large part of Germany . . .

. . . There is only one way to deal with such a world power as Russia: fearlessness . . .

. . . The way of intimidation is less costly than open warfare. Russia is handing out so many diplomatic notes to Western diplomats, just like throwing bones to some dogs, to give them some harmless pleasure, while using all opportunities to gain in time . . .

. . . Counting upon the cowardice and fear of the Western powers the Russian is intimidating Europe and screws in his demands as high as possible only to show later how generous-hearted he is after obtaining what he really wants . . .

. . . The Russian bear is going to get away with anything, as long as he

knows, that other creatures he is dealing with are good for nothing . . .

. . . Europe is decadent, but war would stir up some healthy elements. War would revive some lasting strengths . . .

Marx also cites the court poet of Russian Tsarina Catherine the Second (Dzerzhavin), who said: "Why do you need allies, oh, Russian? March ahead and the world shall be yours!"

And finally, from Marx:

" . . . It cannot be denied that at time Russian influence upon European politics is at its peak — the true strength of the Russian army does not justify such a political conception at all . . ."

This volume by Karl Marx, containing over 150 pages about Russian expansionist plans always covered up by some Messianic "ideas", did **not** take into account at all the fact that **Marxism** shall become the new deceitful "idea", by which Communist Russian **neo-Colonialism** and **neo-Imperialism** shall cover themselves up, to force new nations and their peoples under the whip.

The Achilles heel

The first element of the crisis the Communist system is undergoing now in the countries behind the Iron Curtain is caused by the fact, that Communism has taken a modern form of Russian **neo-Colonialism** and **neo-Imperialism**. The **Union** of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), with all the satellites, **is not** and **does not** represent a voluntary union of the sovereign nations. It is a "union" under a totalitarian system making up the new Communist Russian empire, enforced by Russian arms and terror, into which highly cultural nations, some looking upon more than one thousand years of heritage, are hammered. **The Achilles heel of every empire was and is any enslaved nation held within it by force.** The national-liberation struggle of any

enslaved peoples destroys an empire from within.

During times when the contemporary development of world affairs is characterized by disintegration and decolonization processes, such processes are **not** apparent beyond the present borderlines of the Communist Russian empire. Membership in the United Nations has quadrupled since the inception of this organization. At the same time Russian imperialists, under the cover of Communism, proclaimed the creation of a new, unheard of, phenomenon: under Brezhnev's leadership — one **Soviet people**, with one **Russian language** is to be moulded out of all. On 13 February 1976, during the XXVth Communist Party Congress of Ukraine, the first secretary, "comrade" Shcherbitsky, delivered his address in **Russian** rather than in the Ukrainian language. The official language during the congress, held in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, was also Russian. There was no doubt about the fact that the Communist Party of Ukraine is directly **subordinated** to the Central Committee in Moscow, the Politbureau, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Brezhnev, etc., etc. Just as it used to

be in Tsarist times and about what Karl Marx had so much to say — also now, it is being decided in Moscow who can and who cannot wear the label "patriot". The present line is: a "Russian-Orthodox-Nonseparatist" can. And what does that mean? . . . Internationalism or Russification? During his address to the XXVth All-Union Communist Congress held in Moscow, Brezhnev said: "We, Soviet Communists, regard the defence of proletarian internationalism as sacred!" How about that!

In the Soviet constitution we read that the USSR is a state of workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia, and not a "union of separate nations, states and republics". How about that!

Proletarian internationalism, Communism, Marxism — **deny**, in principle, the **nation** concept and by ethno-, geno-, and linguicide try to destroy it by blending themselves into one anti-national, classocratic, anti-human doctrine, reinforced by Russian **neo-Colonialism** and **neo-Imperialism**, covered slyly by proletarian-internationalist slogans.

The **Nation**, however, is a natural phenomenon, with God-given rights, everlasting and indestructible, while



National Chinese President Yen Chia-kan receiving Ukrainian documentation from Mrs. Slava Stetsko

the **Soviet people** is an artificial, enforced "gobbledig" created by the Russians. This is an attempt to melt various nations into one fictitious concept, and in reality — by enforced Russification — into **Russian** haemophilic chauvinism, so badly in need of some new blood. It is not by chance that the "German Democratic Republic" only recently left out any reference that it is a "state of **German** people" — the tendency is toward the **Soviet people** concept.

Russians suffocate in controversies

Collision between the concept of **empire** with that of a **nation** within the territorial space overpowered by Communism (including Yugoslavia, which continues to oppress Croats, Slovenians, Bulgarians of Macedonia, and others) — only contributes to the peculiar crisis of Communism behind the Iron Curtain. The distribution of power within this theater of operations is visibly 2:1, if to take the population of the enslaved nations and the satellites of the USSR (temporarily on the outside) on one side and the Russian nationals (in great majority chauvinistic and intolerant) on the other. The more hungry Russian imperialism in its Communist version gets to be — the more conflict situations arise. The more nations are swallowed up — the stronger the possibilities to destroy Russian Communist oppression from within, by coordinated effort of national revolutions. The **domino** theory not only could but **must** work also in the reverse. The Russians suffocate in their own controversies more and more. To deny the existence of various nations and nationalities within the USSR, to deny their inalienable right to be sovereign, with all the attributes, and, at the same time, to defend the rights of Angola and all its prerogatives for sovereignty — must be regarded as a slap on the face in Georgia, Turkestan, Ukraine or Lithuania even by school children. To say that these nations are disappear-

ing from the face of the earth and are melting into one **Soviet people**, while the Uganda of Idi Amin has inalienable rights for absolute sovereignty is absurd. Uganda certainly does have its inalienable right to exist, but let's not be hypocritical about it, so do all the other nations on this earth. If Russian **Realpolitik** is to be valid, should not, then looking from such a perspective, **the whole world** be composed only of one, "great" **Soviet people**? Should not the entire mankind melt in?

In the Russian language the word "Soviet" means "council". What a strange, if not macabre, nation the whole world would then become: **Council people!** All speaking **Russian**, of course!

What kind of prospective world would the **Council people** make? During the XXVth All-Union Communist Party Congress Brezhnev said: "to deny ourselves the conception of proletarian internationalism would mean to take proven arms out of the hands of Communist parties and labour movements throughout the world". Brezhnev emphasized the "interests of the working class" and said nothing about the fact that there are still some national states present. The proletarian class makes up only a part of the population in these states. More than half of the world's population, according to underground writers in Ukraine, are marching today under the banner of nationalism.

"Back to traditions"

The alternative to Communist internationalism is national freedom and independence of individual states. The choice is clear. Communist internationalism, proletarian internationalism, Soviet anti-nature "patriotism" of the non-existing "Soviet people" — all bring at the end the total barbarization of life. There is no culture without tradition. All cultures of the contemporary nations are based on centuries-old religious and social traditions. Without

the mosaic of national cultures there is no heritage for the world civilization, only automatic thoughtlessness. **If you know how to drive an automobile that does not mean that you know how to make one.** The World's most famous inventors (Edison, Pasteur), philosophers (Plato, Confucius), writers (Shakespeare, Shevchenko, Goethe) — all became part of the world's civilization by being first national genuises, pride of their nations. There is no such a thing as a **synthetic** genius. Denationalization, or "Sovietization" — robs people of their cultural heroes and ends in the vulgarization of life, the **anti-hero** cult of pseudo-international ignorance in a mob of faceless mongrels. National cultures did not appear overnight, they cannot be **forced** to appear. They are a part of centuries-old processes. There is no such thing as a "cultural revolution". Only national-political revolutions can take place. They are anti-imperialist by nature and make it possible for the cultural development of the involved nation to continue while preserving a centuries-old cultural heritage, not destroying it. "Back to traditions", "back to the original principles of Christianity", "back to Confucianism" — these are the re-

volutionary slogans in the epoch of struggle against the barbaric Communist proletarian internationalism. Maoist "cultural revolutions" are destroying more than five thousand years of Chinese culture by importing into the Chinese spirit anti-Chinese **Stalinist, Leninist, and Marxist** elements, all foreign to the Chinese heritage.

Some peoples have **Christian**, others **Hebraic** or **Islamic**, still others **Buddhist, Confucian, or Shinto** based cultures. Neither "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Brezhnevism", nor "Maoism" can be accepted, all of a sudden, as basis for one universal monoculture. Enforced indoctrination by such unnatural, anti-religious, and anti-national elements in a long run must end in spiritual emptiness, bastardity, the animalization of humans, and the creation of people without roots. Peoples can grow and develop only if supported by centuries of national heritage. The same goes for the human being, a person must have a sense of belonging, must have national identity. Marxist theories are robbing national roots from mankind, and flexible Leninist theories, the Russian variety of Communism, aim at filling an emptied shell of a non-Russian with Russian contents.

中華民國
立法院
院長
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In the center H. E. Nieh Wen-Ya, President of the Legislative Yuan (Republic of China) with foreign guest speakers at Captive Nations Week programme in Taipei, July, 1976.

Integral imperialism

Such an aim already creates a crisis. The integral difference between Russian Communist imperialism and Western imperialism (as once practiced by such powers as Britain, France, or Spain) is: Russian imperialism does not suffice with strategic, military and economic means. It attempts to enforce upon the overpowered nations as well as upon an individual **its own conceptions about what life is**, enforces its own ways from ontology to psychology, from atheism to collective farming and „Socialist Realism“ in culture. For two thousand years Christianity and other religions have tried to change the human nature. So how can it be possible for „dialectical materialism“, the diabolical Communist system, to change all that two thousand years of religious preaching could not? In the very root of **Bolshevism** lies the beginning of its own crisis and eventual downfall.

The thief of ideas

Already at the beginning of „War Communism“ there existed rape, terror, the **Che-ka** (today the KGB), and law of the gun. From the beginning there was deceit. Never did Communism obtain a victory by its own ideology, it always used stolen ideas. Lenin threw slogans around about giving all land to the peasants, all factories — to the workers; he promised independence, self-determination including separation of national states from the claws of „mother-Russia“. Not one of these slogans is of Communist origin, nor was any of them ever fulfilled. What Communism did bring to peasants and workers was enforced collectivization of farms (millions perished in Ukraine alone during 1933), rejection and denial of private ownership, the takeover of factories by thieving party bureaucrats, and national enslavement rather than national sovereignty, or even autonomy, to peoples. One-party state, collectivism, state-capitalism, party dictatorship, Po-

litbureau cliques, enforced colonialism, Russification, religious persecution — this is the true face of the Communist system in the USSR. No other version of a „Communist system“ was ever demonstrated there, nor anywhere else. **Humane** Communism just can't be had. The anti-nature ideology cannot thrive in any other way but enforcement through terror. The very conception of „dictatorship of the proletariat“ implies dictatorship of a one-party system, which means, by the way, the close circle of the party's Central Committee, subordinated to an even closer circle of the Politbureau, subordinated to the unlimited power accumulated in the hands of the „general secretary“ — with terror down the line. There was never a **democratic** empire on this earth and never will be. Parliamentary democracy always was metropolitan, but in the „colonies“, or enslaved nations, there was always a reign of terror supported by military occupation.

Without rights for nations no human rights can be had

Human rights cannot be gained, nor respected, in any empire. The fundamental prerequisite for human rights is maintenance and respect of the peoples' rights in sovereign states. It is ridiculous to talk about „democratization“, or „Communism with a human face“, within the borders of an empire, and even more so ridiculous to imagine any human rights possible in the Russian Communist state. Downfall of the empire must come before any human rights can be had there, for only downfall and dismemberment of an empire would automatically assure the inalienable rights of every nation, including that of the former oppressor.

Let us not forget: terror and deceit are the cornerstones of the Russian Communist empire. The accompanying chorus for its formula of „Communist internationalism“ consists of: a) dialectical materialism; b) historical ma-

terialism; c) classocratism (with a special recipe for dictatorship of the proletariat); d) militant atheism; e) antinationalism; f) international anti-nature union of proletarians with misfits of all kinds; g) active demonstration of Russian imperialism as a cover-up for the neo-Colonialism elsewhere, like: **Titoism** (Europe), **Maoism** (Asia), **Castroism** (Latin America), all bound to the **personality cult**, in a "worthy" tradition. It remains to be seen what new "personalities" shall appear in "united and liberated" Vietnam, and in Angola.

Can human rights be gained and respected under such circumstances? Not under terror and deceit. Both are significant elements of the crisis and bankruptcy of Communism as such.

Renaissance behind the Iron Curtain

In my address to the WACL World Conference in Washington, D. C. I have made an attempt to prove by underground documents that a miracle of renaissance is taking place, especially among the young generation of the enslaved nations, behind the Iron Curtain as well as in the satellite countries, in the ideological, national, political, sociopolitical, philosophical, religious,

economical aspects, a renaissance based upon the lasting traditions of natural pride factors in nationality and religion. Among the ideological programming principles of the liberation processes in Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, as well as in Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, East Germany, and others — the following points are in the first line of interest:

- 1) Primacy of spirituality in philosophy and social activities.
- 2) Primacy of the nation, which throughout history (to mention only the many peoples that gained their independence in the past three decades) was and continues to be the cornerstone of international relations.
- 3) The ideal of one's own, sovereign, fully-independent state .
- 4) The ideal of social justice for all classes and national minorities within the state.
- 5) Nationalism, as a basis for renaissance, justice throughout the world instead of the pseudo-internationalism, Communism and anarchy.
- 6) Human beings, proud of being made in the image of God.



A Ukrainian group from Captive Nations Week demonstration in Bolton, Great Britain, July, 1976

7) Belief in God, importance of the religious life.

8) Traditions and native identity.

9) Cults of bravery, honesty, freedom of thought and scientific discovery instead of the **personality cult**.

10) Heroic conception of life.

11) Primacy of the community over egoism.

12) Heroic nationalist humanism.

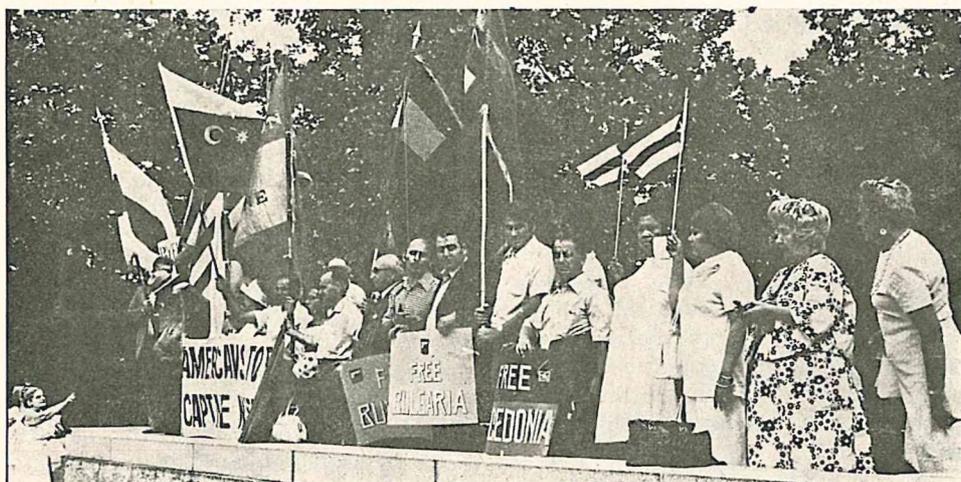
13) Nationalism as an alternative to imperialism.

14) Nationalism as a spiritual and socio-political movement that leads in the struggle for development of the nation within its borders as a sovereign state, under duty elected leadership, in harmony with the world's progress and respect for the sovereign rights of the neighbouring states.

The only power that can be contrapositioned to proletarian internationalism is liberating nationalism, for it is the most prominent phenomenon of the contemporary times. There is no nation without nationalism. Even Lenin knew that. The same had been underlined by Brezhnev during the XXVth All-Union Communist Party Congress, who warn-

ed against "... demonstrations of nationalism and separatism, appraisal of historical events **without** class conscience, local narrowmindedness, and leanings toward patriarchal forms of life..." This was a direct hint at the strengthening of the nationalist tendencies in Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan, Lithuania, and all other enslaved nations and satellites of the USSR. Lenin, conscious of the apparent antagonism between the doctrine of proletarian internationalism and the living reality of nationalism, tried to make a distinction between the nationalism of the enslaved nations and that of the ruling ones, defending the first. The latter degenerated into chauvinism, great-state vanity, imperialism, and colonialism.

The moment of final collision between proletarian internationalism (that is, between Russian **neo-Colonialism**) and the forces of liberating nationalism shall arrive, for the two are on a collision course. Liberating nationalism represents denunciation of every form of chauvinism, imperialism, anti-semitism, fascism, and nazism. It truly represents a lawful and just socio-political system for mankind, in the world of tomorrow.



From New York Captive Nations Week, 1976

Communist hermaphroditism

The liberating nationalism is striking into the fundamentals of Russian neo-Imperialism and neo-Colonialism in every phase of life. Looking from the historical perspective it is also true for the artificially composed satellite CSSR, and for Yugoslavia. In the same way as the creation of neither a Soviet, nor Czechoslovak, nor Yugoslav people met with any success — a Communist human being also failed to materialize. This is just as much in conformity with the laws of nature, as failure of the contemporary science to create animals like elephantdogs, mousecats, or snake-birds. I have documented this failure of the "Communist human being" to materialize, in my address at the Washington conference. There I have revealed and quoted from the documents about the life and mode of existence of the enslaved nations under Russian oppression. Proletarian internationalism degenerated into enforced pouncing upon the enslaved nations of reactionary Russian traditionalism with the cult of grasping tsars and feudal marshals like Suvorov, or Brusilov.

Escape into national-Communist heresy by some satellites is also a clear indicator of crisis for it is a hermaphroditic phenomenon. Such a political, ideological, philosophical, or even socio-political combination does not exist. Communism can be only internationalist, national — never. Talks about national-Communism are only transitory attempts for a compromise between Communism and some antipodal tendencies in certain aspects of life, since the Communist doctrine is dependent exclusively upon Moscow's bayonets within the enslaved nations and within the satellites, that is — dependent exclusively upon Russian military intervention (examples: the Berlin uprising (1953), Hungary (1956), CSSR (1968)).

With the downfall of Bolshevism within the enslaved nations and dis-

memberment of the empire, regimes like those of Husak, Gierek, and even Ceaucescu collapse. They can only exist as long as a Russian Communist empire does. The analogy could be extended to include Tito's Yugoslavia. Therefore, at a decisive moment, all Giereks, Husaks, Ceaucescus, Castros, even Titos must find themselves on the side of rescuers of the Russian Communist empire, fully conscious of the fact, that were it not for Moscow's powerful presence, their own peoples would wipe them off the face of the earth. Every hybrid is harbinger of a crisis. Therefore — the national Communism conception must be as well.

Renaissance in facts and figures

Collision between the Russian Communist mode of life on one side and the organic desires of liberty intrinsic within every enslaved nation on the other — results in a lasting, difficult struggle of these two opposite worlds. One of them shall be victorious. Resistance and tensions systematically increase. From 1942 to 1953 massive, organized liberation wars (directed first against Nazi and after 1944 against Russian occupation) took place in Ukraine & Lithuania. In 1950 the Commanding General of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) Taras Shukhevych-Chuprynska died on the field of glory with honour, his operational Headquarters overrun by the NKVD troops. Between 1953-1959 massive strikes and uprisings by Ukrainian, Turkestan, Lithuanian, Caucasian and other inmates (it is estimated that over 17 million inmates were involved) took place in concentration camps located in every corner of the Russian Communist empire. In 1962 — uprisings in Novocherkask, in Temirtau — 1959, others in Vorkuta, Kingir. Violent demonstrations in Dniprodzerzhinsk and in Dnipropetrovsk in 1972, massive demonstrations of students in Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, Kaunas, Erivan, Tibilisi, worker' demonstrations in Donbas and Nalchik during the six-

ties as well as the seventies — make up an impressive record. Just like the uprisings in Berlin (1953), Hungary and Poland (1956), CSSR (1968), again in Poland (1971) they were motivated by a desire for sovereignty and independence, justice and human rights, in defence of national cultures. It is indicative, for instance, that the Ukrainian inmates in Vorkuta concentration camps complex appealed to the Western world demanding help, arms and medicine to be dropped to them by a massive airlift so that they could destroy the empire and Communism along with it. Equally important is it to know that during the Temirtau, Novochoerkask, and Kingir uprisings the regular army units had to be withdrawn and crushing of the uprisings had to be done by the special units of KGB-MVD forces. Both in the Hungary and CSSR uprisings regular army units had to be withdrawn as well. This fact signifies that factors of oppression are maintained mainly by the KGB-MVD special forces and regular army units cannot be trusted, for regular army units are drafted mainly from the population reserves of the enslaved nations which hate the Communist system and imperialist greed.

It is people who bear arms. The value and power of the arms depend upon the value of the people, what if the people serving in the Russian Communist occupying army turn the arms against the oppressor? The most modern arms shall not save the empire should the soldiers of its army turn against it. More than a half of the regular Soviet army units are composed of non-Russian nationalities; if taking into account the satellite countries the distribution of the non-Russian versus Russian soldiers is 2:1 in favour of non-Russians. It should be realized by the Western world that psychological warfare for the soul of the non-Russian soldier is of the utmost importance and should be conducted systematically. It is Brezhnev who consistently reminds the Western world that *détente* does

not and never shall include **ideological warfare**. Let the Western world remember that.

Let me say it again: Communism as **neo-Colonialism, neo-Imperialism**, is a totalitarian, monoparty-anti-natural system of a sheep-like collective way of life which denounces the human being and individuality and cultivates faceless conformity. Communism, by its materialistic manipulations has antagonized against itself and mobilized for open warfare all national-liberating, democratic, anti-collective, anti-materialistic, theistic, and freedom-loving forces. During the sixties and early seventies there appeared and is still growing the miracle of national renaissance of the young generation within the enslaved nations in a national, traditional, theistic, anti-materialistic, anti-Communist spirit and this miracle was a deadly blow to Communism and Russian imperialism, as I have documented during the Washington conference. Both shall never recover.

Various underground publications in the USSR, literary works voicing what was stated above, the revival of the church in catacombs, massive protests by writers, poets, and artists, activity of the younger generation in every walk of life, demonstrations, strikes, protests, assaults against the "Socialist Realism", sabotage in manufacturing, collective farming, massive stealing of goods, shortages caused by bureaucratic indifference, massive deportations to far corners of the empire — all these good and evil symptoms indicate crisis and bankruptcy.

Economic bankruptcy

Communism, as an economical entity, negates the principle of private ownership. Cultivation of the official state capitalism is maintained by force. A human being can only be free if the freedom is extended to include economic enterprises. With the enslaved nations in the USSR the principle of pri-

vate ownership is inherent, especially where the soil is concerned, while for the Russian people it is not specific. The richest soil in Europe belongs to Ukraine. Ukraine was always regarded as the granary by other European nations, yet there is famine in Ukraine today. Here are the figures resulting from after-effects of the enforced collectivization: out of the 215.7 million tons of grain planned to be obtained by the USSR for the year 1975 — only 137 or 135 tons were reaped. This is some 35 % less than the figure necessary for the empire to maintain its equilibrium. And even the admitted figures are probably manipulated.

During the ninth five years in the USSR the capital investment in agriculture throughout the imperial complex was increased some 75 % over the figures of the eighth five year plan, yet the average grain production increased only 10-13 %. It seems that under the collective system the soil does not want to yield any crops, its productivity in comparison with the capital investment is relatively small. And out of all the industrialized countries in the world the USSR shows the lowest productivity of labour. As the folk saying goes: "life is great on the collective farm — one man works, another hundred charm". Two thousand peasants in the Dniester region (Ukraine), where initiative still thrives because collective farming was introduced only after the Second World War, have succeeded in covering by plastics some 735 acres of land yielding early cucumbers and saved their crop from frost bite, while all collective farms of the region covered only 7 acres of the aforementioned crop. Private initiative does not accept collective thinking, goes around it. "Collective responsibility" is cruel, it robs the individual of his or her initiative, makes mechanical parts out of people.

Every simulator knows quite well that he will always find some manual labour and therefore can calmly go on

and drink his vodka while on a job. Everybody is in need of manual labour. A true craftsman earns more than a qualified engineer in the USSR by accepting orders on the side. If one desires to simulate and get away with it — the USSR is the state for him.

Brezhnev stressed during the XXVth All-Union Communist Party Congress the difficulties encountered in strategically important production sectors and postponed any consideration of consumer needs. He admitted, that billions of rubles are wasted because of organic defects within the system. During the XXVth Communist Party Congress of Ukraine Shcherbitsky said that the capital investment in Ukraine during the recent five year plan was 500 billion rubles. 60 % of the entire production resulting from this capital investment was taken away by Moscow, mainly for production of arms. Tens of millions of tons of Ukrainian steel went into the production of Russian tanks, rockets and naval vessels including atomic submarines. Should a direct conflict arise all this naval hardware would be vulnerable facing the Western fleets for lack of supply routes and naval bases. Is not that the true reason why Russians show so much interest in Somalia and Angola, supplied arms and millions of rubles per day for Cuba and North Vietnam?

In the meantime, the **Lumpenproletariat** is on the increase in the USSR. The wild "state-planned" economy cannot supply work for qualified workers in their fields.

Billions of rubles in gold are being spent to buy needed goods and consumer products from, as Brezhnev puts it: "rotting capitalist Western countries", 30 million tons of grain now, another 30 million tons will be needed soon after. During the next five year plan Moscow wants to take from Ukraine alone 235 billion kilowatts of electrical energy, three times the amount needed by Ukraine by 1980. Plans are approved to take out of Ukraine by 1980: 229 mil-

lion tons of coal, 54.6 million tons of iron ore, 61 million tons of steel, 61 million tons of readied blooms, 6.9 tons of steel pipeline, 50 million tons of grain. In return — some million sets of "Collective works" by Lenin are to be delivered to Ukraine. Ukraine, its national economy, is being geared to become a raw material producer to feed industrial complexes and production centres located outside Ukrainian territories.

The tenth five year plan aims to increase heavy industry in Ukraine by 35-39 % and agricultural enterprises by 14-17 %. Nothing was said about the light industry and production of articles for everyday needs. The promised "paradise to come" is still, somewhere, in a distant and hazy future. Shcherbitsky attacked the "bourgeois nationalists" and Zionists for trying to ruin "the spirit of Helsinki" instead.

Political factors of the future

By showing facts and figures in Ukraine we have given an example of the proportions of exploitation the national states are subjected to in the USSR and proved what a vital and acute role such national states are made to perform for the empire and for its arms race with the Western world. With the liberation and independence of Ukraine alone the world could breathe more easily, the natural resources and ores in all rich abundance would no longer be available for imperial disposition. At the present time Ukraine is forced to contribute 60 % of arms for the empire. The national-liberation struggle, growing and expanding in Ukraine, makes the crisis of Communism in the USSR an acute problem. To aid this national-liberation struggle means driving a wooden peg into the heart of the Russian imperialist vampire; it means bringing the acute crisis to its final stage, the actual downfall of Russian Communism. Strategically, Ukraine holds the key position in the national-liberation struggle,

with all its human revolutionary potential, its geo-political position on the world's map, its economic capacity, and almost 50 million people, most of them conscious of their national-political destiny.

Ukraine and other enslaved nations are the political factors of the future with immense importance for the fate of the entire world. With their independence the political maps of Europe, Asia and Africa shall change, for Russia would lose the seaways to warm oceans. The independence of Caucasus, Turkestan, Byelorussia and the Baltic states, as well as all present satellites would then make the **domino** theory work in reverse.

So it must be clear to all where the **Achilles heel** of the Russian empire and the Communist system lies.

Communism capitulating

The Communist leadership is corrupt, morally decadent, degenerate. It failed to create the classless society, instead — it created a privileged class out of itself. The gap between Communist leaders on one side and the broad masses on the other is immense. In practice — Communism is responsible for making up a system of total exploitation, worse than any capitalist system ever could be. Between 70 to 80 million people fell victim to and perished because of this system. Most of the victims were non-Russian national elements of the enslaved nations or of the satellite countries. How acute the crisis of Communism must be if it must turn to genocide and ethnocide over and over again in order to survive. Internationalism, indeed! 70 to 80 million **international** victims! Such degeneration of humanity, such cruelty — there never was before. Nazi Germany was only a grade school pupil in comparison. The horrors of concentration camps, massive extermination of nations (Northern Caucasus), the starving to death of seven million Ukrainian peasants (including women and children) by the artificially created

famine in 1933 to break the resistance against collectivization and at the same time selling butter to Holland at minimal prices so as to gain access to world markets, using slave labour to construct canals (e. g. White Sea Canal, 1933 and Moscow-Volga Canal, 1933-1937) where thousands perished, using chemical and germ warfare against the Ukrainian insurgents (UPA) that was directed by Nikita Khrushchev personally during 1944-1945, criminal abuse of inmates by prison and concentration camp guards — is all evidence of deep crisis and the total bankruptcy of Communism in practice.

As Communism denies the immortality of the human soul and the existence of any form of transcendental life, as Communism only depends upon the impetus of force backed up by materialistic, economic, and classocratic factors in its historical development — then it must end in the animalization of mankind. Ethic without transcendental fundament degenerates into absolute ego-

ism and mortal self-consumption. Dechristianization practiced by Nazis — brought about the gas chambers. Total denial of religion by Bolsheviks — brought about the hell of concentration camps and slaughter of more than 70 million men, women, and children, within 58 years.

"Humane" Communism is just as impossible as "humane" gangsterism. For that reason more and more party members let their children be baptised which proves that they themselves have little faith in Communist dogmas. The spread of religious faith by churches in catacombs, especially among the young, even the fact of reluctant tolerance of the Russian Orthodox church shows that Communism is capitulating in confrontation with transcendental values. The fact that the Russian Orthodox Church is doing all it can to appease the regime is only one side of the medal. The other side is the faith in transcendental life and that means total collapse of Communism on-

The Honorable Jaroslav Stetsko, President of the Antibolshevik Bloc

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

July 26, 1976

I wish to thank you sincerely for your recent letter.

I was indeed happy, as were my people, that you and so many other distinguished leaders of the free world were able to come to Korea to attend the Ninth, Twenty-second and Seventh General Conferences of the World Anti-Communist League, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the World Youth Anti-Communist League recently and successfully held in Seoul.

I share your satisfaction that the meetings, so fittingly held on this foremost frontier of freedom a full year after the tragic fall of Indochina, made another enormous contribution to

heightening further the vigilance, solidarity and determination of free people in their long and hard campaign for peace, freedom and human dignity.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my heartfelt thanks to you and your colleagues for the unfaltering support given to the cause of the Republic of Korea and its people to win peace and prosperity in the face of the "most militant and barbarous" North Korean Communists.

Please accept my warm good wishes to you and your colleagues for continuing success and well-being in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

(s) Park Chung Hee
President of the Republic of Korea

tology about the "original matter". Controversies continue. If religion is the "opium" of the people, then why tolerate the Russian Orthodox Church and wag one's tail at the Vatican? Real religious faith, no matter of what denomination, destroys the very fundament of Communism and does not compromise either with dialectical, or philosophical materialism.

Contradictions that cannot be resolved

The Russian Communist empire slyly finances and supports with arms national-liberation wars outside its own domain. This is a contradiction that cannot be resolved, for here the Communist **class** conception collides with the conception of **national independence**. Communist doctrine regards **nation** and **national** as "bourgeois inventions". At the same time a monstrosity like the "Soviet nation", which in itself is a contradiction **in adjecto** (international nation!) is replacing another monstrosity, just as contradictory **in adjecto** — "socialist nation" at home, while the latter is exported for foreign consumption abroad. National-liberation wars outside the countries behind the Iron Curtain naturally connect mentally to similar wars in the Communist sphere of influence. In order to survive, "proletarian internationalism", just like imperialism, must expand, must go on frightening people about fictive "aggressions and assaults", about some fictive "capitalist aggressive forces", about atrocities awaiting the class of "peasants and workers" and by other nonsensical slogans about dangers that simply do not exist. By frightening the naive and by using speculators and opportunists, "proletarian internationalism" expands, furthering Russian Communism and its imperialist interests by taking over more and more countries. All these "takeovers" also contribute to the crisis of Communism behind the Iron Curtain, for they antagonize more and more people, foes and friends alike. Nobody believes in Communist ideas anymore, they have be-

come rather transparent, revealing the true face of Russian **neo-Imperialism** hiding behind them. Nobody wants to die for Russian imperialism anymore, not even some of the Russians. Only the Kremlin clique is pushing Great-Russian chauvinism and expansion at any cost.

The Kremlin clique creates the core of the Russian Communist imperial centre. Should a member of the Politbureau be a Latvian, a Finn, an Armenian, a Georgian, a Jew, or a Ukrainian — it is of no importance. What is important is **whom** they serve. If comparison is to be allowed, then Admiral Mountbatten (Battenberg in the German language) was one of Great Britain's foremost strategists, General Renenkampf headed Russian armies during the battle of Tannenberg against Marshal Hindenburg. Trotsky, when he choked the young Ukrainian National Republic to death together with Russian commissar Muraviov, was not serving the Jewish cause, but the Russian imperial cause. So was the former Georgian seminarist Dzugashvili (Stalin), members of Politbureau Pelshe (Latvian) and Kuusinen (Finn). Is it in the interests of the world's "international proletariat", or of World Communism to rob small Finland of some of its territory, to make the Karelian SSR out of it between 1940-1956, to Russify it thoroughly during that time, and then — reduce it with Kuusinen's help to "autonomous region" status within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic in 1956? Does "proletarian internationalism" require enforced Russification of the subjugated peoples, does it require installation of Russian "tsars" and military expansionists as a **cult** to be worshipped by the non-Russians? Does the "World Communist Revolution" require enforced deportation of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and others to Kazakhstan, where Russian settlers are busy denationalizing Kazakh — Turkestani people, so as to add flavour and some "international" tint to the bloody Russian

work and impose sharing of the blame? What does all this have to do with the **theory of Communism**? Could it be that there still is a serious person somewhere in the world, who believes this fairytale? All this is not just a problem, it is a crisis that causes the bankruptcy of Russian Communism and of its doctrines behind the Iron Curtain.

Conclusion

With Russian imperialist policies in an agony which is growing before our eyes, the intellectuals of the enslaved nations along with revolutionary cadres, are presenting an alternative to Russian power. Freedom-fighters of the enslaved nations are not **dissidents**. They do not fight to "heal" the Russian Communist system and save the empire. They are a revolutionary force that strives for the downfall and disintegration of imperial Communist Russia. The unlikely "healers" and "savers" of the empire are, paradoxically, some countries of the Western world.

The Helsinki agreement not only confirmed the **status quo** of the Russian empire, but, as the Kremlin interprets it — gave Moscow a free hand to actively intervene in Angola internal affairs, or, tomorrow, as Brezhnev and **Pravda** brag about, to intervene in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Sahara, **Puerto Rico**, Panama, and others.

The Western world should finally realize that the **Achilles heel** of the Russian Communist empire are the enslaved nations and the very antinatural aspect of Communism as such. The strategy of the Western world should be exactly the opposite of what was demonstrated in Helsinki. The Western world should renew the ideological, psychological, political, and if necessary — guerrilla warfare, against the Russian Communist empire. Do exactly the same to the Russians as they are doing to the West.

Instead, in constant fear of a possible atomic holocaust, the Western coun-

tries try to appease the Russians in every possible way. They help, therefore, to strengthen the bankrupt Russian system. Why are the Russians not afraid of the atomic holocaust and inflict subversion after subversion upon the West? The answer is, that they know quite well that nobody is insane enough to start using atomic weapons at large, because this would mean the end of the world.

What would be easier than to recall to active validity the United Nations Declaration of 14th December 1960, dealing with the "granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" (reconfirmed in 1972), the United Nations Charter about the "right to independence of every nation in the world", the **law** passed by the Congress of the United States of America in 1959 in "support for independence and sovereignty of the enslaved nations in the USSR and in the sphere of Russian Communist influence". These items should be considered as preconditional for **every agreement, every treaty, and any economic dealing with Russians!**

What could help to deepen the crisis of Communism and **neo-Imperialism** behind the Iron Curtain more than such a principal stand by the Western world? What could be more desirable for the well-being of the West than active support by the Western nations for the national-liberation struggles now taking place in the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism?

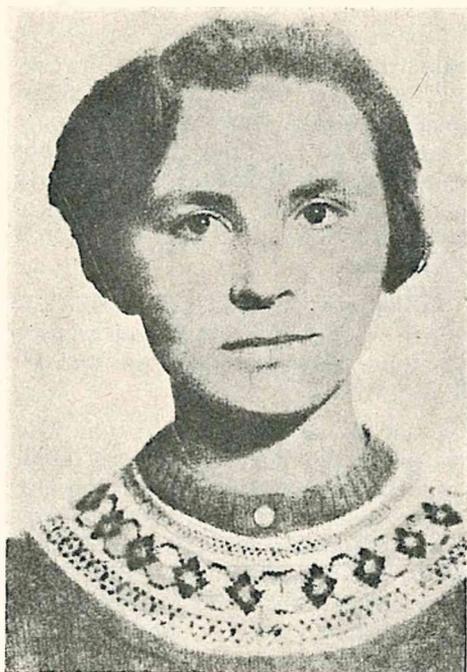
There should be one, unified stand of all Western states, all freedom-loving forces, threatened by Communist danger.

There should be one, united stand, one solid front, of all monotheistic religions of the world against the deadliest of all enemies of Religion.

There should be bravery instead of cowardice.

The way things are, the "savers" and "healers" of Russian **neo-Imperialism** are mostly in the West. Will the West ever awake?

Courageous Lithuanian



Nijole Sadunaite (pronounced Nee-yo-le Sah-doon-aite) was born in 1938 in the small Soviet-occupied country of Lithuania. Her father was an instructor at the Institute of Agronomy at Dotnuva, a town in eastern Lithuania.

Both Nijole's parents were deeply religious people. Before the Russians annexed Lithuania in 1940, 80 % of the people were Catholics. Now, in Lithuania, as in other countries under Soviet Russian rule, this is considered to be a crime. Religious persecution is an everyday thing in Lithuania. Nijole grew up with it.

In 1955 Nijole completed high school at Anykščiai. By that time she had made a name for herself. Students who showed signs of religious belief were discriminated against in the school, but Nijole never missed Mass on Sundays. During field trips, when the students were taken to see Catholic churches as relics of a bygone era, Nijole would always genuflect before the Blessed

Sacrament, no matter what her friends or teachers might think.

For five years she nursed her sick mother who died in 1970. Her father had died in 1963, so that she and her brother John are now the only living members of the family.

After her mother's death, apart from her normal, everyday duties Nijole nursed a sick priest for several years. Any person in need found a helping hand at Nijole's door. She began to practice what might be called a radical Christianity. She tried to keep her personal needs to the barest minimum so that she could help others and often gave away her necessities if anyone seemed to be in need of them.

Exactly when she became involved with the **Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania** is not known. The **Chronicle** began to be published clandestinely in Lithuania in 1972 and 18 issues have filtered through to the free world at irregular intervals since then. It was intended primarily to keep Lithuanian Catholics informed of the religious situation in the country by recording the details of all instances of religious persecution that came to be known to those working on the **Chronicle**. This catalogue of facts clearly shows that the Communists are conducting a massive campaign of religious persecution, using every means within their power to strike at those who refuse to give up their religious beliefs, not excluding school children in the primary grades.

On November 14, 1973 a decision was made by the State Security Committee (the Soviet secret police in Lithuania) to organize large-scale searches to find out how and where the **Chronicle** was being published, of course, to stop it. Since then, several persons have been arrested, tried and sentenced for their involvement with the

Chronicle. Nijole Sadunaite is one of them.

Nijole Sadunaite was arrested on August 27, 1974. The charge: the 11th issue of the **Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania** was found in Miss Sadunaite's typewriter when her apartment was searched by the Soviet secret police.

During the preliminary hearing Nijole refused to reveal anything to her interrogators, who then threatened to have her put into a psychiatric hospital. For two months no food was allowed to be brought to her from outside.

At the end of January, 1975, she wrote the prosecuting attorney a letter of protest about the way her hearing was conducted and about the threats to have her taken to a psychiatric hospital.

In March the members of the investigating committee contacted two of the local psychiatric hospitals in the city of Vilnius inquiring whether Nijole Sadunaite had ever been a patient there. The answer from both hospitals was negative.

In April Nijole's case was transferred from case No. 345 to a separate file numbered 416.

The trial

On June 16 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR opened Nijole Sadunaite's trial at ten o'clock in the morning. The trial was conducted by Kudriašovas with Bakučionis acting as prosecutor.

The following witnesses were summoned:

Jonas Sadunas — Nijole's brother.
Vladas Sadunas — Nijole's cousin
(Mrs.) Regina Sadunine — Vladas's wife
Povilaitis — school principal
Kušleika and Miss Brone Kibickaite.

During the trial the witnesses were kept in a separate room. After ques-

tioning they were led out of the courtroom so that they could not hear the proceedings.

The only ones who were allowed to remain in the courtroom were six soldiers and five security agents. Kudriašovas allowed only Nijole's brother Jonas (John) to hear the trial. No other observers were allowed. The security agents announced to anyone asking to be admitted that the trial was closed to the public.

During her interrogation Nijole remained silent. She would not answer any of the questions put to her and explained why:

"I am not a criminal, but you who are conducting this trial are the criminals because you are disregarding elementary human rights protected by the laws of the land, by the Constitution and by the Bill of Human Rights. You are condoning lies, brute force and violence because you have condemned innocent people and are torturing them in prison and in concentration camps.

You have condemned Father A. Šeškevičius*) for going about his priestly duties, and I have been threatened by security agent, Lieutenant Gudas, that I will also be tried because I hired a lawyer to defend him. Right here in room No. 225 security agent Kolgovas threatened to punish my brother and my other relatives if I did not stop trying to have Father Šeškevičius defended. It seems that getting a lawyer to defend a priest is a 'major crime'. And, according to you, I would appear to be a dangerous public enemy.

That is why I refuse to answer any questions whatsoever at my trial, just as

*) Rev. A. Šeškevičius was sentenced to one year in concentration camp for teaching children religion. When he returned after completing his term, he was refused a license to perform his priestly duties because he had broken the law.

I refused to say anything during the preliminary hearing. This is my protest against the manner in which you are handling my case", declared Nijole.

She also refused to take a defense attorney and again explained why.

"My eyes were opened by the trial of Father Šeškevičius in 1970, and I do not want anyone to be persecuted for getting me a defense attorney. That's one side of the coin; and the other is that truth does not need to be defended. Truth is all-powerful and cannot be conquered. Only deceit and falsehood need weapons and soldiers to prolong their contemptible rule, because they are powerless before the truth, and whatever power they are able to muster is only temporary anyway. It is well said that an arbitrary government digs its own grave. I know that I am in the right and I am willing to sacrifice not only my freedom, but will joyfully give up even my life for the truth. There is no greater joy than to suffer for the truth and for the people. That is why I don't need a lawyer to defend me. I will speak for myself."

Speech in her own defense

"I would like to tell you all that I love you as if you were my brothers and sisters and I would not hesitate to give my life for each one of you. Today you do not need my sacrifice, but you do need to hear the truth spoken to your faces. There is a saying that only he who loves has the right to reprimand. I make use of this right in addressing you. Every time you put anyone on trial for having contributed to the publication of the **Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania**, these lines by the poet Putinas are appropriate:

Proudly from tribunals
Criminals condemn the innocent.
You spurn the altar,
And your laws now alter
Both good and evil.

You know very well that anyone contributing to the publication of the **Chronicle** loves his people and that is why he is fighting for their honor and liberty, for their right to freedom of conscience which is guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution, by the laws of the land and by the Bill of Human Rights. These are not supposed to be just nice sounding words on paper or false propaganda. They must be enforced. The words of the Constitution and of the law are powerless if they are not enforced in real life where, right now, legalized discrimination against believing citizens is the order of the day.

The **Chronicle** is like a mirror which reflects all the criminal acts of atheists against those who believe (in God). No evil act likes to look at its own horrible image, it hates its own reflection. That is why you hate everyone who tears off the veil of falsehood and hypocrisy behind which you are hiding. But the mirror does not lose its worth for all that! A thief takes a person's money, but you take away something even more valuable — a person's right to be faithful to his convictions and to hand them down to his children.

On December 14-15 in 1960 the 'Convention Against Discrimination in Education' in the 5th chapter states that parents must be able to bring up their children according to their convictions. However, in the records concerning my case the teacher (Mrs.) Rin-kauskiene when questioned replied: 'There is only one Soviet school system, so there is no need to confuse the children or to teach them to be hypocrites.' Who is teaching the children to be hypocrites? Is it those teachers and those parents who are free to bring up their children according to their convictions? When the school has destroyed the authority of the parents for their own children, who then get off on the wrong track, for some reason the teachers aren't held responsible but the parents.

In high school No. 10 at Klaipeda the teacher (Miss) Keturakaite writes in the record of her interrogation: 'Since I am a history teacher, I have to explain religious matters to my students. In presenting the development of Christianity, I also explain about the myth of Christ...' How can this teacher talk of matters beyond her field of competence when even in her own field she doesn't show much competence by holding as true a lie perpetrated by atheists — that Christ is a legend. Such incompetent people are forming and teaching our youth and using their authority as teachers to make their students believe lies.

My interrogators: Colonel Petruškevičius, chief of the interrogation subdivision, Rimkus, and Kazys, assistant to the chief of the interrogation division, often threatened to put me in a psychiatric hospital, because I refused to answer their questions, even though I explained to them that my silence was a protest against this whole case. When I got tired of their threats, I wrote a letter of protest to the prosecutor general, to the chief of security and to the chief of the interrogation division whom I asked that my letter be filed with the rest of the records concerning my case. It was not filed and the prosecutor general's assistant, Bakučionis, who is sitting right here, replied in writing that they have the right to have psychiatric tests done, but that the members of the investigating committee have not recommended it. But I was not talking about that in my letter, I was protesting against the manner in which the investigation was being carried out — threatening the one being investigated to force him to betray his conscience.

In that letter of protest I wrote, and I quote: 'Does an interrogator have the right to threaten a person being investigated that he may be taken to a psychiatric hospital or have to submit to psychiatric tests when the person will not give up his own opinion and will

not betray his conscience? During the interrogations, because I refused to answer his questions, Colonel Petruškevičius repeatedly threatened to put me in a psychiatric hospital where, he said, it will be much worse than in prison. Kazys, the assistant to the chief of the interrogation division, who saw me for the first time, immediately diagnosed me as being schizophrenic, that my thinking was schizophrenic and said that he would see to it that the committee which determines psychiatric cases, and of which he is a member, would examine me.

The chief of the interrogation division, Major Rimkus, also repeatedly threatened to have psychiatric tests done on me. Is the Soviet system of justice based only on fear? If I am a psychiatric patient, I need medical attention and not to be threatened about my illness. Why threaten a sick person, what has he done wrong? But my interrogators don't believe this, because for five months now they have been threatening to put me in a psychiatric hospital since they want to break my will. This is the kind of behavior that insults a person's dignity and that is what I am protesting against.'

After I had written this letter of protest, the chief of the interrogation subdivision, Rimkus, sarcastically remarked that my complaints show that I am not a normal person. I obviously am not aware of fine juridical distinctions.

That is true, I am not only unaware of fine juridical distinctions, but I don't even know the obvious ones, because I have never studied them. I now clearly understand, however, that it is perfectly normal for Soviet interrogators to lie and to slander not only the person being investigated but also innocent bystanders. That is spiritual vandalism which ought to be punished, because the injuries inflicted to a person's spirit are more traumatic and take

much longer to heal than any kind of physical damage.

You are not interested in having wrongs righted: on the contrary, you tolerate and condone them. This is easily proved by the fact that the witnesses who were called to testify in my case and who were aware that the information in the **Chronicle** was true, were asked such questions as: Who gave this information to the publishers of the **Chronicle**; whom did they talk to; Who saw or heard them, etc. That is what you are afraid of: the truth! The interrogators did not summon any of those persons who, full of hatred for anyone having different convictions, fired the high school teacher Miss Stase Jasionaite of Kulautuva for wearing a cross. And not only that, they mocked and insulted her and would not even give her an ordinary job in the kitchen for the longest time. Neither did they summon Markevičius, the chairman of the executive committee, nor Indriunas, the chief of the financial section of the Committee of Working People's Deputies (or local soviet) at the city of Panevezys for firing the typist Miss Mary Medišauskaite because she went to church. She was fired in

spite of the fact that she had worked as secretary for nine years. And yet, everywhere you declare that religion is the private affair of every citizen and that everybody has equal rights no matter what his personal convictions are. How noble is your propaganda and how ignoble is the reality! The interrogators were also not the least bit interested in what happened at N. Akmene school, where the principal Kuprys and the board of education fired a teacher who, during a field trip in the city of Kaunas, went to a washroom in the park where Romas Kalanta died.*) What a crime! It is so terrible that it makes a teacher unfit for working with children! It is funny that you are still so terrified by Romas Kalanta's ghost, but what was the teacher guilty of?

*) Romas Kalanta was a student at the University of Kaunas, who poured gasoline on himself and died a sacrificial death in flames in May of 1972, as a protest against Soviet Russian oppression of Lithuania. Kalanta's death set off student riots in Kaunas and a general uproar that the Soviet police had a hard time stopping.



Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Latvian youth groups carrying national flags in front of Captive Nations Week demonstration in Manchester, Great Britain, July, 1976.

In the newspaper **Kauno Tiesa** (Kau- nas Truth) an instructor at the Univer- sity of Vilnius, Augus, published the grossest insults against Pope Paul VI, Bishop Bučys, Father Laberže and Fa- ther Račiunas. When are these slanders going to be retracted? They were not retracted until now because lies and slander are your daily bread!

It was because you were afraid of Mindaugas Tanonis, engineering the re- construction of public monuments and a technical studies candidate, that you took him to the psychiatric hospital on Vasara Street, hoping to 'cure' him of his convictions.

The interrogators have never reprimanded doctors who have refused to allow their patients to have a priest at their deathbed, even if they and their relatives have requested one. Even criminals are granted a last request. But you dare to mock a person's most sacred beliefs at the most difficult moment of his life — the hour of death. Like a gang of bandits you rob thou- sands of religious people of their moral and human rights. That is Commu- nist morality and ethics!

Who gave you atheists the right to tell pastors which priests they can in- vite to give retreats and missions to

their parishioners? The traditional de- cree 'On the Separation of the Church from the State and from Educational Institutions' declares that the state keeps out of religious activities within a country. In Lithuania the Church is not separated from the State; it is op- pressed by the State. In the most ille- gal and insulting manner government personnel dictate what is to be done in religious matters, not excluding church law. They order priests about and pu- nish them according to their own bi- ased opinions.

These and hundreds of other facts clearly show that you atheists are seek- ing to enslave people in a spiritual sense by forcing them to accept your opinions, and you justify any means to attain this end — lies, slander, terrorist tactics.

And are you happy with your tri- umph? What have you triumphed over — over the moral ruins of the country, over millions of unborn children whom you have killed, over people robbed of their human dignity, poisoned by fear and evil passions. That is what you have achieved, these are the fruits of your labors. Jesus Christ truthfully said: 'By their fruits you will know them!' Every day your crimes are bring- ing you closer to history's junk heap.



Lithuanian youth group marching

Thank God that not everyone has succumbed. We don't have the strength of numbers on our side, but we have quality. We are not afraid of your prisons or concentration camps and we consider it our duty to denounce your actions which discriminate, humiliate and oppress people. To fight for human rights is everyone's sacred duty. I am happy to have the privilege of suffering for the **Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania**, for I am convinced of its truth and of its importance, and I will remain faithful to my convictions until my last breath. You may pass any laws you like, but keep them for yourselves. One has to discern what belongs to man and what God has commanded. Caesar can be given whatever is left over from what we owe to God. The most important thing in life is to free one's heart and mind from fear, for to let evil rage on unchecked is a great sin."

After this, the witnesses were brought in and crossexamined. Then there was a ten-minute recess after which the witnesses again returned to the courtroom. The judge asked Nijole if she had any questions to ask the witnesses. She said that the witnesses have the right to remain in the courtroom until the end of the trial.

"We have our laws", — the judge cut in.

"You are doing as you please, you aren't obeying the laws! Read what is in that book", said Nijole pointing to the book lying on the table, by the judge's hand.

"You are insulting the court!" shouted the judge and threatened to have Nijole taken out of the courtroom so that the trial would be completed without her.

Nijole Sadunaite's trial was continued the following day, June 17th. She was allowed a final statement before the sentence was passed.

"This is the happiest day of my life", Nijole began. "I am being tried for the **Chronicle**, which is a protest against the physical and spiritual tyranny to which my people are being subjected. This means that I am being tried because I love the people and want the truth. Loving people is the greatest love and fighting for their rights is the most beautiful love song. May it echo in everyone's heart and never stop! I am privileged, my fate is an honorable one: not only have I fought for human rights and for justice, but I am being punished for doing so. My sentence will be my triumph! I am sorry only



Representatives of Lithuania, Ukraine, Croatia in Manchester, (G.B.) July, 1976.

for one thing — that I have not been able to do as much as I wish for the people. I will gladly lose my freedom for the freedom of others and I am willing to die so that others may live.

Today I am standing on the side of Eternal Truth — Jesus Christ — and I recall his fourth beatitude: 'Blessed are those who thirst for justice, for they shall be satisfied!' How can I not be happy when almighty God has shown that light triumphs over darkness and truth over lies and falsehood! In order to bring this about, I am willing not only to be imprisoned, but also to die. I want to remind you of the lines written by the Russian poet Lermontov: 'And yet there is the just judgment of God. Grant, o Lord, that that judgment may be kind to all of us!' That is what I will pray for all of you during the rest of my life. And now I would like to end with a few verses that I wrote while in jail.

The harder the road you travel
The more alive you feel.
We must be aflame for justice,
Fighting evil at any cost.

Our days are not given to rest in,
But to fight for the happiness of
many hearts.
And only he who gives his all
Will know that his road is right.

There is no greater happiness than
this:
To lay down your life for men.
Within you each day will be one
of joy,
Which neither prison nor cold can
destroy.

**ABN — the best
alternative
to ICBM.**

So let us love one another and we will be happy. Only he is unhappy who does not love. Yesterday you were surprised that I was in such good spirits at such a tragic hour of my life. This proves that my heart is burning with love for all people, since only love makes everything seem easy! We have to condemn evil as harshly as possible, but we must love the person, even if he is wrong. And we can learn to do this in the school of Jesus Christ, who is our Way, our Truth, and our Life. May your kingdom, Jesus, come into every soul!

I have one last request of this court: free all prisoners and all those who have been taken to psychiatric hospitals for fighting for human rights and for justice. You would thus show your good will, and it would be a good beginning toward a new and better life so that your beautiful motto: 'A man is a brother to his fellow man' would become reality."

The sentence

During the afternoon session the decision of the court was read: "Nijole Sadunaite has been found guilty according to the Criminal Code of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, paragraph No. 68, of the publication and distribution of the **Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania** and is sentenced to three years compulsory labor and three years in exile."

When she heard her sentence, Nijole asked the court: "Why is the sentence so light?"

By the decision of the court Nijole Sadunaite's typewriter was confiscated.

On the afternoon of June 20th, 1975, security agents took all of Nijole's papers and, having searched her belongings once again, they brought her to the concentration camp at this address:

Mordovskaya ASSR
431200 Tengushevskiy ray.
pos. Barashevo, uchr. Zh X 385-3-4.

Vladimir Inmate Calls For Fight To Free Ukraine

Vasyl Fedorenko, a Ukrainian political prisoner incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison, called on the Ukrainian people to wage a battle to free their country from Soviet Russian oppression.

Fedorenko has been in the Vladimir Prison since April 25, 1975. He was sentenced on March 21, 1975, for allegedly attempting to cross the Soviet-Czechoslovak border enroute to his sister in West Germany. Fedorenko was sentenced to 15 years incarceration, five of which will be strict regime imprisonment.

In his statement to the court, made on the day of his trial, Fedorenko accused the Soviet Russian government of "damaging the Ukrainian youth by persistent Russification of the education system."

"We, Ukrainian people, should fight for our rights, for attaining an independent government, and for recognition of our national rights, said Fedorenko. "Only then will the Ukrainian nation gain freedom and independence."

Despite not being able to describe the beauty of Ukraine as did Taras Shevchenko, Fedorenko said that his love for Ukraine is far greater than that of the judges.

"I am more proud of my native Ukraine than a Russian or a Czech because its beauty is unequalled and its language is like a song", he said. "My country is also richer because it has never subjugated any people. On the other hand, it was subjugated."

Fedorenko, 46, was born in the Minsk region of the Chernivtsi oblast.

He was previously arrested twice.

During his first incarceration in the Vladimir Prison he reportedly staged a 282 day hunger strike in protest against his trial.

His six-year term in the Mordovian camps ended in 1966, but a year later

he was again arrested and sentenced to five years.

On April 2, 1974 and May 12, 1974, Fedorenko wrote to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, renouncing his Soviet citizenship.

He received no reply to this statement nor to subsequent letters. After two months he decided to escape from the Soviet Union to West Germany, where his sister, Valentyna Horvath, lived.

Fedorenko was caught in the town of Chop by the Czechoslovak police the same day he crossed the border and was handed over to the KGB.

He was offered an unofficial compromise of one year in a psychiatric asylum and then freedom, but Fedorenko refused and began to denounce the Soviet Russian colonial system.

On April 26, 1975, he declared a hunger strike which lasted 98 days until December 10, 1975. He protested against the Soviet Union's violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, he said.

Fedorenko said that circumstances and experience have convinced him that the Soviet system is bad and undemocratic.

"I began to understand the existing differences between the upper class and the workers", he said. "I realized that the upper class occasionally gave benefits to the workers, such as more pay, shorter work days, better apartments, but only to hide the conditions of oppression."

"Freedom and democracy can exist only in a system where the government tells its people the truth, both about its failures and successes", he said. "I pledge that I will remain faithful to my beliefs, and will serve them until my last breath."

Lisovy's Wife Asks West For Aid in Husband's Release

Vera Lisova, wife of the incarcerated Ukrainian political prisoner Vasyl Lisovy, called on western humanitarian organizations to seek the release of her husband from concentration camps because there are no legal reasons for his arrest.

In letters sent to Amnesty International, the International Commission in Defense of Human Rights, Mrs. Lisovy said that she made numerous efforts to acquire an explanation for his arrest and conviction, but "all I received was the same stereotype answer: He was justly punished for anti-Soviet activity".

Lisovy, 41, was arrested on July 6, 1972, after writing several letters to Soviet officials protesting against the harrassment and sentences of leading Ukrainian intellectuals in January of that year.

Mrs. Lisovy said that both she and her husband were educated in Soviet schools, were members of the Communist Youth League, and hoped to live their lives according to Communist principles.

She stressed that her husband is still a firm believer in the principles of Marxism, but after the arrest of what she called "leading Ukrainian cultural activists", Lisovy was compelled by conscience to protest against that action to Soviet authorities.

On July 4, 1972, he wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU,

and two days later, she said, the KGB replied to the statements by searching their apartment and arresting her husband. She was told that he would be detained only for a couple of days, but as it turned out the secret police detained him for some 20 months and subsequently sentenced him to seven years incarceration and three years exile.

During the trial, to which she was only given access on the final day, witnesses from the Philosophical Department of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, where Lisovy worked, testified favorably on his behalf, but the negative statements by KGB-sent people helped convict him.

Because of his arrest, Mrs. Lisovy was fired from her job, and she and her two children were forced to live with her parents.

In an attempt to frighten her, one witness told her that if her husband does not recant his activity he would be sentenced again.

The witness also warned her that if she did not cease writing about the case to her former pupil now living in the United States, she could be charged with slandering the Soviet Union.

Mrs. Lisovy said in her letter that the Soviet constitution allows expressing different opinions.

"Dear friends, help me free an innocent person, a highly intelligent and modest person. Help return a father to my children", she pleaded.

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Second Edition

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For the Change of US Policies

STATEMENT

Statement of US-Organizations Comprised of Descendants from Nations Behind the Iron Curtain

The following statement is issued by representatives of various American organizations and associations, comprised mostly of descendants from nations presently under totalitarian Communist dictatorships, either under the Russian colonial yoke in the USSR or in the satellite states.

Many millions of American citizens have their roots and origins in the above mentioned nations. Most of them are becoming increasingly restless and

dissatisfied with the policies of the current Administration in the White House and Congress. They are convinced that they are underrepresented and considered by dominant segments of our society as "second-rate citizens". Such groups are coalescing into a voters' coalition, which will attempt to achieve a representation on the national level commensurate to its strength.

* * *

Our interests cover the whole spectrum of policies of the Federal Government — foreign as well as domestic. In the area of foreign policy we see a definite need to revise current positions. The United States is slowly losing the position of the champion of the freedom-forces in the world, while colonialist and expansionist Russia is slowly gaining ground in the world as an economic and military super-power. The US recently lost an important war for the first time in history, while the forces of Communist tyranny and totalitarian dictatorship are skillfully using to their advantage national liberation movements all over the world, although these forces would like naturally to ally themselves with the US. Big-power and vague cosmopolitan approaches are becoming obsolete, for nationalism is the most assertive force everywhere.

The signing of the Helsinki declaration last year was an unfortunate policy act of our Government, for it legitimized the efforts of the Russian colonialists to consolidate the enslavement of scores of nations in the Soviet Union and in central Europe. Totalitarian Communism and Russian genocidal colonialism were implicitly recognized in Helsinki by the Western nations as

a partner on equal footing with the democratic, law-abiding, constitutional systems and national free states. As a result freedom aspirations in the world suffered a major blow.

In keeping with the spirit of the bicentennial flourishing of national independence of the United States, we believe it is necessary for new far-reaching initiatives in the area of foreign policy. In accordance with our democratic and republican traditions, the President elected in November should announce the uncompromising stand of our government against Russian colonialism and totalitarian Communism. We strongly oppose the double standard that has characterized US policy on this issue: on the one hand, the US has supported the anti-Communists in Chile, Portugal and Italy in order to prevent the absorption of these countries into the Russian Empire, on the other hand, the US has refused to support the anti-colonialist and anti-Communist movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Cuba, East Germany, Byelorussia, Georgia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkestan and in many other enslaved nations. We believe that here is an imperative need for a foreign policy based on the principle of national independence not

only for those nations outside the direct sphere of Russian domination, but for all nations.

Therefore, we announce our resolve to support those candidates for the Presidency of the United States and for the Congress, who will give their support to the struggle for national independence of all of the peoples presently enslaved by Russian colonialism and Communism, namely: Albania, Angola, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia (Don), Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, large areas of Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine, as well as the South-East Asian nations. The policy of détente, which not only recognizes but also strengthens the division of Europe into a western area of independent nation-states and an eastern area of enslaved colonial provinces in the Russian empire, must be replaced by a policy of equal treatment of all peoples of Europe. This means that the US will support freedom-forces not only in Western Europe but also in Central and Eastern Europe, including those nations which are enslaved inside the USSR. The US government should clearly proclaim that it considers the USSR a Russian empire in which non-Russian nations actually have the status of colonies.

A substantial revision of our policy in the United Nations is also needed. The UN has become in recent times a forum for Russian and Communist imperialistic propaganda and policies, while the US remains ideologically and politically on the defensive. Therefore, we would like to see a change towards a constructive policy, based on the principle of exposing Russian imperialism. The US must demand that the national liberation movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia and Communism be granted the status of permanent observers. There should be a constant campaign to expose the puppet delegations which do not represent the

sovereign will of the respective peoples, but only the policy of the Russian overlords.

We believe, that our President and the Congress must treat the nations from which we are descended equally with those nations that presently are receiving preferred treatment. Attention should be given to such policies which will eventually lead to the liberation of those peoples.

In respect to national defense, the US military posture is in harmony with the détente policy, i. e. a slow but steady world-wide retreat in the face of growing Soviet Russian expansionist military power. United States political planners seemingly did not draw any lessons from Cuba, Viet-nam or Angola. Russian military power keeps expanding and increasing primarily because it utilizes a broad range of options which include exploiting for its own objectives the national liberation insurgencies outside its sphere of domination.

Although, we support the nuclear strategy of deterrence vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, at the same time we advocate the inclusion into US national military policies of the strategy utilizing national liberation forces of the enslaved nations, recognizing these movements as the vanguard of all freedom seeking peoples.

Trade with the Russian imperialists and Communists should not be considered from the point of profit alone but also as a tool against oppression and colonialism. A trade policy of interventionism is applied towards Rhodesia, but why is not a similar policy being conducted towards Russian colonialist and Communist regimes?

We are convinced that the plight of the enslaved nations, from which we hail, is being ignored by our government, while at the same time other nations, whose American descendants exercise a disproportionately strong influence on our government, receive an unjustly large share of governmental attention and support. Therefore, we

announce our resolve to vote only for those candidates for federal positions, who will firmly agree to provide positive governmental consideration to the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism. Limiting US foreign policy to considerations of naked power and Realpolitik is one of the main causes of the decline of American influence, diminution of prestige and loss of friends all over the world.

US domestic policies are closely related to the country's foreign policy. We believe that there is a basic imbalance in American politics between the unduly large influence and power exerted upon our federal government by some social segments and the unproportionally small influence and power of other large segments. We are resolved to work for the removal of this imbalance.

In recent decades the US gave one-sided attention to material-economic matters, while it neglected its spiritual-cultural values. All over the world there is a growing trend toward multiculturalism (e. g., in Canada, Belgium, United Kingdom). This trend has only begun in the US. In some areas Spanish and Jewish languages and cultural values are appearing alongside the Anglo-American ones. The American Negroes are on the verge of establish-

ing themselves as a strong socio-political variety. We are resolved to work for the crystallization of a new ethnic bloc consisting of descendants from countries presently under Russian-Communist colonialism. Such a group numbers many millions of American citizens. It should receive more attention and gain greater political weight since they represent the freedom-loving nations now under the threat of genocidal extermination, nations that should become objects of America's emancipatory policies in the late 1970's and 1980's under the banner: "Freedom to all nations! Freedom to all individuals!"

On the basis of the above principles we are appealing to all candidates for the high office of the President of the United States of America and to congressional candidates to accept our proposals. We are determined to support only such candidates who will avow these principles. We are also interested in state and local elections, in which our emerging voting bloc shall take an increasing part with the purpose of electing officials close to our attitudes. The time has come for the many underrepresented millions of Americans to stand up and be counted not only on the municipal and state levels, but to finally have our voice heard on the federal level as well.

Signed by:

Bulgarian National Front, USA

Byelorussian Congress Committee of America

Federation of Cossack National Liberation Movement, USA

German-American National Congress

Free Cuba Chapter of the First International Anti-Communist Organization, USA

Croatian Liberation Movement, USA

Lithuanian American Council

Rumanian-American National Congress

Committee for the Liberation of the Captive Turks, USA

Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the USA

Estonian National Committee in the USA



Mother Maria, 88 years old, monk of Saint Basil order, in chains, at the opening of Eucharistical Congress in Philadelphia, on 1st of August, 1976. She is protesting against Vatican ban on Patriarch Joseph Slipy to participate in the Eucharistical Congress

She gave the following statement:

"I have been living in the States since 46 years I came to this country in search for freedom in order to serve my Church and my people. I spent the best years on educational work. I founded the Academy of St. Basil and college and many parochial schools. Now at the age of 88 years I must join the protest-march against Moscow which together with the Vatican is destroying our Ukrainian Catholic Church and Patriarch Joseph Slipy who was forbidden to come here for the Eucharistical Congress."

Red Cuban Menace For American Continent

**Speech Delivered by Brazilian Congressman Eduardo Galil
at the Alpha 66 General Conference
Miami July 1976**

For us, Latinamericans, Cuba, represents, because of the tyrannical government that controls it, a menace for the whole American continent. Fidel Castro daily bombs our countries with the Marxist propaganda prepared in Moscow, and tries to infiltrate our institutions and governments with his emissaries.

But, in spite of this fact which is by no means new for us, I believe that we have to make use of this opportunity, to state very clearly that the defense of Cuba is vital for our survival, because the position in which it is now reflects the present tendencies of the policies applied by the great powers.

If we analyze the situation historically since the moment Castro declared himself Marxist-Leninist, we see that, at that moment, at the same time he started to depend on the Soviet Union, the countries of the free world engaged in the cold war, declared openly their opposition to this regime. The OAS implemented an economical and political blockade against Cuba, and the American countries feared the guerrilla attempts inspired from Cuba.

In the meantime, while international Communism little by little achieved its goals of expansion, international politicians began to fall into the Marxist trap, and today we have to witness the so-called détente. Cuba is a living example of how the Communists have profited by this policy. If we consider the type of invasion practiced presently by Fidel Castro, we see that he and his bosses in Moscow are no longer supporting guerrilla as they did before. Nor are they boasting about the OLAS and other organizations created by them. They are better striving to maintain a strong position towards the free world, in this case towards the United States, its leading country. Thus, when it is convenient for them, they send Mr. Kissinger a message, and the United States declares that it is willing to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba. When they are not

interested, they simply send their troops to Angola and demonstrate complete indifference to the weak menaces by their American intermediates.

Nevertheless, no matter how great the Cuban freedom fighters' efforts are, we shall hardly achieve our goal if American Senators such as Mr. Jacob Javits, Mr. Clairborne Pill and others, continue to travel to the island with a large group of journalists, and pay no attention to the thousands of people detained in Cuban prisons.

Referring to the recent situation, we can see that in the last OAS General Assembly (while in the Caribbean people are imprisoned and killed for not sharing the regime's ideas) the American delegate, Mr. Robert White said that his country will prefer being outnumbered in the voting to supporting a weak text "which seems to criticize the report of the Human Rights Committee, more than Chile" .With what authority can an American talk on Human Rights, if a few miles from his own country, a tyrannic government does not even know what this means.

I do not wish to conclude without assuring you of the support of the Brazilian people who struggle daily for maintaining what Cubans strive to recover: liberty. Fidel Castro counted with the full support of some nations of our continent; today Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Brazil, Bolivia and others will offer the Cubans firm and decided support in the combat for Cuba's liberty.



Congress of the Cuban National organization Alpha 66, in Miami, July 9 - 11, 1976. From left to right: Dr. A. Bedriy (AF-ABN), Di Emilio Caballero, André Nazario Sargén, Dr. R. Rodriguez (Mexico), Rr. Midence, Ch. E. Ramirez, E. Galil and M. Rebozo.

Misuse of Psychiatry Exposed at Congress in Philadelphia

Mr. President, Representatives of the National Societies for Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Realizing that the participants of this Congress have to meet very extensive daily commitments — I have decided to speak only about one matter which, I feel is of profound importance to our profession and the human race in general, namely the question — are psychiatric means being used for the benefit of the human race (as they are meant to be) or for its detriment?

If history, especially the recent one — where over 6 million people have been brutally murdered — has taught us anything, we must feel responsible for its creation and development and not remain passive to the acts of crime committed.

I do, Ladies and Gentlemen, want to address myself to the misuse of psychiatry in the Russian empire — where sane and mentally healthy individuals, but holding views opposing the Government on such matters as religion, national identity, culture and other basic human values — are considered insane and "locked-up".

As you do, Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish this would be a conjecture "by the forces of the antisoviet propaganda" but unfortunately this is not propaganda, but hard facts based on testimonies of such Soviet psychiatrists as Woiciechowska and Gluzman and of the victims of psychiatric persecutions — Horbaniewska and Plushch (now in France) and Feinberg (at present in England).

It is not an isolated incident that worries me — but perpetuated cruelty of the Soviet Government such as displayed towards Jurij Shukhewych, a boy arrested at the age of about thirteen and kept locked-up for decades; or towards Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian historian, who was repeatedly invited by the Harvard University to participate there in research work, and who was recently kept in the Serbsky Institute for forensic medicine.

We owe our concern and our help to these persecuted people by virtue of the fact that we are free to think and free to speak, which we should do in order to eliminate suffering of these courageous people who are prepared to stand up for their principles and values against a dictatorial regime.

We owe our help also to the psychiatrists in the Soviet Union who are exposed to the danger of using the noble profession contrary to their principles and their conscience or to the punishment by the MVD.

I appeal to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to do everything possible to shorten the sufferings of these courageous people and to call those guilty to account for their crimes. — Thank you.

(Dr. E. Hlywa's speech at the Congress, August 1976)

Byelorussia — a Colony of Moscow

According to the official statistics of the USSR for 1970, the population of the USSR amounts to approximately 242 million, of which 129 million people reside in the RSFSR, while the remaining 113 million reside in the other republics of the USSR. But taking into account the 20 per cent of the total population who do not declare their nationality (to retain their privileges) the Russian people actually constitute only 103 million of the total population of the USSR. And taking into account the more than 100 million people of non-Russian nationality in the USSR, it can be seen that Russians are in the minority, and repress some 140 million people of non-Russian nationality who constitute the majority of the total population of the USSR.

Considering that the majority of the population is repressed and opposes the Russian regime, Russian imperialism rests on a very insecure foundation, and is only able to maintain its dictatorship over the oppressed peoples by terror and coercion.

The Byelorussian people — some 20 million — renewed their national independence in 1944, which was confirmed by the Second all-Byelorussian Congress in Minsk. Byelorussians are conscious of the fact that Moscow is abusing the legal rights of our people through its colonial policies, is exhausting and destroying the national heritage and human potential of our people.

Moscow with its so-called Marxist ideology and politics is enforcing an anti-intellectual, anti-religious and anti-national culture, through which Moscow is depriving Byelorussia of its soul, destroying its culture and economy, hoping to assimilate the Byelorussian people into the so-called "New Soviet (Russian) People".

Byelorussian people have always opposed and fought against this repression, primarily in the spheres of civilization and culture, in a long, difficult and intense battle. A new generation of Byelorussian poets, authors, scientists has not only opposed denationalization and the anti-religious policy of the ruling Communist Party, but is also actively protecting the fundamental interests of the Byelorussian people, and this resistance to Moscow's colonial occupation is constantly and steadily increasing.

In this active fight for liberation the Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples, both members of the United Nations, play an outstanding role amongst the peoples of the world. Ironically enough the so-called representatives of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples at the United Nations discussing the rights of man in Africa, South America and the far East, are not entitled to discuss the rights of their own suppressed peoples. The Helsinki Agreement clearly demonstrates and reinforces Russian domination over the Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples.

Among the 35 participating states of Helsinki, very small countries, such as Liechtenstein, with 22,000 inhabitants, Monaco with 25,000 inhabitants, were represented, but Byelorussia with a population of 10 million (according to Soviet statistics) and Ukraine with a population of 50 million (also according to Soviet statistics) were not represented, even though they are members of the UN. This is surely unjust and constitutes a blatant discrimination against and abuse of some nations and their human rights.

As free representatives of Byelorussia we take part in international conferences of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the European Free-

dom Council (EFC), the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), European Human Rights Conferences and others whose aim is to show the following to the Free World:

Byelorussia is a colony of Moscow; the representatives of the BSSR at the UN are not representing the Byelorussian people, but Moscow, which is constantly denied by the Russian press both at home and abroad in fact claiming that in 1974 the BSSR was represented at 100 international sessions and conferences arranged by 58 international organizations. (Voice of Home, July 1975).

A clear example of Moscow's colonial policy and paradoxical behaviour towards nations and human rights is its refusal to admit South Korea into the UN. For Byelorussia Mr. Borys Kudrazou argued: the government of South Korea is a regime of puppets and does not represent anyone. Yet Moscow, by allowing Byelorussia and Ukraine to be members of the UN, thereby formally acknowledging the independence of these states, did not allow these same two states to participate at Helsinki. Thus Moscow's colonial policies and power over the fate of its satellite states were clearly demonstrated.

Is it possible to solve problems of world security and co-operation while 60 million people in Europe, including Byelorussians and Ukrainians, inhabitants of apparently independent states, are enslaved?

As free representatives of the Byelorussian people we declare:

1. As long as Moscow continues to exploit the territorial, economic and human potential of the subjugated peoples;

2. As long as the Bolshevik fifth column continues to infiltrate and invade Free Europe;

3. As long as the Free West continues to give economic support to the USSR;

4. As long as the peoples suppressed by Moscow do not gain their national independence

So long will the Bolshevik danger not only hover like the sword of Damocles over the whole of Free Europe, but also over the whole of the Free World.

Freedom and liberty, on which the security and co-operation of Europe depend, are indivisible, not only in theory, but also in reality. The painful reality under the Red regime of Moscow and the Bolshevik system is the enslavement of peoples.

Latvia is the Site of 12 Concentration Camps

According to "samizdat" sources, there are currently 12 concentration camps in the Latvian SSR.

The camps are of different sizes, said the report, and the one near Riga, the Latvian capital, is capable of housing some 5,000 inmates.

There are also psychiatric detention centers, said the newspaper, which are run by a high ranking official of the Soviet information service, and one of the camps is specifically used for youths under 18.

Area residents, said the report, are convinced that among the inmates

there are not only Latvians, but also prisoners from other "republics".

The camps are under the jurisdiction of the Administration for Rehabilitation through Labour.

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77 British MP's In Defense of Ukrainian Prisoners

The following are the texts of telegrams sent to Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR by 77 British MP's.

Kurt Waldheim,
United Nations,
United Nations, New York, USA

Your Excellency,

We the undersigned, wish publicly to address this appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

It is with great alarm that we read of the recent transfer of the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, to the Serbsky Institute for Psychiatry in Moscow and of the subsequent attempts to have him classified as insane.

Fortunately, it appears that the Soviet authorities, properly influenced no doubt, by the strength of foreign public opinion, have now discontinued any further attempts to incarcerate Mr. Moroz in an institution even more notorious than that which until recently 'accommodated' the Ukrainian mathematician Leonid Plyushch.

We wish to draw to the attention of the Soviet authorities the grave concern with which Valentyn Moroz's continued imprisonment is viewed by a great many MP's and to stress our desire to see him released from captivity and be allowed to leave the USSR together with his family.

We appeal to Your Excellency to intercede with the Soviet Government on behalf of Mr. Moroz, in an attempt to ameliorate the latter's immediate circumstances and with a view to securing his early release.

London 19th August 1976.

Leonid Brezhnev, Kremlin, Moscow, USSR.

We appeal to the General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to allow the release of Valentyn Moroz and to implement the setting up of a committee or committees whose aims

would be to review the trial procedure and subsequent sentencing and treatment of M. Moroz and other prisoners of conscience by the Courts of the Russian SFSR., the Ukrainian SSR and those of other Union Republics, in order to ensure the preservation of the sacred pledges made in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, and to maintain the spirit of the Helsinki agreement.

London 19th August 1976

The names of the 77 MP's who appended their names to these telegrams are given below: —

Michael Alison MP, Donald Anderson MP, W. Benyon MP, Anthony Berry MP, Richard Body MP, Andrew Bowden MP, Rhodes Boyson MP, Christopher Brocklebank-Fowler MP, Edward Brown MP, Lynda Chalker MP, Kenneth Clarke MP, Walter Clegg MP, Richard Crawshaw MP, Patrick Cormack MP, John Bigg-Davison MP, Jack Dunnett MP, Tony Durant MP, Hugh Dykes MP, Michael English MP, Gwynfor Evans MP, Winifred Ewing MP, Russell Fairgrieve MP, Andrew Faulds MP, Geoffrey Finsberg MP, Nigel Fisher MP, Alan Fitch MP, Hugh Fraser MP, Peter Fry MP, David Ginsburg MP, Ian Grist MP, Helene Hayman MP, Emlyn Hooson MP, David James MP, Greville Janner MP, Walter Johnson MP, Russell Johnston MP, Jill Knight MP, David Knox MP, Norman Lamont MP, David Lane MP, Michael Latham MP, Nigel Lawson MP, Jim Lester MP, Kenneth Lewis MP, Ron Lewis MP, Edward Lyons MP, Bryan Magee MP, David Marquand MP, Neil Marten MP, Millie Miller MP, Geraint Morgan MP, Arthur Palmer MP, G. M. Park MP, J. R. Rathbone MP, David Renton MP, Malcolm Rifkind MP, Wyn Roberts MP, Paul B. Rose MP, Stephen Ross MP, Hugh Rossi MP, Peter Rost MP, Neville Sandelson MP, William Shelton MP, Fred Silvester MP, T. H. H. Skeet MP, Cyril Smith MP, Geoffrey Johnson Smith MP, Ian Stewart MP, Edward Taylor MP, Peter Thomas MP, Raphael Tuck MP, Derek Walker-Smith MP, Michael Ward MP, Bernard Weatherill MP, Philip Whiteland MP, William Whitlock MP, Nicholas Winterton MP.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF
UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
IN THE USSR,
49 Linden Gardens,
London W2 4HG

August 1976

The Prisoner of the Vatican

Each International Congress of the Eucharist aims to glorify publicly the Holy Eucharist, to deepen understanding of the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist, to renew the spiritual life of the faithful, to broaden and deepen devotion to the Holy Eucharist, and to announce to the world the message and significance for mankind of the Holy Eucharist.

"But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you, and then you will be my witnesses not only in Jerusalem but throughout Judea and Samaria, and indeed to the ends of the earth."

(The Acts, Ch. 1 v. 8).

"The participation of the faithful of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as pilgrims should — we read in the Communiqué of the Ukrainian Eucharist Committee — demonstrate together with the whole Catholic world our genuine faith. They should join in prayer in all decisions, in particular for a just peace in the world and for our persecuted Church in Ukraine; demonstrate to the world our devotion to the Holy Eucharist, the vitality of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the beauty of our rite and our ancient Christian culture; and protest before the world against the persecution of our brothers and sisters in Ukraine."

The Committee calls upon us to take part in the celebrations of the Congress en masse, as pilgrims.

The Vatican has excluded from the ranks of the pilgrims the most outstanding pilgrim not only in the Catholic but in the Christian world today . . . He has been prevented from publicly celebrating the Holy Eucharist . . . He, not only a living witness of the persecution of our Church, but its Martyr and Confessor of Faith, has been barred by the Vatican from appearing at the Congress of the Eucharist, so that the Ca-

tholic world does not see an incarnation of martyrdom for the Christian Faith and particularly martyrdom for loyalty to the Apostolic See itself and devotedness to Ukraine. The Confessor of Faith and Martyr for his loyalty to the Apostolic See is in an identical situation to the Ukrainian collective-farm worker, who cannot leave his dwelling place, as he is not entitled to a passport.

The Vatican has its prisoner — the most outstanding Christian of our time. This prisoner is perhaps today praying in the Studyty Monastery which he built on the outskirts of Rome for his beloved Ukraine, for our eternal cities Kyiv and Lviv, for Saint Sophia and Saint George, for our heroic Martyr Church — the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, for all Christianity, the whole world, and for the Vatican, so that God forgives it for this un-Christian deed. The Confessor of Faith drinks the chalice of sorrow to the last drop. Such is the faith of holy martyrs and heroes. He is praying for genuine oecumenism, for the oecumenism of the catacomb Churches, for the unity of our Ukrainian Churches, as he wrote in his latest historic epistle. He is praying for the return to the proper way of Christ of those who make pacts with the Anti-Christ in Moscow and neglect our heroic martyr Church of the catacombs. Pope Pius XII condemned the militant atheists and destroyers of nations, and branded the "patriarchs" — the Alexeys, who regarded the murderers of millions of Christians and faithful (who slaughtered ten millions Ukrainians) as "God's anointed" The Vatican is making pacts with the militant atheists and killers of nations and people. The world of catacomb Christianity in Ukraine is the antithesis of Christianity in the Vatican today. Pius XII and the present Vatican represent two

opposite interpretations of Christianity. Is the fourth prophecy of Fatima about chaos in Rome and the mixing of languages coming true?!

The Confessor of Faith defends the concept of Christianity in the first centuries. He adheres to the ideas of those Popes who made the Church a stronghold of fearless and uncompromising defence of truth and who were not afraid to face up to tyrants and militant atheists, and Communist mass murderers. He wants our Ukrainian Catholic Church, as a Patriarchal Church, to be saved from being split into separate kingdoms and parcelled out among local Latin-Rite Churches abroad, and is striving for it to be able as a whole body to defend heroic Christianity and the Universal Church. He desires that the treaties between our Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Apostolic See be upheld and not broken. These treaties specify the patriarchal prerogatives of our Church and its privileges recognized by the Popes and confirmed by the Vatican Oecumenical Council II. His appearance at the Congress of the Eucharist would be the greatest glorification of the Holy Eucharist, if he prayed and joined in the proclamation to the world of the message and significance of the Holy Eucharist to humanity. For he is a martyr whose hands the Muscovite butchers and atheists tried to break, whom they led out many times to be shot, whom they kept in NKVD and KGB torture chambers and dungeons. A Confessor of Faith who suffered for Christ, for Ukraine — his Motherland, for his loyalty to the Apostolic See would do this... This would be the greatest glorification of the Holy Eucharist before the whole world.

Why is this so? What is the Vatican afraid of? Is it afraid of that terrible, venomous display of conscience by the whole genuinely Christian world because of the Vatican's false policy towards Moscow and the atheist tyranny of Communism, which is harmful to all

Christianity!? Would the appearance at the 41st Congress of the Eucharist of the Martyr of Christ and the Apostolic See, and of Ukraine, as the living incarnation not of the opportunistic, decadent, official Christianity which makes pacts with the Anti-Christ, but of the heroic, martyred, catacomb Christianity — not be in the interest of the good spirit of all mankind who must be saved from the Bolshevik deluge?!

The deed which the Vatican State has just committed against the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is an act of hostility against the whole of the Ukrainian Nation numbering 50 million. This will be recorded in the history of Ukrainian-Vatican relations. If the present Vatican officials think that Moscow is more important to them than Ukraine then they are mistaken! The Vatican works out its calculations without Ukraine, without our Church, lost in admiration of Moscow and "His Holiness Patriarch Pimen" ... as it titled the spokesman for the Church sector of atheist Kremlin politics which plan to oppose the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. No pastoral or other ecclesiastical grounds stand in opposition to the Patriarchate, only political motives, as it has been admitted recently to the Ukrainian delegations in London and elsewhere.

The ban on a meeting of the Permanent Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, although Pope Paul VI promised it to Metropolitan Maxym of Winnipeg, is evidence of the negative attitude of the Vatican at present to our Ukrainian Catholic Church, whereas it is friendly towards the Muscovite Pimen in the Kremlin. The recent unfriendly act clearly shows the attitude of the Vatican.

It is true that there is no inquisition which eventually did not help the Church but weakened it. The Inquisition did not suppress the truth, neither did it suppress the Dominican monk Giordano Bruno, nor Galileo.

"But the Earth does revolve!"

Joan of Arc burnt at the stake, was canonized by the Church in 1920! In the same way our Ukrainian truth will be victorious and the Church will accept it sooner or later, because the truth of Christian, martyred, heroic Ukraine, the truth of our Church of the catacombs — is the truth of Christ, the truth of Christian martyrs, the truth of the persecuted, not the persecutors! For the Universal Church does not begin or end with the present Vatican. There were various Popes, some were great friends of Ukraine and Kyiv Christianity. And such Popes will come who will repair the harm that has been done.

Meanwhile, our Ukrainian Catholic Church is experiencing difficult times. Responsibility for the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is now in the hands of our bishops. The touchstone will be their behaviour, if the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church cannot take part in the glorification of the Holy Eucharist in Philadelphia.

We appeal to all bishops of the Catholic and other Christian Churches, to take note of the above in the name of true oecumenism, Christianity and humanity, and ask the Vatican to remove from the Head of our Church the status of passportless Ukrainian collective-farm worker in the USSR, which has been imposed on the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Ukrainian social and political circles cannot remain silent either! The faith-

ful of all Ukrainian religious denominations should demonstrate solidarity in defence of the elementary rights trampled by the Vatican not just of a Martyr and Patriarch but of the rights of a man, who should enjoy freedom of movement in the country where he is domiciled!

It is possible that as we write these lines, somewhere in a monk's cell of the Order of Studyty, our Patriarch is kneeling in prayer for all of us, for those who may accuse the grey-haired Martyr of striving for honours (which he could have had in plenty if he had not been faithful to his Church and the Universal Church), for those who refuse to support him, for those who are faithful to him, and for all those who strike blows against him. Meanwhile, "the messengers from Ukraine are waiting for a reply until tomorrow..." The Ukrainian people will support the Patriarch, regardless whether the powerful in this world do or not. The voice of the people is also the voice of the Church. For God's People are an inseparable part of the Church.

London, July-August 1976

Central Committee For the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate (Great Britain)

Turkey Released Lithuanians

The Turkish government released from prison two Lithuanians, Parnas Brazinskas and his son Algirdas, who in 1970 high-jacked a Soviet plane and forced the pilot to fly over the Black Sea and land in Trapezundi. Moscow demanded the two Lithuanians known as 'air-pirates' to be handed over to the Soviet Union in order to put them on trial. The Turkish government in Ankara, under great pressure from the West rejected this demand.

Reuter and the Turkish radio state that the two Lithuanians aim to immediately go to Italy and then settle in America.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

News and Views

Sao Paulo, July, 1976

A new Board of Directors of the Society of Political, Economical, and Social Studies (SEPES) has been elected for the 1976/77 term:

President — Dr. Carlo Barbieri Filho

Vice-President — Prof. Jorge Bonaventura de Souza e Silva

Secretary General — Dr. Italo Bustamante Paolucci

Director Treasurer — Sr. Edilberto Mello de Souza Braga

Director — Sr. Jose Antonio de Oliveira Machado

A Consultative Board was also elected, from distinguished personalities, representing different areas of activity. The Consultative Board will include former secretaries of State, business and tradeunion leaders, etc.

The new SEPES authorities assumed their responsibilities on August 26th at the Nacional Club of Sao Paulo. The ceremony was presided by his Excellency, Dr. Mario Henrique Simonsen, Minister of the Treasury. **S.E.P.E.S.**

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

*Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations
49, Linden Gardens
London W2 4HG, England*

July 12, 1976

*Dear Mr. Zacharchuk and Mr. Glinsky:
On behalf of President Ford, I would like to thank you for your letter of greetings on the occasion of our Nation's 200th Anniversary.*

The President has been extremely pleased with the many felicitations he has been receiving from friends in other lands.

Enclosed is an information packet on different Bicentennial activities that are underway which I thought might be of interest to you.

President Ford would like you to have the enclosed Bicentennial message which is sent with his very best wishes for a happy and memorable year.

Sincerely,

Milton E. Mitler

Deputy Special Assistant

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON

We now mark the beginning of our Third Century as an Independent Nation as well as the 200th Anniversary of the American Revolution. For two centuries our Nation has grown, changed and flourished. A diverse people, drawn from all corners of the earth, have joined together to fulfill the promise of democracy. America's Bicentennial is rich in history and in the promise and potential of the years that lie ahead. It is about the events of our past, our achievements, our traditions, our diversity, our freedoms, our form of government and our continuing commitment to a better life for all Americans. The Bicentennial offers each of us the opportunity to join with our fellow citizens in honoring the past and preparing for the future in communities across the Nation. Thus, in joining together as races, nationalities, and individuals, we also retain and strengthen our traditions, background and personal freedom.

As we lay the cornerstone of America's Third Century, I commend your very special part in this great national celebration.

Gerald R. Ford

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK IN NATIONAL CHINA

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

The 1976 Republic of China's "Captive Nations Week" was observed on July 18-24 throughout the country including the offshore islands of Kinmen and Matsu. The "Captive Nations Week" was featured by various anti-Communist activities with massive popular participation, including lecture meetings, international affairs forum, freedom fighters' symposium, youth symposium, forum through radio broadcast and other activities sponsored by various religious groups. It was highlighted by a mass rally of 50,000 people from all walks of life throughout the nation on the evening of July 23 in Taipei. Our political slogans addressed to the people at home and abroad were: "Distinguish Friends from Foes! Strengthen the Anti-Communist Camp!" and "Down With International Communist Tyranny! Liberation of Mainland Chinese Foremost!"

On this occasion I presided over the rally. President Yen Chia-kan of the

Republic of China made an address. Invited to participate in the activities and speak at the rally were US Congressman Edward J. Derwinski, J. T. Kolane, Speaker of the National Assembly of Lesotho, Eduardo Galil, Federal Representative of Brazil, Prof. Giorgio Roberti, University of Rome, Italy, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Chairman of the ABN Press Bureau, and Dr. Jae Seung Woo, Secretary-General of WACL.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to you for your thoughtfulness in sending us felicitations on the occasion of the 1976 Republic of China's "Captive Nations Week". Your congratulatory messages will be published in our "Asian Outlook".

With best wishes, Sincerely yours,

Ku Cheng-kang
Honorary Chairman, WACL
President, WACL/APACL
China Chapter



Dr. Han Lih-wu receiving St. Bandera badge from Mr. Y. Stetsko.

Russia and Western Big Business Perpetuate Captive Nations

Leaflet of the British League for European Freedom distributed during Captive Nations Week.

The Communists and International Socialists should be the very last people to be calling on, and working for the downfall of big business. Right from the time of the Russian Communist Revolution, the International Communist Movement has been, and has become more and more dependent upon Western high finance. Without the aid, trade and technology from the Free World the USSR would have remained an agrarian economy and no one would have had to look twice at their so-called 'supremacy' and vast armaments. It is an indisputable fact now heavily documented in research work, that the West is arming and maintaining its bitterest enemy. Those who believe in a concept of freedom, as well as freedom for the Captive Nations, must make Western politicians see this reality.

Soviet Russia's real role is not that of a star performer vying for top place on the world's "greatest nation chart", but as a member of the Third World, almost wholly reliant on foreign aid. There is no such thing as Soviet technology — only Western technology on Soviet soil. That anyone, after 50 years, can still believe the myth of Soviet Russian supremacy, is the measure of our blind stupidity and their propaganda. The truth is that free world money, technology and invention are perpetuating the great lie and with it, the tyranny and persecution, that have become the hallmark of Russian Communist imperialism. It should not be forgotten that in the Soviet Union and her satellite countries in Eastern Europe, approximately two-thirds of the people are not Russians, and are looking to the free world for the chance to



Dr. Han Lih-wu (third from left) visiting ABN Headquarters and Ukrainian Office in Munich, August 27, 1976

regain their freedom and independence from the Russian tyrants.

Lenin, of course, predicted that what he called 'the decadent' capitalists, would not only compete with one another to send their surplus goods to the USSR but would, in their desire to win the Soviet market, shut their eyes to the revolutionary activities being organized by the Communists in Free World countries.

Communism appears to have adopted every kind of subversion and trickery, and therefore the exponents of Communism will resort to ANY means to destroy the Free World and the Christian social order it engenders and fosters. Whilst all this is going on, we have the spectre of big business sitting on the sidelines grinning with bulging pockets.

Détente — that mild-sounding beloved plaything of the Communists and "One Worlders" — is undeniably an instrument which confuses our bemused politicians who resolutely refuse to recognize it as posing any danger to non-Communist countries. Whilst the West accepts the play of détente, this does nothing but invite mounting Russian Communist aggression whilst the Free World offers more aid and trade in a fruitless desire to ensure some sort of peaceful co-existence. The truth is that the Communists are only in it for political advantage. The détente promoted by the Russians feeds on the amiable trustfulness of non-Communist people who have been softened up by the constant brainwashing about the friendly intentions of those who, in reality, plot our eventual destruction. N. Khrushchev told the West at the UN "We shall bury you" and he meant it. What he omitted to add at that time was that détente and trade would be the gravedigger's tools.

The press and other communication media of the free world have a very special responsibility to expose all this falsity and double-talk. The mass media must be made responsible for their

actions and for a proper reporting of the truth about the facts which continue to hold the Communist Empire together.

Captive Nations Week is celebrated in the third week of July each year, to draw attention to the reality that big business holds the Communists together and that, in particular, the Russian Communists hold in subjugation nations within the USSR as well as the Eastern European satellite countries. Their national independence and freedom should be demanded by all those who believe in real freedom. We appeal to you to bring these facts before Members of Parliament and those in positions of influence within our Community.

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the Mass Protest Meeting held on the 18th of July, 1976 in the Ukrainian Hall, 1315 Claremont, Bradford 7, West Yorkshire, England.

WHEREAS the Captive Nations stand for the right of nations to their independence and of all individuals not to have their basic human and civil rights violated but to enjoy liberty of expression, speech, association and equal social justice;

WHEREAS the Captive Nations believe that a nation's right to independence is a pre-requisite for the existence of basic human civil rights and that such rights of the individual can only be realized in a free nation enjoying self-determination;

AND WHEREAS Russian Imperialism and Communism have destroyed the aforesaid rights by subjugating nations and systematically destroying the nationals through genocide;

IT IS HEREBY DECLARED that the people of the Captive Nations gathered here in Bradford West Yorkshire England DO SEVERELY CONDEMN Russian Imperialism and Communism AND APPEAL to the free world to support

their cause in liberating their nations from their captors and to establish free and democratic states

AND RESOLVE

1. TO URGE the dissolution of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics replacing it by independent, national democratic states based on the ethnographic boundaries of all the subjugated peoples therein, as well as the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the peoples in the so-called satellite countries and the dissolution of all artificial states created by coercion;

2. TO CONDEMN the Russian obliteration of the Captive Nations' cultures, history and traditions by the annihilation of their natural heritages through the destruction of their institutions, historical places, monuments, libraries and churches;

3. TO SEVERELY CONDEMN AND URGE the liquidation of all concentration camps throughout the Soviet empire and in the so-called satellite states;

4. TO DEMAND the release of all prisoners detained for their national political and religious beliefs;

5. TO VIGOROUSLY DENOUNCE AND DEMAND an end to the practice of using medical and chemical means for physically and mentally breaking political prisoners in extorting statements of repentance from them;

6. TO DEMAND the abolition of secret trials instituted on triumphed up charges and the confinement of sane people to psychiatric institutions to destroy the individual's reason or being and existence and

7. TO URGE the parliaments and governments of the Free World to testify to their full solidarity with the struggle for independence of the nations forced into the Russian Empire and Communist sphere of power and to demonstrate readiness to give universal support for this struggle.

Dated this 18th day of July 1976
Bradford, West Yorkshire, England

LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL

Cicero Chapter

PETITION

Adopted June 13, 1976, in the Town of Cicero, Illinois, by the Lithuanian Americans who commemorated the tragedy of the mass deportations of Lithuanian citizens from their homeland, at the meeting arranged by the Cicero chapter of the Lithuanian American Council.

The Russians performed massive arrests, taking over 40,000 people at a single raid conducted throughout the nation on the night of June 14, 1941. At gunpoint, the victims were forced into railroad freight cars and deported to the Siberian wastelands. Children were separated from their parents, wives from husbands. Without food, water or even fresh air, many children, the elderly and weaker individuals perished. Those that survived the journey to Siberia, were put into slave labor concentration camps, where a great many perished from hunger, cold and disease.

On this occasion, in the year of America's Bicentennial, the participants of the meeting:

1. Condemn the tyrannous rule of aliens and honor the Americans who were determined to govern themselves and fought for independence of their colonies.

2. Recall with resentment the conferences of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam as acts of betrayal against the freedom of nations, because as a result of these conferences, the Russians were allowed to expand their dictatorial regime westward to the river Elbe.

3. Protest the politics of détente which undermines the safety and security of the United States of America, especially by permitting thousands of Communists to enter our country.

4. Protest the actions of D. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, which are

not in the best interests of this country.

5. *Protest the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference which indirectly pays tribute to the Russian claim to sovereignty over the captive nations, including Lithuania.*

THEREFORE, IT IS RESOLVED, *that this assembly shall ask you to:*

A. *Influence the citizens of the United States of America to recognize that the greatest enemy of the freedom of all men is Communism.*

B. *Support the American citizens, who desire that their countries of origin will not be devastated by the ruthless Soviet Russians and the captive peoples will not have to live an inhuman life under the Soviet Russian regime.*

C. *Use the diplomatic and economic means in dealings with the USSR to ease the burdens of the captive nations and to aid them in their struggle for freedom.*

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, *that copies of this Petition be forwarded to President Gerald R. Ford, Senator Charles H. Percy, Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III and to Congressman Henry J. Hyde.*

*Respectfully,
Pranas Kašiuba
Chairman of the Meeting
Viktoras Motušis
Secretary of the Meeting*

**ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS
Winnipeg Branch**

The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Ukrainian League of Liberation (Winnipeg Branch) were sponsoring a MASS DEMONSTRATION at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, on Thursday, August 26, 1976, from 7:00 to 9:00 p. m., against the Soviet Art Exhibits in Canada.

"We are not protesting against art as such, we are not against the Winnipeg Art Gallery, nor are we against the people who visit this "Art Exhibit".

We strongly object to "Manitoba Bill 56". This is precedence for the future, that foreign countries will be dictating to our government, which bills should be passed. If the Russians had "clean hands", then there would be no need for "Bill 56".

The Artist Alla Horska was murdered in Kyiv, by the KGB on November 20, 1970. The historian Valentyn Moroz, who protested against the Russians, who had robbed a church in Kosmach, Western Ukraine of their "ikonostas" (Picture-wall of saints-in front of the altar) — has been in Vladimir Prison (the most severe prison), for 5 years. This kind of display, like in Winnipeg, is just a smoke screen for the criminal deeds of the USSR. We are against the so-called cultural exchange with the USSR, because it is a "one way street" and nothing else but Communist propaganda."

**INDEPENDENCE FOR UKRAINE!
FREEDOM FOR VALENTYN MOROZI!**

**We are against "Cultural Exchange"
with USSR!**

**Russia is using our Winnipeg Art
Gallery for Communist propaganda!
Cultural infiltration: Smoke screen for
Russian domination, prison & labor
camps**

**Russia is the only country which
tortures healthy people
in mental hospitals.**

**Rev. SEMEN IZYK
pres. ABN, Winnipeg Branch**

"Winnipeg Tribune", August 27, 1976

Group stages march in rain

Rain did not deter people from holding a demonstration outside the Winnipeg Art Gallery Thursday night.

Their protest was directed at the Soviet government's treatment of Ukrainian artists and intellectuals and the provincial government's Bill 56 which was passed to protect the Russian art collection now on view at the gallery.

Several groups, including the Winnipeg Branch, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine took part in the demonstration.

A spokesman for the ABN, Rev. Semen Izyk, said the Soviets are "stealing and destroying Ukrainian art" and putting artists in mental institutions and labor camps. He said the provincial law which protects the paintings from seizure wouldn't be necessary "if the Russians had clean hands".

He said the law was necessary because many of the paintings in the Soviet collection had been seized from private owners or museums.

**CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE**

To the External Affairs Department,
Ottawa, Ont.

July 11th, 1976

Gentlemen,

The present issue re. admission of the Taiwan Olympic team to Canada compels me as Chairman of the Human Rights Committee of the Canadian Citizenship Federation to express my view on the whole problem and, in conclusion, to apply to you for a satisfactory solution of this problem both for Canada and the Republic of China — Taiwan which I had the pleasure to visit in 1971.

Refraining from the political question whether the Canadian govern-

ment adheres to one- or two-China policy, as being totally irrelevant to the purely sportive Olympic competitions in Montreal, I wish herewith to stress another aspect of the matter: the legal rights of any foreign (non-criminal) visitor to enter Canada as a goodwill tourist, cultural worker, businessman, sportsman, and the like for a temporary stay in our country. There is, to my knowledge, no restriction in our present Immigration Act to admit such people and, consequently, the denial to grant visas to our Taiwan Olympic guests is not only illegal but it stands in a crass contradiction to Canadian liberal practices with regard to other Olympic athletes from around the world. It has all signs of discrimination of a selected group of people thus being a specific unwarranted case of violation of human rights.

On behalf of my Committee as well as of thousands of Chinese Canadians and their non-Chinese supporters in Canada, who are in favour of admitting Taiwan Olympic competitors to our country, I am urging you herewith to advise our external posts, especially those in the United States of America, to grant immediately temporary visas to all the Olympic representatives of the Republic of China - Taiwan.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. J. B. Rudnycky,
Chairman, HRC - CCF/FCC

TELEGRAM

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko
Zeppelinstr. 67, Munich

We extremely regret to inform you that WACL Chairman Dr. Ben C. Limb passed away on September 21st after a long illness. The funeral ceremony will be on Saturday September 25th. Kindly inform all ABN members of his death.

Prof. Woo, Jae-Seung
Secretary-General of WACL



NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

P. O. BOX 142M22

Ijamsville, Md. 21754



DET FRIA UKRAINA

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Boîte Postale 351 - Paris 9^e - C.C.P. : La Source 30 754 04.



RESISTENCIA y LIBERACION

A B N - BOLETIN DE NOTICIAS DE LOS PAISES OPRIMIDOS POR EL IMPERIALISMO
MOSCOVITA SOVIETICO

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UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine

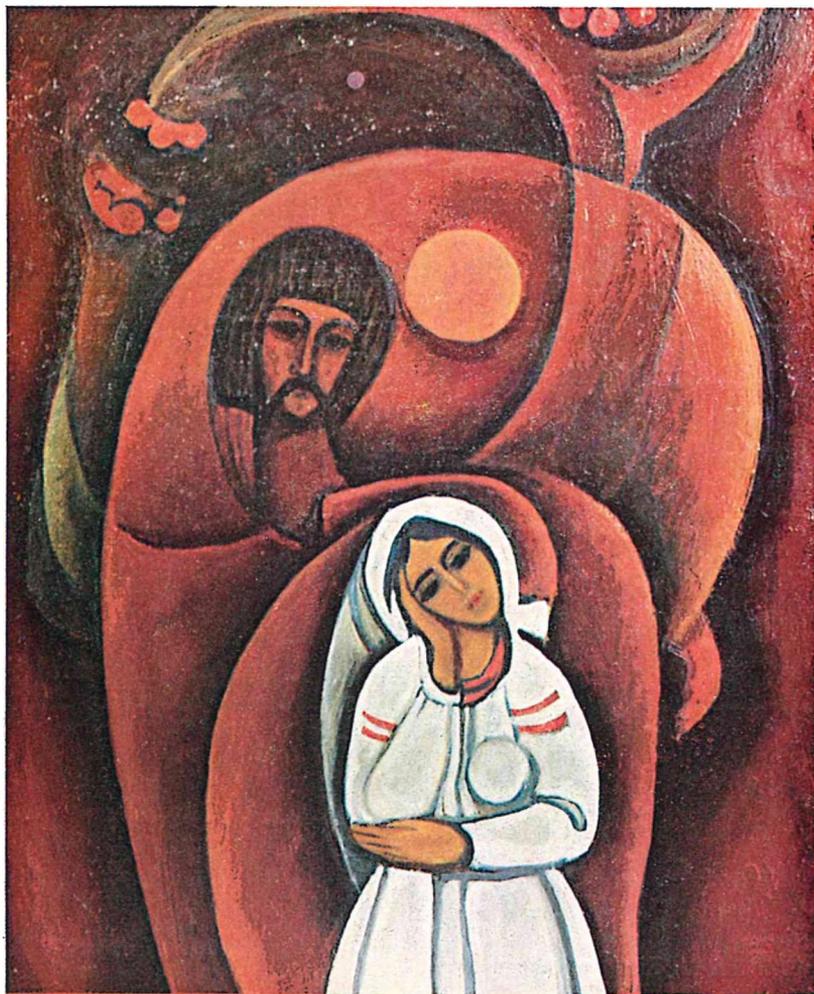
Issue IV

Containing details on the trial of Valentyn Moroz and the brutal murder of Alla Horska, unpublished poems by Vasyl Symonenko and news of repressions against the Ukrainian intellectuals. Poetry translated by Vera Rich.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



U. C. I. S.
200 Liverpool Road,

SPIRIT OF THE FREE INSPITE OF SLAVERY

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On the cover: Recent Painting from Ukraine

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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World Despotism Confronted With Liberation Nationalism

We are living in a revolutionary epoch when from the world political map — western colonial empires are disappearing and new states have arisen, the nations are liberating themselves, and liberation nationalism — the counterpart of imperialism and colonialism — is triumphant in the world. "More than half of the world's population is marching under the banner of nationalism", state writers in our homelands.

Is it possible that this victorious march of liberation nationalism will halt at the Russian prison of nations — the USSR, in which barbaric Russia is oppressing nations with ancient cultures and great state traditions, when peoples without historical background and state traditions, for instance some peoples of Africa are becoming independent?!

The old colonial empires are coming to an end, yet Russian imperialism is practicing genocide and oppressing a huge portion of Europe — the cradle of world culture and civilization. This is an absurd controversy in Russian imperialist policy — to give active support for the dissolution of remnants of Western Empires and simultaneously practice genocidal Communism and imperialism in 'Euro-Asia'.

By genocide and systematic terror inside the empire and by expansion into new continents, seas and oceans, Moscow is trying to maintain a continental prison of nations. It is known from history that the unrestricted law of expansion is leading the aggressor to a downfall.

The more territories and seas Russia grabs the sooner its downfall approaches.

The controversies are growing and

the enemies of the empire are mobilizing their forces in the whole world.

The Communist system corresponding to the Russian mentality is unnatural for Ukraine and other subjugated nations. Furthermore, Russians are unable to feed their masses even with the bread from Ukraine — the granary of Europe, because Ukraine and other subjugated nations are fighting against Russian occupation for the dissolution of the Russian empire and for the destruction of the Communist system.

America is saving the Russian empire. The reason for this is that the present American government stands for world division between two superpowers. This idea is incorporated in the declarations of Helsinki, which state that the present frontiers of the Russian empire should not be altered. The aim of the present State Department and those bodies we stand with it, also of international capitalism and Communism, which embodies the imperialistic ideas of Moscow, is to create a world government — which means anti-national and supranational government. However, the world evolves from empires to national states. Even the United Nations whose membership has quadrupled since its beginning, deny the existence of such a political trend. These concepts of world despotism are confronted with liberation nationalism, i. e. a new world system with new state-political, socio-economic, anti-Communist, anti-capitalist, cultural, ideological, idealistic values.

The Russian empire will not even be rescued by Washington, with the pragmatic pro-Russian policy of Kissinger or the pro-Communist policies of Sonnenfeldt owing to the inevitable national liberation revolutions of the sub-

jugated nations. Moscow is living on a volcano, its ideas are bankrupt, Communism is dead amongst the captive and subjugated nations. The younger generation believes in nationalism, in national patriotism, has deep-rooted religious conviction, believes in heroic conceptions of life and in its own national traditions, in the cult of its own past, its values and its own creativity.

It rejects dialectical and historical materialism, and vigorously opposes the Russian endeavours to impose the Russian way of life on our nations. The policy of détente, cooperation and help to tyrants is already bankrupt in our eyes. From the opposite side Russia is now being confronted by China. Like Nazi Germany, Russia has to face a two-front war already. We rely on neither Washington nor Peking, only on our own forces and on those of the subjugated nations. The more enemies Russia has — the better. But the guarantee of our victory lies in ourselves. No one will give us freedom, if we ourselves do not regain it. Power has to be won — it is never given. All liberators win freedom for themselves and bring slavery to those who allegedly have been liberated. Present Washington with its policies à la Kissinger and Sonnenfeldt, who strive to make the captive nations become "an organic part of Russia" and to persuade them to voluntarily submit to Russian domination, is not champion of freedom. The present day America is not the America of Washington or Lincoln, great statesmen and champions of freedom and truth, and their just laws. The America of Kissingers and Sonnenfeldts is temporary. The statement by President Ford, that the satellites of Moscow, occupied by her, are independent states gives Moscow a free hand to create in Europe and outside such new, in Kissinger's opinion "independent" satellites, as Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia are. This statement by President Ford encourages intensified Russification, linguist, — ethno, — genocide of nations

subjugated in the USSR, i. e. Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia and others. By such a statement, President Ford revealed not only his complete lack of interest in the subjugated nations in the USSR, and in the satellite countries, but by this he also emphasized his trust in Russian hypocritical lies about "independent soviet republics" in the USSR, not merely considered colonies.

Refuting the statement of President Ford and condemning the ideas of Sonnenfeldt and the policies of Kissinger towards the Russian empire, we demand that the President and the Government of the USA enforce the agreements signed by them in the UN in 1960 and 1972 on world decolonization and de-imperialization, including the disintegration of the Russian empire, not only the dissolution of the British or Portuguese empires!

We request the US government not to violate its own laws on the Captive Nations and on support of their liberation struggle for national independence, which were passed unanimously by the US-Congress 1959. Citizens of the US, who are descendants of the countries subjugated by Russia, will only cast their votes in favour of those candidates for governmental and congressional positions, who respect the rights of the subjugated nations to their national independence, and who will adopt a policy in favour of the liberation of the captive nations through the annihilation of the Communist of the Russian empire system and in accordance with the US law on Captive Nations of 1959 and the UN declaration on deimperialization and decolonization of the world.

The time has come, when the world can no longer be divided and ruled by two, three or more technological or atomic superpowers. The only alternative which will save the world from destruction by the Bolshevik forces — is embodied in the CAPTIVE NATIONS, who represent the most noble and aspi-

ring ideas of spiritual, ideological and political power. The subjugated nations, the liberation nationalism of nations, under whose banner we shall achieve our victory and the victory of the world, embody all the virtues and values of life, religion, justice, truth, freedom and national independence.

The prerequisite for the realization of individual rights is the realization of national rights. Without national independence there is no possibility for the realization of human rights of the individual in the subjugated nations. The primary right of the individual within the subjugated nation is to gain independence of his nation as a prerequisite for all other rights. Every empire is based on terror, military occupation, on liquidation of fighters for the independence of subjugated nations. The subjugated nations are not fighting for such things as "liberalization", "democratization", or for the "humanization" of the Russian empire, but for its total liquidation.

We appeal to the Vatican and the World Council of Churches to stop the policy of cooperation with and capitulation to the Russian tyrants and militant atheists. We stand for oecumenism with the catacomb Churches, but we are against unity with the Russian so-called Church of Patriarch Pimen, a high-ranking official of the Kremlin clique. We demand that the Vatican

respects the rights of Particular Churches, which are guaranteed by treaties with the Vatican, and also by the IInd Oecumenical Vatican Council, especially in this epoch of liberation nationalism, which is defeating unnatural and antinational internationalism.

The strength of the Church — is not adaptability or opportunism, but heroism and martyrdom for truth, justice and freedom against falsehood and violence. He who stands against his nation (fatherland) stands against his Creator — because nations are the ideas of God himself.

We express our full support and solidarity for the struggle of the Ukrainian people for a Ukrainian Patriarchate, and for the recognition of Cardinal Joseph Slipyj, as Patriarch, who is a martyr and Confessor of the Faith, not only for the Ukrainian Church and Nation, and who is a champion of the idea of heroism and martyrdom of Christianity over the Russian militant atheism.

We honour the martyrdom of the catacomb Churches in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Czecho-Slovakia, and all persecuted Churches of Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Eastern Germany, Croatia and others.

We request the Free World to break off all political relations with Bolshevism and Moscow, and to support the revolutionary liberation fight of the



ABN President Jaroslav Stetsko addressing the ABN Conference banquet.
Manchester, 16th October, 1976.

subjugated nations for their independence. The nations of the West are obligated to continue the insistent actions of pressure on the Russians to withdraw all occupational forces from the subjugated nations, to liquidate all concentration and forced labour camps, to release all political and religious prisoners such as Yurko Shukhevych, S. Karavanskyj, I. Senyk, V. Moroz and others.

The Western world is bound to denounce and condemn national oppression, Russification, economic exploitation, social injustice, Russian imperialism, neo-Communism, neo-Marxism as new forms of old Russian colonialism. There cannot be any common front with the so-called Russian dissidents, who try to preserve the Russian empire in new forms with the help of the West as was the case with Lenin and his clique during the First World War.

Let us go among people of the nations we are living with under the following slogans:

Down with concentration camps, psychiatric asylums, terror and despotism of Moscow!

Down with Russification and exploitation!

Down with collaboration of Western Governments and the Vatican with the gangsters and murderers of Moscow!

Down with the Russian prison of nations!

Long live liberation nationalism!

Long live the heroic Christianity of the catacomb Churches!

Long live the national independent states of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and by Bolshevism!

Freedom for Nations, freedom for Individuals!

Let's be proud that the world of tyrants is against our front — this means that our victory is near! For nobody will ever annihilate the ideas of justice and freedom!

*(ABN Great Britain Conference
Manchester, 15th - 17th October 1976)*



Prominent guests at the ABN Conference banquet. From left to right: Representative of the National China Centre in Lodon, Mrs. Whitlock, Hon. William Whitlock, M. P., ABN President Jaroslav Stetsko, Mrs Slava Stetsko, Mr. Lee Edwards, Mr. Donald Martin, Dr. Basil Mailat, Mr. Illa Dmytriw.

ABN Conference in Great Britain

14th - 17th October, 1976

This year the ABN Conference was held in Manchester, Great Britain, from 15th to 17th October, 1976. It was a great manifestation of unity by national liberation movements of subjugated nations and representatives of anti-Communist organizations of the Free World who are against Russian imperialism and Communism.

297 delegates took part in the conference representing: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, ABN branches from Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain, USA, 70 branches of organized Ukrainian centers in Great Britain, representatives of Polish, Czech and Hungarian organizations, further of the American Council for World Freedom — Secretary General Lee Edwards and Board Member Professor David Rowe; a representative of the Council on American Affairs — Professor R. Pearson (Chairman), and Chairman of North American WACL region; Mr. Donald Martin and Dowager Lady Jane Birdwood, representatives of the European Freedom Council and British League for European Freedom, Mrs. C. Hicks, secretary of the British League for European Freedom.

The Conference worked through closed and open sessions at which organizational reports were read and speeches delivered by delegates of different nations, national and international organizations.

The Youth session was the most active and attracted the biggest audience. The main speaker at the session was Mrs. Slava Stetsko from ABN Central Committee. The young speakers were: from Ukraine, Mr. Askold Krushelnycyk; ABN-Belgium, Mr. Zenon Kowal; British youth representative from the British League of Rights, Mrs. C. Hicks; Dr. Kershaw from the British Young Conservatives in Manchester; Conser-

vative Parliamentary candidates from Bolton, Mr. Tetlow and Mr. Terletsky from Wales.

The Conference passed the ABN Political Statement on liberation policy and Resolutions dealing with acute problems of liberation, Church and religion. It condemned the Sonnenfeldt doctrine, sent telegrams to US President Ford, presidential candidate Governor Jimmy Carter, requesting them to clarify their position with respect to the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Moscow and Communism for their national independence.

The main reception was organized on 16th of October. The main speakers at this reception were: Right Honourable Mr. William Whitlock, M. P., (Labour Party); Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of ABN and Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), WACL Board Member and former Prime Minister of Ukraine; Prof. David Rowe; Mr. Lee Edwards, Professor Roger Pearson. The National China representative from National China Center in London greeted the Conference at the reception. At the proposition of the Ukrainian Youth Association the Conference marked the 30 years of Yaroslav Stetsko as ABN President. A youth quartet and dancing group ended the reception pleasantly.

There were about 300 people through all the sessions. At the Rally on 17th October, participated more than 1,000 people, this included about 100 delegates from different nations belonging to ABN, about 300 performers of the concert (mainly young people who sang in choirs and danced in the ballet.)

The Fathers — representatives of British Catholic, Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Lithuanian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox Churches took part in the

sessions, and Holy Mass for the subjugated nations was celebrated on Sunday 17th October.

The Conference participants took part in the Memorial Service for the Ukrainian hero Stepan Bandera who was killed on Moscow's order on the 15th October, 1959.

Among the speakers at the Conference besides those who were already

mentioned were: Mr. Basil Mailat, Dr. Ilic, Mr. Glinski, Dr. Drenikoff, Mr. Tamsons, Mrs. Adelaida Lemberg (Miss. Duskevica), Mr. Zacharchuk, Major Bunchuk, Mr. Taras Lysenczuk, Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Bohdan Harhaj, and others.

More than 100 telegrams and letters greeting the Conference were received from all over the world.

ABN PRESS BUREAU

ABN CONFERENCE SENDS TELEGRAMS TO

the President of the US, Gerald Ford

Mr. President,

In the light of your recent public statement on the "independence" and later on the state of the subjugated nations within the Soviet Union and its satellites, we the representatives of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Croatia, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkestan would like to ask you as President of the country which is the champion of freedom, why you have abandoned our nations to Russian imperialism? Why is it that you do not act positively for the de-colonization of the Russian empire as the United Nations declarations of 1960 and 1972 demand?

The subjugated nations, constituting two thirds of the population of the Russian empire, would appreciate a clarification; whether they should treat the USA as a friend of their national independence and freedom or as an ally of their Russian oppressor?

Telegram to Governor Jimmy Carter, US Democratic Presidential Candidate, the Plains, Georgia, USA.

Governor Jimmy Carter,

On behalf of the representatives of the subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite states — Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Rumania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Hungary, Croatia, Czechia — and all other nations subjugated by Russia and Communism, we ask you Governor, to clarify your political position, whether you still support, as you proclaimed as Governor of Georgia during National Captive Nations Week in 1971, the national liberation fight for national independence and the disintegration of the Russian empire as set forth by the US Congress in its Captive Nations Resolutions of 1959, and in the UN Declarations on de-colonization of all empires, including the Russian empire, of 1960 and 1972.

On behalf of the assembled at the Mass Rally, representatives of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovakia.

Conference Statement

In Defense of National Independence and Human Rights Against Russian Imperialism and Communism

ABN stands for the right of all nations to independence and for equal rights and opportunities for all individuals, for social justice, and for freedom of creativity, religion, speech, expression and association.

ABN considers the realization of the nation's right to independence the prerequisite for the realization of human rights — never can an individual of an enslaved nation enjoy human rights in an empire, but he can realize them only within the framework of his own national democratic state.

The Helsinki agreement acknowledged status quo to the Soviet Union and by having done so — gave a free hand to the Russian imperial expansionist policies, establishing de facto Moscow's inviolable right to domination in Europe and beyond.

The Russian empire does not and never will respect any signed agreements as far as basic human rights and national aspirations are concerned.

No imperial system, the more so a Communist Russian colonial totalitarian one-party system, could ever respect the aims of the nations enslaved in said system — national independence being the basic prerequisite for any enslaved nation to attain human rights at all.

Détente between the tyrannical Russian empire on the one side and the Western democratic world on the other is and will continue to be used by Moscow to expand its dominance over those who are still free, for it does include in its so-called "ideological warfare" a diabolical cunning by supporting the (often unsuspecting) liberation movements and "national-liberation wars" (Angola), civil wars (Vietnam), armed interventions and direct assaults by its own troops, to supposedly protect, "socialist achievements" (Hungary, CSSR).

By expanding its thermonuclear as well as conventional arsenal and naval power which at this very moment already equals or even surpasses that of the United States — the red Russian empire aims at exercising total control over the free world.

Russian chauvinism in the guise of Communism has intensified its aid to terrorists all over the world, continues ethnocide and linguicide within the enslaved nations, persecutes freedom fighters who aim at attaining national liberation for their native lands, breaks or jails cultural workers as well as priests of all faiths and their followers or condemns them to insane asylums.

In Soviet jails and concentration camps, organized and maintained by the Russians and turncoats throughout the unholy "Union" almost 2 million political and religious inmates are now serving unheard of sentences.

Brutal murders, motivated by religious and political intolerance, take place within that vicious system of Russian' chauvinists and colonialists instigated by the KGB (Alla Horska, Rev. Luckyj, Rev. Luchkiv).

We state that Moscow's goal in the so-called disarmament or security and co-operation conferences is: to obtain the withdrawal of the US forces from Europe, thereby liquidating Europe's nuclear shield, to confirm the status quo in her constituent "republics" and satellites and to extend her domination to the still free world. Moscow seeks guarantees of "security" for her constantly changing borders, which she knows will be in danger as long as the whole world has not been subjugated.

Having abandoned the policy of liberation, the present US Government, in accordance with its present policy of balance of power, has renounced the possibility of reducing the military po-

lential of the Russian empire by attracting to its side a major part of the combatants of the Soviet Army and of the satellite armies. The present US government would support subjugation of many nations within the Russian empire if it were to adopt the Sonnenfeld doctrine. The spiritual and political weakness of the West renders the Russian empire strong.

We have reached the conclusion that Washington's so-called policy of balance of power between the superpowers is an anachronistic imitation of the Metternich-type alliance with the Tsarist despotic empire. As has become evident from the events in the Middle East, the "oil war", the events in Vietnam and in Africa, and especially from the reinforced terror within the Russian empire, with respect to the captive nations, this policy has failed.

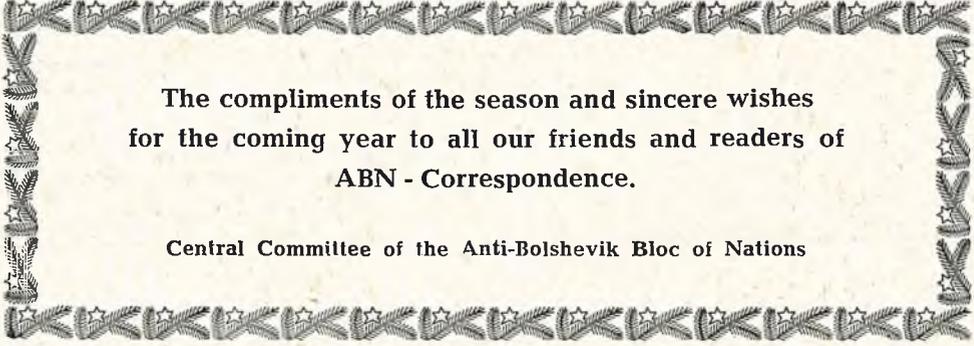
Reclining upon the God-given natural right of every nation to be independent, upon the inalienable right of every human being to express his creative spirit in freedom, upon the United Nations' declaration of 1960 (reconfirmed in 1972) concerning the de-colonization of the entire world by granting national independence to all former and present colonies, reclining upon the United Nations Charter and upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, taking into consideration the Declaration of the United States Congress regarding the Captive Nations Law (1959) which guarantees the support of the United States to all captive nations and satellite countries in the struggle

for their independence, the ABN CONFERENCE neither accepts, nor recognizes the validity of the Helsinki agreement but condemns it.

The ABN CONFERENCE calls upon all nations of the Free World to fight against Moscow politically, psychologically and ideologically, to include into its complex the true national-liberation wars conducted by the captive nations by all means available (they aim at freeing themselves from Russian occupation and Communist tyranny), that is, morally and actively support national liberation revolutionary activities in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Turkestan, Northern Caucasus, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Poland, East Germany, Cuba and other countries, including Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and North Korea, for their national independence and human rights.

Coordinated and simultaneous national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations are the only alternative to thermo-nuclear war.

Through such national revolutions, with the support of the Free World, the disintegration of the Russian empire and the annihilation of the Communist system will undoubtedly be achieved. Elements of a "superpower" are not only technological or thermonuclear capacity, but also, and most importantly, spiritual and moral values. Viewing the subjugated nations from this point of perspective they form another superpower.



**The compliments of the season and sincere wishes
for the coming year to all our friends and readers of
ABN - Correspondence.**

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

End Colonialism In Europe

The attention of the public opinion of the whole world is directed towards South Africa, where a battle is taking place in order to put an end to the remnants of white people on this continent. The Soviet Union is also engaged, partly directly and partly through her satellites in making a peaceful cooperation of white and black people impossible in Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa.

At the same time something quite astonishing happened at the session of the Parliamentary Union in Madrid in September. On the first day of the debates the anti-Communist Government in Chile was sharply attacked because of alleged violations of human rights. But who were the prosecutors, the distinguished defenders of democracy who so indignantly condemned the policy of the Chilean Government? They were the delegates of the so-called parliaments of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and German Democratic Republic. They were the representatives of such states that are just the opposite of democracy, whose essence is the abominable totalitarian rule.

The audacity of the Soviet Union in presenting herself in the international forum as an advocate of human rights and of the peoples freedom is trespassing every limit of decency. How is it possible for the representatives of a regime, which maintains itself in power only through crime and terror, to have the impudence to pillory other governments of violating human rights, whereas that government, if guilty at all, possibly only committed a thousandth part of the crimes committed by the Russian rulers in their own empire? This question was elucidated by **Mr. Moynihan** before the United Nations. We know quite well that the Communists following Lenin's teaching are capable of regaling others with the greatest and

curstest falsehoods, without any remorse, in order to deceive and confuse their adversaries. However, we should ask ourselves how it is possible, that there are in the western part of the world such politicians, journalists, and intellectuals, who are ready to accept such outrages and slanders of another state, which has to act in order to save the nation from the danger of losing its independence and of falling under Communist dictatorship, that is under Russian slavery?

With regard to the Soviet Union the words of our Lord Jesus Christ are applicable: „he sees the splinter in someone else's eye, but not the bulk in his own.“

Soviet Russia is immolating millions and millions of men to a barbarian and anti-human ideology, crushing all kinds of individual rights, in order to eradicate even the last traces of freedom carrying on a furious and obstinate campaign against religion and trying to eradicate the idea of God in the souls of the people; she is practicing the cruelest exploitation of man by man, for which there is no precedent on earth, oppressing peoples of other tongues and races and pursuing their Russification and enslavement, persecuting nationalism, that is the aspiration of the oppressed peoples to liberty; and she is prosecuting the advocates of liberty, who are either put to death or interned in lunatic asylums.

Soviet Russia is trampling with her feet all values of our culture and civilization and even the human personality is in danger of disappearance within her sphere. And hydra, this monster, with a thousand heads, which is eating up entire peoples, which is using genocide as a means for rule, is granted the possibility to perorate about liberty as nobody gives it the right answer.

Under normal circumstances, if there were a real sense for democracy in the western world, nobody would shake hands with people who are responsible for the assassination of 60 million people.

Whereas the former colonial empires of Britain, France and Holland belong to the past, Moscow is forging an empire of its own of enormous dimensions, and Western Europeans are ignoring this challenge. Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Armenians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Poles, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbians and Croatians are living in just one big prison in which their countries are reduced to colonies.

We are raising a vigorous protest against the hypocrisy of the Western governments swinging the banner of liberty and democracy on the one hand, while making agreements with Soviet Russia on the other hand, and shutting their eyes to the fact that Soviet Russia is oppressing so many peoples. We are requesting the reestablishment of the national independence of all these peoples.

The contradiction, in which the West-

ern democracies find themselves is obnoxious to them. While they are sacrificing to the moloch the peoples in the Soviet Union and her satellites, they are sacrificing their own future. Communism is slowly and systematically advancing without respecting any treaty or agreement. It will not be possible to stop the Russian Communist advancement at the Elbe. Under the prevailing conditions the red high-tide would reach the Atlantic Ocean and cover the peoples of free Europe. You know the French proverbial saying: „Le crime ne paye pas“ — crime does not pay off. Viewing the Communist danger we can say: it does not pay off to shut one's eyes to the Russian Communist danger.

The question and the problems of the peoples under the Russian Communist yoke cannot be ignored by the foreign policy of free Europe, without jeopardizing her own security. Either we, Europeans of both sides of the Iron Curtain, will save ourselves and together become a world power, or the Western democracies will continue their irresponsible and coward policy and then all of us will disappear, swallowed by Bolshevism and even the idea of freedom will be extinguished.

Moroz Transferred To Mordovia

Valentyn Moroz at the conclusion of his term in the Vladimir Prison, was transferred on May 10, 1976, to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry for closer observation.

Moroz was being accused of insanity because of alleged persecution complex and religious fanaticism.

Worldwide protests spearheaded by his wife, Raissa, who telephoned an appeal for help to The Washington Star, subsequently led to his transfer. Medical examiners determined that Moroz was sane and informed his wife of the decision on June 21st.

Moroz spent nearly two months in the Serbsky Institute before being moved to Moscow's Butyrka prison.

He is presently confined in the Mordovian camp no. 1 near Barashevo with other Ukrainian political prisoners. Moroz will spend three years there, to be followed by five years of exile.

During the first half of July Moroz was visited by his wife and son, also named Valentyn. This was the first three-day meeting between Moroz and his family the Soviet Russian authorities allowed since his incarceration.

Alternative to Détente

The French word "détente" derives from the verb "détendre" which means to relax tension. Since in English we do not have a corresponding word, we say: the relaxation of tension. In other words the opposite meaning of "détente" is "tension". Otherwise the English translation of the French noun "la détente" is "the trigger".

The word détente has been with us in its political and diplomatic use since the end of the last war, and, indeed, in Russia's hands it has been and still is a very useful, magic and successful weapon since the end of World War II, when Russia started World War III, which is seemingly invisible, but in fact very real and so far very successful for Russia and tragically disastrous for the free world.

Therefore, I think that it is high time for the Western world to see the mortal danger for world freedom which comes from the Russian trigger called détente. The West should start counting the casualties of détente, drawing a balance sheet of all diplomatic, political, economic and military disasters and find an alternative to the self-deceptive and meaningless interpretation of the word détente for world freedom.

At Yalta in 1945 the Western statesmen were deceived by Stalin, believing him that Russia would refrain from world conquest if they gave him what he wanted. But soon after the war it was Stalin who started the tension and introduced his regimes in Europe from Stettin to Trieste, leaving the rest to the care of his successors.

When Russia became a nuclear power, détente and co-existence became a daily political issue in the West.

The Berlin lift was not a victory for the West but the first post-war Munich, which was followed by many other Munichs, retreats, capitulations and humiliations, as well as shocks to the en-

slaved peoples in the Russian empire: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Turkestanians and others, and in the Satellite States to the Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, Slovenians, Croatians, Bulgarians and Albanians.

From the American Middle East shuttle diplomacy, soon was born the Far East shuttle diplomacy — both of them based on détente — the result of which was the defeat in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the betrayal of millions of people who for many decades fought for their national freedom and independence. After all that comes the Helsinki Conference for European security where Russia imposed on the West her détente, the West in return acknowledged all her acquisitions since Yalta.

But détente does not stop there! From the already well established Russian bastion in Cuba on the doorstep of North America, Russia creates tensions all over Latin America although she has already lost Chile under Allende.

At the same time and all in the name of détente, the old Yugoslav dictator Tito shuttles among the countries of the so-called "third world" to keep them in line with Moscow and incites the Communist inspired so-called "Liberation Movements" in Africa and tries to discredit the liberation struggle of the Croatian people, who long ago would have dissolved Yugoslavia if it had not been artificially kept alive by West and East.

The situation in Africa, where Russia plays the role of the protector of different national Liberation Movements (confirmed in the Helsinki Agreement), is extremely ironical.

The late general Eisenhower said once that nationalism is the only force which successfully can oppose Rus-

sian imperialism and Communism. He was speaking out of our hearts, but the West ignored this truth. Therefore, Russia exploited it for her own means. Her trained stooges in African countries, armed with Russian weapons, in the name of nationalism fight for Russian interests. Nearly half of the African continent to-day is under Russian control. Angola became the latest Russian colony in Africa, because the West refused to help the true nationalists who had masses of their people behind them. Why? Because the West did not want to jeopardize détente and violate the Helsinki Agreement!

We all wish well to the white and black Rhodesians, but I personally think that Rhodesia will become another Angola, because Russia has no intention to withdraw her mercenaries from Cuba.

When we take all this into consideration and add the alleged statement of the American Secretary of State that in ten years time the whole of Europe will be subjected to Communism, then we think that his shuttle diplomacy must be reshuffled and that an alternative to détente must be found.

This view is also held by the American governor Ronald Reagan and by the leader of the British opposition Mrs. Margaret Thatcher who on many occasions publicly warned their nations and the world of the Russian danger.

The ideal alternative to détente would be if the free world, i. e. all the nations where Communists are not yet in power, as equal partners under the leadership of the USA, publicly proclaimed and signed a Universal Declaration on independence guaranteeing self-determination to all peoples and democratic liberties to all individuals. They should now start making preparations, and instead of going to Belgrade next year to review the Russian détente and giving her another two years to complete the destruction of the free world, they should go to London, to New York and in front of West-

minster and the Statue of Liberty solemnly proclaim this historical Declaration.

After renouncing détente the free world should recognize the Liberation Movements of all the oppressed peoples and give them every moral and material support.

The European Liberation Movements should be admitted to NATO, and the Asiatic Liberation Movements to SEATO. For other Liberation Movements in Africa and Latin America similar defense organizations should be formed.

The Communist Parties in the free world should be outlawed because they violate democratic principles and the freedom of the peoples. Wherever they are too strong, military action should be undertaken to prevent them from taking over the power.

All trade in military equipment and in anything that might help the Bolsheviks to build up their military strength, should be stopped immediately.

The economic aid offered to the so-called "third world" should be stopped until the free world is convinced that this "third world" is not working for Russian and Communist interests.

The free world should especially cease the military and economic aid to so-called Yugoslavia, which, by the way, also belongs to the "third world". This artificial State structure, unwanted by the Croatian, Macedonian (Bulgarian) and Albanian people, will be invaded by the Russian armies from Hungary and Bulgaria after Tito's death, which will seal the fate of the rest of Europe, the Mediterranean and Africa.

To achieve this the West need not start either a conventional or a nuclear war. It should just carry out my above proposals. If on the other hand Russia starts a war because of the implementation of these proposals, the West has sufficient means to defend itself, and its best allies and front line fighters will be the Liberation Movements of the oppressed peoples who

will not need any Castroite-Cuban mercenaries to liberate their homelands.

This is the only alternative to détente after its 30 years of diabolical endeavours against freedom.

Someone may say that these proposals are unfeasible because they will not be accepted by the leaders of the free world. Our answer is: Nothing is impossible if you see that freedom — "this highest gift given by God to all men", as the 17th century Croatian poet Ivan Gundulić defined freedom — is in mortal danger.

We do not believe in any blocs of States because peoples and human beings are not cattle. God created man to be free and therefore freedom is the most precious right of every human being.

So the real alternative to the present suicidal détente is a freedom revolu-

tion in the West. The oppressed peoples are ready for such revolutions but they will not repeat the uprisings in Ukraine, Georgia, West Berlin, Poznan and Hungary only to be let down again by the West. We must still wait, rearrange our strategy and prepare for a simultaneous revolution and guerrilla warfare in our oppressed homelands. Our peoples and above all our youth are working towards this goal, and we are their ambassadors in the free world.

Young people have always been the bearers of revolutions. We hope — and there are signs — that the Western youth has realized the Marxist Bolshevik menace and that it will carry out the freedom revolution in its countries.

We wish them well and may God bless them!

Telegrams To ABN Conference

On behalf of APACL members pleased to convey to you and to all participants of ABN Conference our warmest greetings. Reaffirmation of unity and determination assumes special significance at this crucial moment in our common fight against Communist aggression. We wish your Conference unqualified success.

Han Lih-Wu, APACL Secretary General

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Our heartfelt greetings and support to your endeavors. Regards

Dr. Leebumjoon, WYACL Chairman, Korea

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World Youth Anticommunist League wishes Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations Conference success and expresses strong solidarity and support to obtain quick liberation of nations subjugated by red tyranny.

Jose Luis Aguilar Mora, WYACL Assistant Secretary General

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Thailand has since October 4 been under martial law. The Military Governmental Reform Group is strongly determined to wipe out once and for all Communist threat from our soil. Therefore it is not appropriate for me to leave the country at this very moment. However I sincerely wish you all success in your forthcoming ABN Conference. Please also convey to the Conference our strong support for its cause and that we the Thais, will do our best at this moment to defeat our common enemy in Thailand.

Yours very sincerely, Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr, Chairman,

The Free People League of Thailand, Bangkok, Thailand

Détente For Baltic Countries

The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians have a different international status compared with other nations in the USSR. Their independent republics — members of the League of Nations — were destroyed and annexed by the Kremlin on the basis of a Secret Protocol supplementing the so-called Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939. This difference has served as basic principle of their liberation movements and has determined their attitude towards the policy of détente.

It is well known, how the occupation and annexation of the Baltic Republics was carried through in June-August 1940. May I add only a short remark on Soviet historiography:

On August 6th 1940, when the last act of the Baltic tragedy was accomplished in Moscow and the Iron Curtain secluded the three Baltic Republics from the western world, Molotov, the Soviet architect of the Hitler-Stalin notorious bargain stated before the Supreme Soviet:

"It is of primary importance to our country that the USSR now borders upon the Baltic Sea. Thus, our country acquires the ice-free ports on the Baltic which we urgently need."

Molotov's words are quoted from a history book "Istoriya Estonskoy SSR" (The History of the Estonian SSR), p. 443, Tallinn 1952. A comment on this statement in the same Book reads:

"By admission of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republics into the USSR the population of the Soviet Union will be enlarged by six million. The entry of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet Union is a terrible blow to the Capitalist World."

In all subsequent issues of Soviet history books, in Estonian or Russian lan-

guage, and in the issues prepared for dissemination in the western countries, this passage has been rewritten. It now reads:

"The expectations and aspirations of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian working peoples had been achieved by the brotherly aid of the Soviet Union."

The annexation of the independent Baltic Republics was an act of violence, may the executors call it "admission" or "entry". The western democracies have so far not given their legal recognition to the annexation of the Baltic States effected by force and on the basis of a secret agreement between two totalitarian powers on the eve of the Second World War. The Soviet Union has tried repeatedly to attain international recognition of this act of violence but up to now without results.

The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians feel that they are morally entitled to demand the restoration of their independence but they do not associate their expectations with the policy of détente as it is practised today by the Great Powers.

Speaking on behalf of my home-country, Soviet-occupied Estonia, I would like to emphasize the two joint memorandums and two appeals from the Estonian Democratic Movement and the Estonian National Front addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations and to the Secretary General of the World Organization, October 24th, 1972 and December 25th, 1974. At the end of December the KGB had started a round-up of Democrats in Tallinn, the Capital of Estonia.

The memorandums and appeals reached Stockholm together with a request to forward them to the addressees. The Estonian Information Centre mediated them to the UN Headquar-

ters. They were also published in separate booklets which were sent to the UN delegations and to the international organizations dealing with human rights and with problems of the self-determination of nations. They were also disseminated over the radio. The Estonian Information Centre has received many acknowledgements, but none from the main addressees — the United Nations and its Secretary-General.

The Estonian Democratic Movement stated the following in the memorandums and appeals, as well as in other materials which arrived in the West: The policy of détente is no solution to the problems of the subjugated peoples and, consequently, of the international tension. The only alternative to this policy is the liberation of the nations enslaved by Russian Communist dictatorship. Liberation, that, concerning the Baltic nations, must bring about a full restoration of their political independence and eliminate the threat of merging the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians into the "great Russian nation" by means of the continual influx of Russians to these countries favoured by the Soviet Government.

The Estonian democrats illustrated this danger in their memorandum, and in an appeal of a later date, pointing out the following:

Between 1959 and 1970, that is within eleven years, the proportion of Estonians in the total population of their republic had diminished from 74,65% to 68,2%. On the other hand, the percentage of Russians had risen during the same period from 22,3% to 27,2% (increase of 114,000). The trend is even more catastrophic in Latvia. The proportion of Latvians had diminished during the same period from 62% (1959) to 56,8% (1970) (Russian increase: 205,000).

The population in Estonia and Latvia, according to the last census in 1970, is 1.3 million and 2.4 million respectively.

But the Russian "melting-pot" danger does not concern only the Baltic na-

tions, it constitutes a menace also to the ethnic existence of the Ukrainians, Armenians, Byelorussians and other nations under the Russian-Communist yoke. The struggle for preservation of their ethnic identity and national culture, for their state independence, is the main goal of their liberation movements.

At a trial in Tallinn, the Capital of Estonia, exactly a year ago, in October 1975, five persons were charged with having compiled memorandums and appeals to the United Nations and other materials "defaming the Soviet system", and having smuggled them out of the country. Among "other materials" were listed an underground paper "Estonian Democrat" and some copies of an earlier date of mimeographed Russian papers "Demokrat" and "Luch Svobody" (The Ray of Freedom). They were also charged with having kept and transmitted prohibited literature and having tried to make contacts in Latvia and Lithuania.

The trial lasted for ten days and on October 31st, four of the accused were sentenced to 5-6 years of labor camp with severe regime. The fifth, the only one who admitted his "guilt" and witnessed against the others, received a suspended sentence. All five are in their forties and are university graduates, four of them in technology, one in medicine.

They were charged under articles 68 and 74 of the Soviet Penal Code, that is, with taking part in organizing particularly dangerous anti-state crimes and with belonging to an anti-Soviet organization.

One of the sentenced was a Ukrainian, Artym Juskevich, 43 years of age. His charges comprised 47 separate counts. Juskevich was born in Volhynia but settled in Estonia several years ago. He is a technological university graduate, and having learned the Estonian language worked in the last time as a translator of technological literature.

In his plea for defense in Court Juskevich showed that his activities, as well as those of the others charged, had not violated the Constitution nor any other law. He said among other things:

"Whereas everybody can interpret the Bible as he wishes, nobody is entitled to interpret the Constitution to suit his needs, but that is what has been done in order to accuse me."

In his last words before the Prosecutor proclaimed the sentences, Juskevich said that he is a Ukrainian but that he has two homelands, the vast Ukraine and the little Estonia, and that he loves them both equally.

The Estonian Information Centre in Stockholm has received some reports on the preliminary investigation of the persons charged that had lasted ten months, partly in the KGB-prison in Tallinn, partly in the Serbsky Institute and in the ill-famed prison Lefortovo in Moscow. A detailed description of the court-trial has also reached Stockholm. All that information was disseminated.

Comments from Tallinn, that arrived in Stockholm through illegal channels soon after the trial stated that, according to the paragraphs, the sentences could have been more severe. The opinion in Tallinn had been that the relatively mild sentences were due to the information which had reached the West and was published and disseminated here and resulted in protest on the part of Amnesty International.

The aim of the trial in Tallinn was to give a mortal blow to the Estonian and other Baltic democrats. But there is, at least, one very impressive proof of that it failed. Namely, in June 1975, before the Helsinki Conference, a joint appeal from the Estonian and the Latvian Democratic Movements reached Stockholm together with a request to forward it to "All Governments participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe".

This appeal was signed: "Representatives of the Estonian and Latvian Democrats, and dated: "Tallinn and Riga 17th, of June, 1975, the 35th anniversary of the occupation of Latvia and Estonia by the Red Army."

No doubt that it was compiled after the arrest of the five Estonian democrats and at the same time when they were brutally investigated by the KGB. Their friends outside the jail had not been intimidated by the "mortal blow".

The Estonian Information Centre sent copies of this appeal to the heads of the delegations attending the Conference and to all organizations devoted to the defense of human rights. Copies were also distributed among foreign journalists in Helsinki.

The Estonian and the Latvian democrats asked on the anniversary of the destruction of their independence:

"... will détente, which the European heads of states are hoping to achieve, be real, illusive, mutual or unilateral, will it have equal effect on all European nations or will it be implemented at the expense of basic rights of certain smaller nations of the European Community?" ...

"... at whose expense is the European détente intended to be achieved? Are the victims once more to be found among smaller and weaker European nations, whose tragic fate now happens to be just an improper obstacle on the smooth highway of East-West security and cooperation?"

The appeal states further:

"A definite and exhausting answer to these dilemmas is expected also by the Baltic nations. Their national independence and fundamental rights have fallen victim to the deal of two imperialist superpowers. It is important to point out that the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 was also concluded under the pretext of security and cooperation. European secu-

rity and cooperation is also linked to the implementation of human rights in the Baltic states."

Here, once more, the firm and unchangeable standpoint of the Baltic democrats has been expressed: The Policy of Détente is no solution. The only alternative to it is freedom for the subjugated nations.

Let me finish by stating that, although the non-recognition of the annexation of the Baltic states is only a juridical declaration of the Eastern Democracies and has no practical importance in the atmosphere of political tension today, it emphasizes nevertheless that the status of the Baltic countries is not a do-

mestic problem but, on the contrary, an international question.

This is also the leading principle of the aspirations to freedom of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian democrats. But unfortunately this principle, as well as freedom aspirations of all nations under the yoke of Russian imperialism, are not in line with the policy of détente as it is practiced by the superpowers.

We, political exiles, ask together with the Estonian and Latvian democrats who are now suffering in the Soviet Russian labor camps: At whose expense is this European Détente intended to be achieved?

American Association Of Slavic Studies Defending Prisoners

We, the members of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, assembled at our annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 10, 1975, support the general sentiments expressed in the statement read by Professor Horak and encourage individuals to communicate it to appropriate persons.

The Constitution of the USSR guarantees the freedom of speech (art. 125), yet many intellectuals in Ukraine, Ukrainians and Jews, have been tried and sentenced to years of imprisonment for exercising this right. They are persecuted for protesting against the lawlessness of the state and the suppression of their national cultures. Among these courageous men and women only a few are known to us in the West:

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, writer,
Stefania Shabatura, artist,
Iryna Senyk, writer,

Valentyn Moroz, historian,
Ihor Kalynets, poet,
Vyacheslav Chornovil, journalist,
Svyatoslav Karavansky, philologist,
Evhen Proniuk, philosopher,
Vasyl Lisovy, philosopher,
Vasyl Ruban, poet,
Evhen Sverstiuk, critic,
Ivan Svitlychny, critic,
Zorian Popadiuk, student,
Vasyl Stus, poet,
Oleksander Serhienko, teacher,
Mykhailo Osadchy, writer,
Semen Gluzman, psychiatrist,
Michael Shtern, physician,
Zynovy Antoniuk, philologist,
Volodymyr Dyak, engineer,
Vasyl Romaniuk, priest,
Borys Zdorovets, minister,
Oleksander Feldman, writer.

These Ukrainian and Jewish scholars and intellectuals from Ukraine are now in prison or exile. Some of them are ill and close to death. Others like Mykola Plakhtoniuk and Anatoly Lupynis are in psychiatric hospitals and their minds are being destroyed.

Where Communism Is Bankrupt

Oppressive clouds hang over the international sky, but still, we the representatives of the subjugated nations are confident in our future. We believe that our subjugated nations will be independent and free of the Communist pest very soon, because we constantly and carefully study the developments behind the Iron Curtain, which can be summed up as follows: Russia behind the Iron Curtain is becoming more and more bankrupt.

Russian imperialism motivated by a desire to totally absorb and annihilate the nations and peoples that it enslaves, attempts to force upon them its own system of thought, its own outlook on life, its philosophy, its culture. In short, it wants to destroy everything that has been part of a nation for thousands of years and remake that nation into its own image.

At the present time, when throughout the entire world colonial empires are being dissolved, the subjugated nations of this most tyrannical empire are beginning to realize that the process of dissolution of empires will not stop and should not stop on the borders of Europe.

Since the end of World War II nationalism has become one of the most powerful forces in the world and its strength is beginning to be felt within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. The clash between nationalism and imperialism behind the Iron Curtain is one of the reasons for the current crisis of the Communist system. The Russian ruling elite is trying to prevent any growth of national consciousness and thus minimize a clash between those two ideologies by proclaiming the birth of a new, unprecedented historical phenomenon: the Soviet people. In reality this means nothing more than the melting of all subjugated nations into one

Russian nation, using one Russian language, observing Russian traditions. The international flavour of the slogan „one Soviet people“ is just a disguise for the forcible integration of non-Russians with Russians. However the subjugated nations are not being deceived, for it is obvious that their very existence is being denied, their rights as sovereign states are being negated and their national identity is being destroyed. How can the Soviet Russian Government defend the right to statehood in Angola while denying the same right to the Soviet republics and the satellites: How can the Soviet Government defend the right to sovereignty in Uganda while denying the same right to the Soviet republics and the satellites? It is this conflict between the national aspirations of the subjugated nations and the attempt at their forcible annihilation by Communism that heralds the coming downfall of the Communist-Russian system; for nations are a natural phenomenon that has existed for centuries and even after many years of subjugation this primeval force will triumph, as the people will try to wrestle back their national identity from total annihilation. One must remember that statistically the ratio of subjugated nationalities to indigenous Russians is 2:1 and that in any potential conflict the Russians will be outnumbered through the co-ordinated efforts of the various nationalities.

Another very important reason that contributes much to the crisis of the Communist system behind the Iron Curtain is economics. The principle of private ownership, economic freedom and incentive to work are an integral part of every nation. The system that negates all these principles cannot grow and prosper economically. Every

peasant desires his own piece of land and every worker needs an incentive to produce. In the Communist system, where state capitalism is rampant and where the state owns and controls all the means of production, the economic disaster is obvious: grain production for 1975 was 35% less than planned and needed by the Soviet Union; the sector devoted little to consumer goods and most of them were of extremely poor quality.

Another factor which contributes to the current problems within the Communist system is the crisis of the Communist elite, which is selfish, degenerate and morally corrupt. Instead of creating a classless society Russian Communism has created "the new ruling class" which exploits the workers and peasants. The people of the subjugated nations and the Russians themselves have long ago realized that Communism has not brought liberation from exploitation, but only a change in masters, who to remain in power, have to resort to genocide and ethnocide.

A miraculous renaissance is taking place among the people of the subjugated nations, especially among the youth. There is a growing belief in the primacy of the nation, in the necessity of creating an independent state, in social justice for all members of the society, in the dignity of the human being, in the importance of traditions and continuity of history, in the concepts of honour, freedom of thought, religion and speech. Above all there is an all-pervasive belief that there is an alternative to the Communist system and that the alternative is nationalism. The stronger the repressions on the part of the ruling state, the stronger and firmer become the beliefs of the subjugated peoples. Since the end of World War II we have seen the opposition to Russian rule and to the Communist system grow: the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the guerrilla resistance in Lithuania, the revolts in

the concentration camps in the years 1953—1959, the revolts in Novochoerkask, Vorkuta, Dnipropetrovsk, the mass student demonstrations in Kyiv, Odessa (Ukraine), Kaunas (Lithuania), Tiflis (Georgia), the revolutions in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the more and more frequent protests from among the political and religious prisoners languishing in the concentration camps, the phenomenon of "underground literature" that brings to the Free World knowledge about the inhumanity of Communist Russia. All these forms of opposition clearly show that the conflict between Russian Communism and the nationalism of the non-Russian peoples behind the Iron Curtain is growing and that soon this conflict will come to a head. The most important part in this imminent conflict will be played by a vital component of the Russian Communist system — the armed forces. One cannot forget that the majority of the army, navy and airforce are non-Russians who have a feeling of national identity. When these patriotic and national feelings will be sufficiently aroused, then the day of final conflict will come; then the Communist system will not be saved by nuclear weapons, mighty fleets or tanks.

There is a gradual realization that the gulf between the empty phrases of the Soviet constitution and the reality of everyday life is very vast.

Finally the existence of the labour camps, the incarcerations, tortures, confinements to insane asylums have produced a repulsion towards the system on the part of all decent people. We must at all cost continue to inform the Free World through newspaper articles, conferences, publications of underground material. We must make the people and the governments of the Free World realize that freedom and human dignity are indivisible and that the world cannot continue to exist half free and half slave.

All this information from the free world is being transmitted to the subjugated nations and they are fully aware of our support and struggle. They will not lose hope and will not give up the struggle as long as they feel that there are some people in the free world who understand them, share their ideals and will never abandon them.

Let us believe that one day the United Nations Declaration on Decolo-

nization will become a reality for the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian Empire. But let us never forget that this right will not be granted by any United Nations resolutions, but will be wrestled away from the Russian Communist totalitarian system through a prolonged and fierce struggle.

It is our duty to help our nations in this struggle. "We have no right to die as long as our nation is not free."

MESSAGES TO ABN CONFERENCE OCTOBER 1976:

The Society of Political, Economical and Social Studies, SEPES, wishes to extend its full solidarity with the cause defended by the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations in this General Conference.

The struggle of the Captive Nations must be encouraged and increased, especially in the present situation, when the proofs of the failure of détente have been ratified by the evergrowing pressures and tortures to which nationalists and other opponents of the Soviet regime are submitted.

We must realize that liberation is not only in the hands of those who are willing to give up their lives within the Communist countries to free their peoples. It is the responsibility of every freedom fighter in the rest of the world to call attention to the evils of Marxism, which today oppresses one third of the world population. Especially, it is important to urge the free nations and their leaders to assume their responsibilities and not become accomplices of those who wish to destroy our societies.

We sincerely regret not to share the works of this Conference, but wish to extend to its organizers and participants our full solidarity and community ideals.

Carlo Barbieri Filho, Chairman, S.E.P.E.S., (Brazil)

As a Turkish Chapter of APACL/WACL and the MESC Secretariat, we will always be ready to support you and will be at your disposal.

Our struggle will last till the day we reach our goal, that certainly includes the liberty and freedom of Ukraine. I believe Allah (God) will not withhold his help from us, his servants who believe in him, and who are struggling to recover the rights and freedom of all his children whom he created to be free.

With my deepest regards for you, my very distinguished friend Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko and all brave brothers and sisters — Ukrainian Fighters! . . .

Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, Secretary General of MESC (Turkey)

My father, Mr. Ivan TUKSOR, won't be able to attend the Conference of Manchester, Great Britain, because he has been assassinated by the Yugoslavian Titoists. This attempt was made on Saturday, August 28th 1976. My father is the 33th who has been assassinated. These assassinations won't stop as long as there exists a Yugoslavian government for oppressing the Croatian nation.

Gordana TUKSOR, Nice (France)

(on behalf of The Central Committee of the Croatian Associations of Europe)

Russian Interests In Scandinavia

The Scandinavian Scene

After the European Security and Cooperation Conference in Helsinki in 1975, the Soviet Union appears, in the eyes of the majority of the Scandinavian people, as a truly peace-loving power. Although the totalitarian character of the Soviet Russian system is well known (persecutions of intellectuals), this is considered a deplorable fact which must be accepted as a reality by the outside world, whether it likes it or not.

The "Finlandization" — a well-known Soviet model for peaceful coexistence — in Finland means a kind of **double-strategy**. The Soviet Russians are building up a military threat and make it clear — in more or less subtle ways — that they would not refrain from using military means if a future situation would, according to the Kremlin judgement — call for action. At the same time, the Russians are offering their neighbour the favourable alternative of so-called "peaceful coexistence": markets for capital investments, raw materials, cultural exchange. During the process of this cooperation with Finland, the Soviet Russians have constantly intervened in domestic Finnish affairs: interfering in presidential elections, cabinet appointments, exerting economic pressures, attacking freedom of press and opinion, perpetrating espionage. Anti-Soviet views, as well as films and literature, are not permitted on the Finnish Radio and TV and in the private sector — press and publishing companies — a volunteer censorship is functioning effectively.

On February 10, 1976, the Soviet News Agency TASS issued the following warning to all Scandinavian countries: "Any manifestation of anti-Sovietism may threaten peace and security as well as the national independence

of the Scandinavian peoples". This warning was expressed at the presentation of a new book on Soviet relations with the countries of Northern Europe. According to TASS, the Helsinki Security Conference in 1975 had "created an advantageous climate for the development of relations" with Scandinavia. Scandinavian security problems repeatedly have preoccupied Soviet spokesman and the demand for a "nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe" has often been expressed, along with attacks on NATO's presence in Norway and Denmark.

The strategic importance of Northern Scandinavia as well as the Baltic Sea, for the Soviets, is evident from any map. The neighbouring Soviet Kola Peninsula has become the backbone of the enormous Soviet naval build-up. Control of the northern tip of Scandinavia as well as the Baltic Sea, would guarantee an access — permanently ice-free — to the Atlantic. During Soviet Russian manoeuvres in the Baltic and outside the coast of Norway, amphibious operations play an important part. However, the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Russian desire for closer cooperation with the Scandinavian countries are emphasized again and again in talks with Scandinavian Government leaders when they visit Moscow.

The role of Scandinavian Communist parties

In Finland, the Communist Party, operating through the Communist-dominated People's Democratic League, has managed to poll 17-20 % of the votes, propagating "the peaceful path to socialism". The Finnish Communists have become split on matters of doctrine and strategy — "Stalinism" ver-

sus "pragmatism" while at the same time their competitors to the right, the Social Democrats, have moved to closer internal unity and politically to the left. The leftist voter in Finland appears to have found viable political alternatives. However, the Communist-dominated League remains one of the three strong blocs in the Finnish Parliament and has reentered Government in a coalition.

In **Denmark, Norway and Sweden**, the new political radicalism, starting in 1965, was characterized by the emergence of a number of new Communist parties, leagues and fronts. In all three countries, the rivaling Communist parties have not managed to conquer more than a very small percentage of the electorate. They have, however, managed to stay alive and certainly local minorities on the political left, whose influence has been strong in an indirect way. The extremely well-financed Communist parties, groups, fronts and committees have flooded the Scandinavian countries with enormous quantities of all-level propaganda. The joint and combined effect has been a step-by-step influence on public opinion on certain issues, in particular on foreign affairs.

Scandinavian Government policies

Communist leaders in all Scandinavian countries often boast of having been able to force the ruling Social Democrats to the left". The "pro-Communist" foreign policies by Scandinavian Social Democrats must be viewed

against the background of **the Soviet impact as well as the need for tactical adjustments to the Communists on the domestic scene**. If Sweden is taken as a study case, we can see how the trade-union based Social Democrats are basically "anti-Communist" on the local scene while favourable to Communist regimes abroad, preferably if geographically far-away from Sweden, e. g. North Vietnam, Cuba, Chile during Allende, and all kinds of Communist "liberation movements". The Socialist goal is to remain in power, balancing between forces from the right and from the left. By yielding to Communist and Leftist groups' pressures on foreign policy, while at the same time steering on a mixed economy (welfarism and free enterprise) course in domestic policy, they hope to receive election support from a maximum number of voters' categories. Thus the Social Democrats' leftist foreign policy has helped them to gain votes from e. g. young people and intellectuals who might otherwise have voted for the Communists. Simultaneously, support has been secured for other reasons — from the "middle-of-the-road" people who consider foreign policy matters of little or no importance, concerned as they are, primarily with material consumption and welfare benefits. In Sweden, the non-Socialist voters (Conservative, Center, Liberals) make up about 50 % of the electorate and a small shift in September 1976 elections might result in a "bourgeois" Government.

(August 1976)

Message From Teheran

On the occasion of the very important meeting, the ABN Conference in Manchester, I wish all success to the participants with our greetings to them.

The gathering of freedom-loving people there shows once more that the right of all nations to self-determination and true independence is still in the hearts of all mankind.

Our common efforts and aims will sooner or later liberate the subjugated nations from their tyrannic rulers.

*P. Kazémi, President WACL/APACL, Iran Chapter,
Theran, Iran*

The Case Of Balys Gajauskas

Trials of Former Political Prisoners

Balys Gajauskas, son of Jonas, was born in 1927 in the city of Kaunas. When the Russians occupied Lithuania, Gajauskas responded to the inhuman terror and genocide by trying to defend his native land — he became a partisan.

According to the Kremlin, all the territories of foreign states occupied by the Red Army are considered "liberated", and all those who refuse to obey Russia are considered "traitors to the fatherland".

In 1948, Gajauskas was taken prisoner by the NKVD punitive detachment. As a "traitor to the fatherland", he was sentenced by a special tribunal, according to Article 58-1, to 25 years imprisonment in the severe regime concentration camps, to be served in the distant areas of Russia.

Having served his term, Gajauskas was released in 1973. He returned to Lithuania and joined his old sick mother, residing in Kaunas, Spynu St., 3-8, where he received a passport and registered as resident.

Several days later, Gajauskas was invited to the militia for a so-called prophylactic conversation. The militia official inquired about his future plans of employment, where he planned to work, and asked him to leave his passport for a brief while for certain formalities. All that would be taken care of rapidly, and then he would be able to retrieve it. And now, Gajauskas could go home.

Several days later, his passport was returned but his registration had been cancelled. When he asked to explain what it meant, the answer was curt: instructions from above.

After several weeks, Gajauskas was again summoned to the militia. But now the officials were speaking in more stringent tones: Why is he an illegal resident (without registration), when is he going to register, when will he start

working. (According to Soviet laws, each mentally sane and able-bodied person must work. Otherwise, he represents a danger to society and is a parasite and a sponger. Incriminating evidence can be always unearthed and directed against such individuals; criminal proceedings may be initiated against them and they can be put to work in forced labor camps.)

But how can such people as Gajauskas find work? How can he get a job if the officials refuse to have his passport registered? How can one obtain employment in a system, where all personnel chiefs of Soviet organizations, offices and plants have been given instructions not to employ individuals whose passports do not have the registration stamp? For the "violation" of such Soviet law, people like Gajauskas are constantly threatened with new court action and concentration camps. For "illegally" sheltering her son in her apartment, Gajauskas' mother had to pay several administrative fines — 10 rubles each out of her 33 ruble monthly pension.

Simas Kudirka

ELTA Postscript:

According to recently received information, the situation of Balys Gajauskas has not changed to this very day, two years after he had submitted his statement to the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Even after having served 25 years in camps, he is denied registration and has no right to live in Lithuania. The threat of court action for violation of passport regulations hangs over him every hour. Gajauskas is now employed as an electrician on a construction site. His old mother is gravely ill and had to undergo an operation recently. Balys is her only son.

During the search of Gajauskas' apartment in December 1974, numerous publications and manuscripts were seiz-

ed and not yet returned: "The History of Lithuania" by A. Šapoka, 50 pages of the translation of "The GULAG Archipelago", a list of political prisoners, various notes, "The New Gospel", and other religious books. The examining

magistrate, Lieutenant-Colonel Liniauskas, has said that the fate of the seized literature will be determined after the conclusion of case No. 345 (The "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church").

PERSECUTION OF FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS

Statement of Balys Gajauskas

The following statement by Balys Gajauskas, a former political prisoner, was first made public by Simas Kudirka on July 14th, at the Bicentennial Convocation on International Peace and Justice, Maryknoll Seminary, N.Y.

My present situation and that of many former political prisoners has forced me to make the following statement.

In 1948 I was sentenced to 25 years in a Soviet labor camp. After completing my sentence in 1973, I returned to my former place of residence in Kaunas, Lithuania, where my mother was living. However, I am not being allowed to live with my mother, I am persistently being told to leave Lithuania within 24 hours, sometimes within three days, and sometimes I am threatened with new punishment.

At the prison camps we were told that we are Soviet citizens, temporarily isolated in places of detention where our rights are limited, but that when we return home we will again become full-fledged citizens.

Those who survived were released. But what irony — immediately after leaving the prison camps, we were to read a regulation issued on January 21, 1957, according to which we are denied the right to live in Lithuania. I quote from memory, because I was not allowed to copy the text of that special regulation:

"Former members of the bourgeois Lithuanian regime, nationalist underground leaders, and prison camp activists are not allowed to live in Lithuania."

This regulation places former political prisoners and their families in a de-

grading position. It contradicts the right to freedom of residence guaranteed by section nine of the Soviet Constitution (General Citizenship Regulation). It also contradicts Article 13,1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state."

However, our freedom of residence is limited even though the Soviet court sentence did not indicate this. We are told, "You may travel anywhere you want, except to Lithuania". (And now we are forbidden to go to Latvia or Estonia.)

This is equivalent to exile. Exile, according to section 22 of the Penal Code of the Judicial Code of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, is defined as punishment, and according to section 3 of the same code, rendered only by court decision.

What are the results of this unwritten law? People who have completed sentences of 15 years and quite often twenty-five years, are not allowed to live with their families. Children, wives and parents live in Lithuania, whereas husbands and sons are doomed to wander through the vast reaches of the Russian Republic. Sons must leave their parents, who are in dire need of support in their old age because often they are in poor health. This abnormal situation leads to the dissolution of families.

Some former political prisoners are in such a bad situation, that they are unable to marry. A person who is not registered does not have the right to marry. This contradicts Section 161 of

the Soviet Penal Code, where the right to create a family is dealt with.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in Article Sixteen: "Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family..." In the passports of many former political prisoners "special passport regulations" are inserted. These regulations place us in a degrading position because resident registration, obtaining work, even staying overnight in a hotel without police permission is not allowed.

Many times during discussions with prison camp and KGB officials, the question was raised, "Why did you fight against the Soviet regime?"

They did not want to face facts, nor to recognize the injustice which reigned supreme in those days. Who could have stood idly by, watching the columns of political prisoners from Kaunas, Šiauliai, Vilnius and other prisons, which stretched toward the waiting cattle cars? These prisoners were being deported from Lithuania. Who could have quietly accepted the sight of bayonette-wielding foreign troops surrounding mothers and children, whose fathers and husbands were being deported to Siberia?

My heart burst watching the children's tears. No one could have had doubts. Only a person with a stone heart could have ignored the weeping of these unfortunates. My conscience would not allow silence. The officials, however, explained: "Why bring back the past, this does not exist any more." Nevertheless, traces of all that remain.

I cannot stand being herded like an animal from one corner to another. I am a citizen (even though I have never willingly accepted the Soviet citizenship) and my citizen's rights are being illegally limited. These rights are limited for many former political prisoners who have completed their sentences sometimes of 25 year duration. Now there exists another prison sentence, one of unlimited imprisonment behind barbed wire.

No one to date has explained to me what constitutional regulations prevent me from living in my homeland, Lithuania, with my aging mother.

I appeal to you to abolish this unwritten law, which limits our rights.

Kaunas, Lithuania

Balys Gajauskas

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Lithuania Minor: — Edited by Martin Brakas (New York, 1976). Published by the Lithuanian Research Institute, Inc., Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 395 W. Broadway, South Boston, Mass. 02127. The book contains six scientific studies dealing with Lithuania Minor's history, ethnography, cartography and toponymy, including maps and documents.

V. Daugirdaite-Struogiene: — **Lietuvos Steigiamasis Seimas** (The Lithuanian Constituent Assembly, May 15, 1920 — October 7, 1922). New York, Lithuanian National Foundation, 1976. The book contains an 8-page summary in English.

Wishes Of Success From India

Wishing you all success for your Conference and the deliberations which will take place under the distinguished guidance and leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko.

Please extend my fraternal greetings to the Conference.

Rama Swarup, Editor & Publisher Free News & Feature Service

Prisoners Requesting UN Investigation

A group of Ukrainian inmates in the Vladimir Prison, identifying themselves as nationalists, wrote a letter to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, requesting the international organization to investigate the violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the Soviet Union.

"We, Ukrainian nationalists, imprisoned in the Vladimir Prison for our participation in the Ukrainian national liberation movement, are appealing to you to request the United Nations to review the violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, specifically the repressions against Ukrainians who want to emigrate from the USSR", said the letter.

Claiming that there are no precisely defined laws on emigration in the Soviet Union, the unidentified group of prisoners said that Jews and Germans are allowed to leave the USSR because of Western pressure.

Russian dissidents are also allowed to emigrate, they said, because they do not denounce the system but only defend human rights.

The Ukrainian prisoners explained that the Soviet government has reconciled itself with not being considered a democratic government because of the dissidents' testimonies in the West. They added, however, that if Ukrainians were allowed to emigrate, the imperialistic nature of the USSR would be revealed, and that is an undesirable label in the second half of the 20th century.

"The goal of Ukrainian nationalists is not to democratize or in any other way improve the Russian form of poli-

tical life. We are only interested in it as a preface which would help develop our struggle", wrote the inmates. "Our goal is the secession of Ukraine from the USSR and the creation of a Ukrainian state."

The Ukrainian nationalists' criticism of the USSR, they wrote, reveals that imperialism is the true nature of the Soviet government. In order to distract attention from these allegations, the Kremlin centers its "discussions on the analysis of the social, or even political, status of people in the Soviet Union, but never on an analysis of international relations".

"In order to hide before the West the imperial character of the Soviet Union, Moscow does not allow Ukrainians (or nationalists of other nations in the Soviet Union) who had any relation to the national liberation struggle during World War II or later including now, to emigrate from the USSR", they charged. "Moreover, they are severely punished."

The Vladimir inmates said that among those who were arrested for trying to emigrate from the Soviet Union were Yuriy Shukhevych, Yuriy Dziuba, Vasyl Petrovych Fedorenko, Anatolij Berniychuk, Vitaliy Kalynychenko and Yevhen Hrytsak.

They said that the concentration camps in the Soviet Union, as well as the Vladimir Prison, are packed with Ukrainians who want to leave the USSR.

"We ask you, and through you all people for whom the ideals of national and human rights are dear, to demand that the Soviet government cease its discrimination against Ukrainians with regard to emigration, and release from prison Yuriy Shukhevych, Anatolij Berniychuk, Yuriy Dziuba, Vasyl Fedorenko, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Yevhen Hrytsak and allow them, and all others who so desire, the right to emigrate from the USSR."

**A B N — the best
a l t e r n a t i v e
t o I C B M .**

National Liberation Struggle

In our age the Ukrainian nation is fighting for its very existence, its freedom and for the basis of its further development. In Ukraine, people in all walks of life are involved in an intense struggle. There, against the oppression of Russian Bolshevism, stands the solid national liberation front of all the constituent sections of Ukrainian people... The Ukrainian independence front is supported by the Ukrainian clergyman, the academician, the artist, the intellectual, the worker and the peasant; as well as by the underground revolutionary and the insurgent. Everyone, each in his own sphere, defends the Ukrainian substance, the Ukrainian idea, the Ukrainian interests, against the all-embracing Russian Sovietization of life, of the land, of the individual and of the whole people... In all the countries enslaved by Russian Bolshevism the revolutionary process of liberation flourishes unceasingly, and Ukraine stands in its vanguard... So, in 1948 wrote Stepan Bandera in his "Memorandum". His evaluation of the situation in Ukraine wholly reflects today's reality, and his prediction of the continued development of nationally conscious forces, events and revolutionary processes in our country is being fulfilled before our eyes.

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for its sovereign independent statehood can only be understood as a historical continuation. Therefore, each of its stages is tied to an earlier stage of the struggle, and with its consequences and ideological guidelines it radiates into the future. Exactly on such foundations did the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army - UPA develop during the 2nd World War against both occupiers, the German Nazis and the Muscovite Bolsheviks. From this ensues the next stage of the fight for the rights and freedom of the U-

krainian nation, which has lasted to this day.

Such a historical continuation and prospective planning of today's struggle in Ukraine can also be seen in the declaration of the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, who wrote in 1946: "When the Ukrainian National Revolution, which brought freedom to the Ukrainian people in 1918, was quashed in 1920 by an enemy, and the Ukrainian army, which until that time had acted with a unity of purpose, was seemingly dissolved, the enemy was certain that it had ceased to exist. However, in reality this was not the case. This was only a period of reorganization of the Ukrainian revolutionary forces; a period when the method of insurgent warfare was substituted by other, underground-conspiratory methods... And today Ukraine's occupier may well believe, that when the warfare ended its widespread use of insurgent tactics, the UPA had ceased to exist, hence putting an end to the revolution. But yet again he is completely mistaken. The present period is only a break for the reshuffling of forces, a break for change from one form of action to another... With your renowned bravery and will-power, which are legendary throughout the world, you shall continue the famous tradition of the UPA, and bring up the new generation on your heroic deeds, so as to include it in the revolutionary struggle..."

The genesis of further revolutionary processes in Ukraine which evolved into the confrontation of the ideological stand of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement against that of the enemy, and which embraced all sections of the Ukrainian nation, especially the young generation, is expressed in these words of the UPA Commander-in-Chief.

The development of the liberation struggle in Ukraine during and after the

2nd World War can be divided into the following stages:

1st stage: 1942 - 1950 — according to Svyatoslav Karavansky — were the years of national uprising. In these years, armed warfare by the UPA and OUN against the German and Russian occupiers, which involved great masses of people, embraced the whole nation. After years of an uneven warfare there came a change of tactics and methods, namely a transfer to strict secrecy with a simultaneous offensive of national liberation ideals and a penetration of the enemy, not only in Ukraine but in all parts of the Moscow empire, especially in concentration camps and in exile, where a considerable number of Ukrainian freedom fighters found themselves.

2nd stage: 1950 - 1960. Here we see the first consequences of the change of tactics — uprisings by political prisoners in concentration camps, strikes in Ukraine, action by underground nationalistic groups in Ukraine and in concentration camps, often followed by closed trials of its participants with cruel punishments, usually death sentences. Towards the end of the 1950's, a national and cultural rebirth began, which eventually revealed itself as an open Resistance Movement. It is precisely these years which can be regarded as a turning point in an all-national context since the fear of terror, with which the Russian occupiers had gripped the minds and spirits of the Ukrainian people, was finally overcome.

3rd stage: 1960 - 1970 — an extension of the liberation movement into the open. We see the start of an idealistic mobilization of Ukrainian patriots, especially from among the young Ukrainian intelligentsia and the youth, into the fight for Ukrainian spirituality, Ukrainian culture, language and sovereign statehood — in other words, for Ukraine's total independence of Moscow. We have the unmasking of Russian imperialism and chauvinism, at-

tempts — even on the basis of the Constitutions of the Ukr. SSR and the USSR — to force open trials, at which Ukrainian cultural figures facing trial could speak out in defence of the Ukrainian nation and its right to sovereign independent statehood. Underground literature became one means of spreading true and uncensored information and of mobilizing wider circles of Ukrainian society into open resistance against Russification, the terror of the KGB and the administrative apparatus of the occupier, the bacchanalia of Russian chauvinism, which forced a colonial status upon Ukraine.

4th stage: The 1970's can be regarded as the beginning of the next stage. Moscow has used cruel terror against Ukrainian cultural personalities who took part in the open Resistance Movement, especially against those who fought for the rights and freedom of the Ukrainian people, in an attempt to liquidate all Ukrainian national liberation forces and to stifle the revolutionary sentiments.

In this present stage there has already been a reappraisal of the up-to-date methods of the open struggle, with results that should safeguard the continuation of the efforts of the revolutionary liberation forces.

To substantiate the accuracy of the analysis of each of the above stages, a large amount of documentary evidence can be produced, but we restrict ourselves to certain points.

It is very important that the open Resistance Movement should be given a proper and just place in the whole revolutionary liberation process in Ukraine. As we know, the Resistance Movement embraces mainly the young or younger cultural elite, which in our day, alongside the distinctly nationalistic fighters, found itself the victim of cruel terror at the hands of the Russian-Communist occupier. The main objectives of this Movement are:

a) to spread the struggle for national revival and independence.

b) to fight for the Ukrainian nation's rights by open methods, guaranteed by the Constitutions of the so-called Ukr. SSR and USSR,

c) to fight against Russification, Russian imperialism and chauvinism being the chief agents of oppression in Ukraine,

d) to preserve Ukraine's cultural heritage, Ukrainian traditions and values, including religion and language; to defend the nation's dignity, freedom of creative expression and the unhindered development of Ukrainian identity.

The open Resistance Movement has operated through various literary and artistic groups, who have published and disseminated clandestine literature and organized patriotic commemorations of Ukrainian bards such as Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and other personages or events. The character of their activities was all-national, and extended throughout the whole country, into concentration camps and other parts of the present Russian empire, thus coordinating their efforts with the liberation movements of other nations subjugated by Moscow.

The merits and achievements of the open Resistance Movement are the following: a change in the people's mentality, especially at the higher cultural and social levels; a great increase in national awareness in the context of a united Ukraine; the transfer of the resistance movement centres from villages to towns, the inclusion of the patriotic Ukrainian intelligentsia, especially students and young people, into the ranks of the movement; the firm establishment of **who** is Ukraine's enemy and occupier, with the struggle clearly directed at Russian imperialism and chauvinism, and at the Bolshevik Communism imposed by the occupier as a means of dominating the subjugated nations.

In the spontaneous growth and expansion of the resistance movement in Ukraine, various theories and view-

points crossed, among which were unsuccessful attempts to find the right way to freedom for Ukraine, but thanks to the revolutionary forces of liberation nationalism, the national idea has prevailed. From it emerged, with clearly crystallized views, such steadfast fighters as Valentyn Moroz and his successors, who presented the national idea as the banner of the fight for freedom.

The bankruptcy of Communism, Marxist-Leninism and national-Communism among the young and younger generations reflects the affirmations of the undaunted Valentyn Moroz and other writers in Ukraine:

"The national idea exists and will continue to exist; today it is highly relevant implying the idea of a fully sovereign life and cultural existence of the Ukrainian nation... The national idea is a catalyst for an unbounded world of other human ideals... And the very submersion in the national idea, submission to it, leads to the most hidden depths of other social and spiritual needs... Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself... Under the banner of nationalism, a national liberation movement is in progress throughout the world..."

These, and similar, assertions by young authors in Ukraine are consonant with those idealistic stands, from which the Liberation Movement is continuing the fight for Ukraine's freedom.

The undaunted young fighters have greatly contributed to the formulation of uncompromising political thought, based upon a quest for independent statehood among great masses of people, by clearly separating themselves from the Russian so-called dissidents and "democrats", who yearn to obtain for themselves more rights and to "convert" the present Communist system, but preserving the Russian empire, which is threatened by the liberation movements of the nations subjugated by it. The Ukrainian fighters, on the other hand, place emphasis on national liberation, which means the dis-

solution of the Russian empire and the restoration of the sovereign states of the subjugated nations.

Efforts of some Ukrainian intellectuals to appeal to the rights supposedly conferred upon Ukraine by the Constitutions of the Ukr. SSR and USSR failed, and the reaction of the Russian occupiers proved to be the final blow against all the theories about the possibility of a so-called evolution and democratization of the imperial regime, and about changes and improvements in Russian Communist law. Instead, the national liberation concept, that rights and freedom for Ukraine can only be achieved by way of revolutionary struggle and not by demanding the realization of deceptive constitutions, was reaffirmed as being correct.

The pogrom in 1972 of the open Resistance Movement in Ukraine does not imply a victory for Moscow and the suppression of the Ukrainian liberation movement for many years. Despite massive arrests, cruel sentences and terror, the fight in Ukraine has not ceased; on the contrary, resistance is growing, but is adopting new, extremely evasive forms.

Sabotage, strikes, attacks on arms depots, the hoisting of Ukrainian national flags, some armed confrontations with the security forces, and other secret actions in Ukraine, which appeared simultaneously with the open Resistance Movement, are today acquiring a special significance in the development of the continuous revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

A precondition of an organized and successful armed revolution has always been a revolution of viewpoints, morals and politics.

For this reason, a great battle between Ukrainian national forces and the Russian occupiers for the soul of the Ukrainian nation is raging today in Ukraine. In spite of heavy losses among fighters for the spiritual and national revival of the Ukrainian people and for

its national and social liberation, of the horrific terror and total national and political subjugation, the ideological victory belongs to those, who are burning with the sacred flame of endurance in the fight for freedom and rights for the Ukrainian nation.

"Ukraine exists! She lives and acts!
She breathes! Fights! And shines!
And chains do not kill hope,
Freedom and holy truth do not die!"

— writes, from prison, one of today's poets of Ukraine, who became a victim of the present new wave of neo-Stalinist terror.

"The star of Ukraine shines with the eternal flame of revolutions" — says this same poet, as one of the representatives of the young generation.

Thus, we have evident proof of the historical continuation of the Ukrainian liberation struggle of our day. Under the banners of freedom, sons follow their fathers. Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka have become the most recent symbols of national aspirations, and an idealistic guideline in the new stage of the struggle for independent statehood for the Ukrainian nation. Such spiritual giants, murdered or perished in prison and concentration camps, as Mykhaylo Soroka, such representatives of the younger generation, persecuted and tortured but with unbreaking characters, as Yuriy Shukhevych and Valentyn Moroz, have become examples of the Ukrainian hero for the young generation.

But the struggle of the Ukrainian nation is taking place in especially difficult and cruel circumstances, dependent solely upon its own resources. But all around, writes from prison the already-quoted poet, "Russia... bars... casemates, though it is not the same satrap sitting on the Russian throne." Total and indiscriminate national, cultural and religious subjugation reigns everywhere, and there is merciless economic exploitation throughout.

Terror fills Ukraine in new waves; arrests are on massive scales, sentences are Draconian. The occupiers are dealing especially severely with Ukrainian nationalist revolutionaries, whom they try over and over again, torture, shoot; they persecute students, expel them from universities, remove patriotic professors, bully and arrest Ukrainian cultural figures and every Ukrainian patriot. They have driven the Ukrainian Churches into catacombs, and they persecute priests and worshippers.

At this vicious time of the revelry of Russian terror in Ukraine, when the tyrants are attempting to break the

wills of arrested Ukrainian patriots and to force out of them "repentant declarations", in order to compromise the idea of Ukrainian national liberation and its supporters, the unbreakable Valentyn Moroz has said at a KGB trial: "So, we shall fight... Right now there is a need for someone to give an example of firmness... This has fallen upon me... The mission is difficult. It is not easy for anyone to sit behind bars. However, to lose one's self-respect is even more difficult. And therefore we shall fight!"

Ukrainian people have understood and accepted the message! **H. D.**

RESOLUTIONS

For the Disintegration of the Russian Empire

The ABN CONFERENCE appeals to the United Nations' representatives of every non-Communist country to demand equal representation in the UN for the Captive Nations' revolutionary representatives, active both, in their occupied countries and in exile, similar to the representation granted to PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization).

To denounce and condemn on the United Nations forum Russian colonialism, imperialism, chauvinism, ethnocide and linguicide, Russification, concentration camps, labour camps, arrests and placements into insane asylums of freedom-loving political and religious people and to demand free exit visas out of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries for all, who so desire.

The ABN CONFERENCE resolves:

To urge the governments of the Free World: to counteract by various measures the Russification, economic exploitation and extermination of the subjugated nations.

To severely condemn and urge the liquidation of all concentration camps throughout the Soviet Russian empire and in the so-called satellite states.

To demand the release of all prison-

ers condemned and imprisoned for their national, political, and religious convictions.

To demand that the application of chemical and medical means for breaking the will power of political prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them be stopped.

To vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights to insane asylums.

To demand that freedom fighters, believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirit of their own nation, without which a nation perishes be no longer persecuted.

To demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from the subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites.

To demand the restoration of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as to the nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

To appeal to the free nations to initiate a policy of broadcasting messages

of inspiration and support directed to the subjugated peoples through public and private radio-stations.

To refuse any aid to those who practice tyranny and slavery, to any Russian arms build-up, by ceasing all economic dealings with the USSR and its satellites, but to support the liberation movements striving for the downfall of this last powerful colonial empire in the world and for the destruction of the Communist system of slavery; to condemn armed intervention of Moscow and Cuba in Angola and to intercept this and possible future interventions.

To urge the Churches of the Free World to abandon any co-operation with Moscow and other atheist Communist tyrannical governments and seek oecumenical ties not with the Kremlin Church, but with the persecuted underground Churches.

The Conference finally appeals to the intellectual circles of the free nations, especially the Nobel Prize laureates, to defend all politically persecuted persons and prisoners in the USSR and the satellite countries and all countries subjected to Communism, since those persecuted defend the most precious right of nations (their right to independence) and human freedom. We ask them to suggest Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years imprisonment and severe tortures for daring to speak and write in defense of national, religious and human values, as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

If the free nations of the world do not want to be subjugated to KGB guns and see the law of the jungle prevail, they must fight for national independence, humanity and morality based on religious principles.

RESOLUTION

Against the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine

The ABN Conference protests against and condemns the imperialist doctrine of

the US Department of State as set forth by Mr. Sonnenfeldt. This doctrine demands that the subjugated nations capitulate to Russian imperialism and renounce their national independence and freedom.

The ABN Conference totally rejects the unwarranted statement by the US President Gerald Ford asserting that the nations subjugated by Russia are independent states, and requests the US Congress and Government to respect the UN Declarations of 1960 & 1972 on World Decolonization, especially with respect to the Russian empire.

The ABN Conference requests President Ford not to violate the US Public Law passed in 1959 supporting the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations against Russian imperialism.

The ABN Conference appeals to American citizens who are descendants of the countries subjugated by Russia to cast votes only for those candidates for public offices in the United States who respect the UN Declaration on World Decolonization, including the dissolution of the Russian empire.

RESOLUTION

Supporting Croatian Independence

1. The artificial State of Yugoslavia should be dissolved because it is a prison for the Croatian people, Macedonians (Bulgarians), Albanians and other national minorities forced to live under domination of Belgrade.

2. We condemn the Yugoslav dictator Josif Broz Tito who is a Trojan horse in Western defence and who works for Bolshevik aims for conquering the world.

3. We demand to exercise our right to self-determination and restoration of freedom and national independence of all oppressed peoples and minorities in Yugoslavia.

Nicomedes Hernandez (Cuba)

Communism Is Delinquency

Communism is a criminal manifestation in the life of society. In every case it is the most vigorous image of crime, because it kills each and every right that human beings have, turning society into a herd of defenseless animals who suffer the humiliating pain of being able to think but being unable to defend themselves. We Cubans constitute the best example of this and the clearest message of alert to the United States and to all countries on this continent.

Society is constantly and grievously attacked and damaged by Communism, the most dangerous criminal which Democracy has had to face when defending the Law and making an inevitable effort to preserve human liberty, life's most precious gift.

What are the dimensions of the upheavals suffered by democratic nations when Communism has attained the collectivization of the most repulsive practice of vices and crimes with an impunity which frightens us?

Any criminal is persecuted by the Law and its agents who find and capture him, take him before competent tribunals, punish and send him to jail. Every day this happens but, all agents of the Law put together have been unable to capture and submit to legal proceedings the hundreds of thousands of young persons, deviated from moral norms, individually defenseless, given to the worse crimes, who destroy free institutions under the control and direction of Communism, qualified and defined by some as a "system of government" when in reality it is the universal system that organizes and directs crime internationally in its effort to destroy democratic society.

The concepts of God, Fatherland and Liberty are in danger. Communism may seep away the traces of tears, sweat and blood that mark a millennium of

struggle, of dreams and hopes of great ideals and great attainments, the miraculous jump from the cavern to the conquest of space, the placing in the heart of the moon of the glorious flag admired by all people because under the shadow of its folds many of its sons have died, defending freedom in all latitudes, and the people of the United States now see their institutions in great peril because Communism has many allies, some voluntary, some involuntary ones, some very powerful, others very much defrauded; but all of them consciously or unconsciously are serving the cause that is destroying this nation, the great American nation, the giant without hate. Behind each man with the long hair of a woman and a primitive beard one may see the shadow of the hand of Communism, and in every extravagant woman or man, the same criminal hand may be seen.

Should we watch things intelligently and carefully, nothing would make us fall in attitudes dangerous to the cause of Liberty. Look at the press and you will see that the worst aberrations in life over the front pages of the publications and that the picture of a vulgar and delinquent hippy, accused of many crimes, is given preference over the picture of the Hon. President of the United States. Although astrologers say that "the stars incline" we maintain that it is the press that decides over a youth in need of better and more sane orientation.

All honest men are under an obligation to defend Liberty at the price of their lives and if Democracy, in spite of its power, does not subject the Communist criminals to the obedience of the law, and applies to them here the wall they apply there, the world will become full of shadows and chains will be the destiny of all free nations.

For Fatherland and Liberty!

Valentyn Moroz: Individualist in Jeopardy

(Excerpts from the article published in "Survey", Oxford, England, Winter 1976)

Two recent collections present for the first time in English the works of the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Y. Moroz.¹⁾ These writings are of particular interest for two reasons. First, they are all products of *samvydav*, the Ukrainian equivalent of *samizdat*, underground publications that were eventually smuggled to the West. Second, they feature four essays that constituted the corpus delicti for the indictment of Moroz on charges of "agitation or propaganda designed to undermine or weaken Soviet power". For this crime, under Article 62 of the Ukr. SSR criminal code, Moroz was sentenced in November 1970 to six years in prison, to be followed by three years in a "strict-regime" labour camp and five years in exile. Moroz had spent barely nine months at liberty since his release from four years of imprisonment on a similar charge in 1965. One of the essays stems from his first term in prison; the other three were written during his brief interlude of freedom.

Moroz has become a symbol of post-Krushchev repression in the Soviet Union, for the draconic sentences imposed on him for what are essentially "thought crimes", as well as for his courage in refusing to admit any guilt and in resisting extreme pressure to recant his views. He has shown this resolve from his first arrest in September

1965, to the 145-day hunger strike he conducted from July to November 1974, in order to protest against conditions at Vladimir prison, near Moscow, one of the most notorious Soviet penal establishments. His physical state during the last month of that siege was described by his wife as "frighteningly emaciated" and he was near death from a heart ailment.²⁾ The tube used to administer forced feedings had scraped the lining of his oesophagus raw and he had lost over three stones.

The plight of Moroz has attracted the attention of western academics and public figures, including the spokesmen for Amnesty International, PEN International, the International League for the Rights of Man and the International Commission of Jurists. The most recent of several resolutions on his behalf in the US Congress found 11 Senators expressing concern for this "most noted and uncompromising spokesman within the Soviet Union for the rights of the Ukrainian people and for the maintenance of the Ukrainian culture and national heritage".³⁾ Among Moroz's distinctions is a pending invitation to resume his scholarly work at Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute.⁴⁾ The appointment letter sent by Harvard President Derek C. Bok on 12 November 1974, commends Moroz for his "outstanding qualifications and con-

¹⁾ Yaroslav Bohun, ed., *Boomerang: The Works of Valentyn Moroz*, Baltimore, 1974; John Kolasky, ed., *Report from the Beria Reserve*, Toronto, 1974. The two anthologies are substantially identical, though *Boomerang* has in addition five poems by Moroz and excerpts of four letters to his wife, as well as appeals for his release by Ukrainian intellectuals. The translation of *Report*, however, is considerably more idiomatic.

²⁾ *Novoe russkoe slovo*, 12 Mar. 1975, p. 2; for earlier reports, see also *Khronika tekushchikh sobytyi*, Nos. 7, 14, 17, 27; 32; *The New York Times*, 9 Nov. 1974; *The Sun*, Baltimore, 10 Dec. 1974; *The Gazette*, Montreal, 7 Aug. 1974.

³⁾ *Congressional Record*, 7 Feb. 1975, S. 1662.

⁴⁾ Harvey Fireside, "Harvard Invitation", *The New Leader*, 31 Mar. 1975, p. 3.

tributions in the area of Ukrainian history".⁵⁾

Actually, the publications of Moroz prior to his arrest exhibit little evidence of either originality or ideological dissent. In 1964, while teaching modern history at pedagogical institutes at Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk, the 28-year-old presented a paper on "The Lutsk Trial of 1934", a case of "bourgeois Polish" repression of "revolutionary Ukrainians". This topic was to be his candidate's (PhD) thesis at Lviv State University, but his defence of it was precluded by his arrest for the possession and distribution of "anti-Soviet" manuscripts and foreign publications. Two further papers which he delivered at pedagogical conferences dealt with western Ukrainian peasants and workers, respectively, in the strike movements of the late thirties. Moroz at that time, having taught for seven years in secondary schools and institutes, seemed launched on a career as a professor specializing in the history of the Ukrainian regions annexed by the Soviet Union from Poland after the second world war.

According to subsequent official charges, Moroz had used his academic positions as a cover to disseminate materials, during his trips to supervise student teachers, advocating secession of the "Ukraine from the USSR and its transformation into a bourgeois country".⁷⁾ That Moroz engaged in such activities, let alone confessed to them, is highly doubtful. That the authorities planned to turn the case against Moroz and a co-defendant, Dmytro P. Ivashchenko, into the first "show trial" in nearly 30 years seems fairly well established.⁸⁾ Moroz evidently frustrated that

plan by seizing the opportunity at the Lutsk Regional Court to deny any bourgeois or nationalist actions, yet to charge that a "Russification" programme was indeed eroding native culture and making a mockery of the "sovereign" status of Ukraine, as constitutionally proclaimed.

This turning of the judicial tables probably cost Moroz an extra two years' sentence in a prison camp — he received four as against the two meted out to his colleague, Ivashchenko, at whose flat the conspiratorial meetings were allegedly held. It made him an example to the other *shestydesiatnyky*, the Ukrainian writers and academicians of the early sixties who protested against Russian cultural imperialism, often with supporting citations from Lenin and Soviet legal texts.⁹⁾ It also taught the authorities to hold subsequent trials of such leaders of the movement as the poet Mykhaylo Osadchy in closed session and to release some prominent figures like the literary critic Ivan Svitlychny without a trial. The secret trials were revealed in the West primarily through the disclosure of 20 cases by Viacheslav M. Chornovil.¹⁰⁾

The Chornovil collection included only a few letters by Moroz written to his wife when in prison.¹¹⁾ These are notable for his turning to philosophical studies by the autumn of 1966, even teaching himself German and English to read Kant, Hobbes and Bertrand Russell. Further, they indicate his concern with "the problem of individuality", particularly in the realm of spirituality in which human beings are distinguished from undifferentiated, conformist animals.¹²⁾ That theme is developed in

⁵⁾ *The Boston Globe*, 10 Mar. 1975.

⁶⁾ *Boomerang*, p. 140.

⁷⁾ *Radyanska osvita*, 14. Aug. 1971, and *News Release*, Soviet Embassy, Canada, as cited in *Boomerang*, pp. 249, 252.

⁸⁾ Michael Browne, ed., *Ferment in the Ukraine*, London, 1971, p. 7.

⁹⁾ Abraham Rothberg, *The Heirs of Stalin*, Ithaca, 1972, p. 308.

¹⁰⁾ *The Chornovil Papers*, New York, 1968, published in Ukrainian as *The Misfortune of Intellect*, Paris, 1967.

¹¹⁾ *Chornovil Papers*, pp. 66-67.

¹²⁾ *Boomerang*, p. 141.

the seminal essay, *From the Beria Reserve*, that Moroz completed on 15 April 1967, on his 31st birthday, at Yavas, a prison camp in Mordovia. It is addressed to the members of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, with several copies of the clandestine manuscript forwarded to those legislators by Chornovil.¹³⁾

The "reserve" bears the name of Lavrenty P. Beria, the Stalinist police chief executed in 1953, because his lieutenants are still in command. It is a reserve in two senses: because thousands of political prisoners are shut up there like wild beasts, and because officials of the KGB (Committee for State Security) maintain it as a private empire, unchecked by the laws that regulate social life on the outside. This imagery enables Moroz to claim that, far from being a counter-revolutionary attacking the system, he is merely a good citizen exposing "violations of the laws by the officials of the KGB", guilty of "serious crimes such as murder and attempted murder".¹⁴⁾

At a superficial level, Moroz does appear to be simply cataloguing examples of injustice inflicted on the prisoners by power-drunk, corrupt officials who flout regulations. On a deeper plane, however, his critique strikes at the roots of the political system that has spawned the cancerous colonies of the prisons. The cosmetic surgery of administrative reforms seems a far from adequate remedy for such grave ills. An appropriately radical cure would entail dismantling not only the KGB camp administrative reforms seems a far from rarchy supporting it and the ideology that rationalizes the repression of independent thinkers.

Moroz begins his essay by characterizing his fellow prisoners as "those who think differently, or perhaps those

who think at all".¹⁵⁾ In contrast to such caged spirits, he depicts the officialdom of the KGB, "an isolated group which strives with all its might to maintain its position on society's neck where it has been sitting since the Stalin era".¹⁶⁾ Now that genuine counter-revolutionaries are extinct, the thought police has to fabricate "anti-Soviet plots and organizations". Its role thus becomes anachronistic and parasitical, "transfiguring the body which gave it birth into a source of nourishment".¹⁷⁾

The immediate consequence of this Stalinist vestige is that, as administrators of the camps, KGB officers lord it over their empire like zoo keepers. They restrict prisoners to diets of as little as 2,000 calories a day, in order to "hit the stomach" and transform them into "mere consumers of foods".¹⁸⁾ The atmosphere is one of materialism reduced to its lowest common denominator, the struggle for survival. Should a desperate convict manage to escape, he is shot after invariably returned by a local peasant for a bounty of flour or is shot after surrendering, his half-dead body dumped at the camp gates as an example.¹⁹⁾

Few, indeed, are the individualists able to withstand such pressure to abandon their ideals as "a psychological disorder".²⁰⁾ Moroz recalls the KGB captain supervising his "re-education", who admitted candidly: "Unfortunately we cannot see what is in your head. If it were possible to do this and remove everything that interferes with your being a normal Soviet citizen, there would be no need for all this conversation."²¹⁾ Ironically, only as a prisoner subject to extreme physical deprivation does

¹³⁾ *Report*, p. xxviii.

¹⁴⁾ "Petition to the Attorney General of the Ukrainian SSR", 16 May 1968. *Report*, p. 127.

¹⁵⁾ *Report*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.* p. 41.

¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.* p. 34.

¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.* p. 44.

¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.* p. 2.

²⁰⁾ *Ibid.* p. 12.

²¹⁾ *Ibid.* p. 19.

Moroz discover the spiritual values he will not surrender and the moral strength to defy his oppressors.

Most prisoners do not have the inner resources to defend themselves against spiritual castration. After conditioning by the police, they become "cogs" that "desire not to be conspicuous in any way, to merge into the mass, to resemble the next person in order not to attract attention".²²⁾ In the unequal struggle for survival with their warders, these persons are content to rest on the lowest rungs of the evolutionary ladder at the cost of their integrity. After his release, such a cog will "immediately write that he had never been imprisoned and will even brand as liars those who demand his release".²³⁾ As a caricature of the normal citizen, he "will shoot whomever he is ordered to and then at an order will fight for peace. Last and most important, it is safe to introduce any constitution and grant any rights after transforming people into cogs. The trick succeeds because the cog will not even consider availing himself of these rights."

The long-term effect of the KGB's actions, then, is to extend a pall of fear and uniformity from the prison-camp enclave to the rest of Soviet society. Lawlessness in the camps, at the off-limit stretches of Siberia and Central Asia, permeates the entire land. This process resembles the reverse of human evolution: "the merging of individuals into a grey mass, a return to a massive nonorganic, nonindividual existence."²⁴⁾ In this converse of an ideal state, "the ruling party proclaims itself the sole fountain of 'wisdom, honour and conscience' for the whole society and then solemnly declares the 'moral-political unity of society'".²⁵⁾

²²⁾ Ibid. p. 22.

²³⁾ Ibid. p. 25.

²⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 22.

²⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 23.

It would appear that the entire populace must eventually succumb to this Orwellian nightmare. A contrary conclusion by Moroz appears to be the product of his romanticism, born perhaps of the hope that his own chronicle of resistance will serve to inspire others. It may also reflect his conviction that the spurious unity of society proclaimed by the leadership will be exposed by something like the exclamation of a child at the emperor's lack of clothes. He does base his hopes on the young person, "no longer familiar with the terror of his parents" of Stalin's vintage, who "begins to regard the dogmas with silent skepticism and moves imperceptibly into opposition — destructive, because he does not yet possess a programme of constructive opposition".²⁶⁾

The youth's questioning makes him venture "into the forbidden areas of history, philosophy and literature" and rediscover "with common sense" the truths shrouded by ideology. Before long, "a miracle takes place: the cog becomes human!" To replace a regime in which citizens accept their function as "fertilizer for future generations", Moroz offers his vision of society.

Vestiges of Stalinism will be swept away, as the next generation asserts its civil rights. Grounds for its claims are provided by such "paper guarantees" as the Soviet constitution's Article 17, which gives each republic "the right to secede freely from the USSR", and Article 125, which provides freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization. The arbitrary officials to be ousted will include "first of all the KGB; then the chairman of the collective farm who fears that if all legal norms are actually complied with, he will not even be appointed swineherd; then the academician who climbed to his chair over the corpses of betrayed comrades in

²⁶⁾ Ibid. p. 37.

1937; finally the chauvinist who will have to give up his programme of Rus-sification".²⁸⁾

Thus, Moroz links the causes of intel-lectual freedom with the renaissance of national cultures. This theme is elab-orated in the three essays Moroz com-posed during the nine months he was at liberty before being rearrested in June 1970. In the first of these, **Moses and Dathan**, he engages in a polemic with the Byelorussian poet, Yevdokia Los, for her depreciation of national culture and praise of "Soviet patriotism". A person like Los who questions the need for her own nation is "morally dead" and, presumably by analogy to the biblical Dathan who plotted against Moses, historically of no consequence.²⁹⁾ The debate offers Moroz a renewed op-portunity to inveigh against the "auto-matic programming" that is undermin-ing the independence of human beings: "A person is a person because he is on constant armed guard against perma-nently existing evil, because history is not programmed, because he has the possibility to change the world to coin-cide with man's purpose". And among the ultimate ends of man, beyond the challenge of utilitarian logic, is the nation, defined as "the synthesis of all the spiritual values acquired by a peo-ple".

The fusion of religious and national values underlies the second essay, **Chronicle of the Resistance**. It concen-trates on a specific village in the Car-pathian Mountains, Kosmach, renown-ed for its folklore and traditional crafts. The focus narrows yet further to a local landmark, the village church built in 1740, from which a Kyiv film studio "borrowed" an iconostasis, or deco-rated altar screen. Seven years later, the villagers are still awaiting the re-turn of the screen, but officials have installed it in a museum and blame the

people's petitions on "nationalist" in-citement.³⁰⁾

The seemingly minor incident pro-vides the occasion for an eloquent plea by Moroz in defence of Ukrainian na-tional values, threatened by a combina-tion of official harassment, the require-ments of "progress" and the uniformity of mass culture. He begins by deriding the official claim that "there have never been and there are not now any registered historical monuments in the village of Kosmach".³¹⁾ Quite the con-trary, Moroz contends, the entire vil-lage is such a monument, and for its inhabitants their church represents nearly four centuries of devotion to the Uniate faith repressed under Soviet rule. "The church has become such an integral part of cultural life that it is not possible to destroy it without harm-ing the spiritual structure of the na-tion."³²⁾ The atheist erosion of national culture is merely the obverse of direct destruction of historic and artistic treas-ures by "accidental" fires in Kyiv, Sa-markand and other non-Russian cities during the early 1960s.

The isolated village is a microcosm of the nation's spirit, "as a whole world is reflected in a drop of water".³³⁾ Its loss of a religious treasure to a cinema director who used it as a prop epitom-izes the despoliation of locally rooted culture. More insidious are the ravages of commercialism, due to tourists and collectors whose appetite for art ob-jects causes artisans to sacrifice origi-nality for mass production. Other sacri-fices are demanded in the name of pro-gress; witness the site near Lviv where "a wooden crucifix, dating from the fifteenth century, and the oldest in U-kraine, was pulled down from a height of eight meters to build an automobile parking lot".³⁴⁾ In Kosmach itself, the

²⁸⁾ Ibid. p. 38.

²⁹⁾ Ibid. p. 53.

³⁰⁾ Ibid. p. 61.

³¹⁾ Ibid. p. 62.

³²⁾ Ibid. p. 65.

³³⁾ Ibid. p. 74.

³⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 79.

materialist faith is supplanting the church with an oil derrick in the centre of town, while "some idiotic holiday of pigtenders or milkmaids" is celebrated in lieu of Easter.

From a historical viewpoint, "culture" and "revolution" are incompatible and opposing concepts. Culture signifies age-old maturation which cannot be speeded up. All revolutionary interference is ruinous.³⁵⁾ Because revolution connotes the overturning of tradition. But Moroz does not fully develop this point. Not revolution *per se* but its consequences arouse his scorn as he surveys the contemporary scene to "find that the oldest architectural monuments are snack bars, built since 1948 and plastered on all sides with grey cement — the classic Stalin renaissance".³⁶⁾

By this time, the passions of 1917 have yielded to "nihilism, the product of mass culture. It sweeps all originality from its path and stamps everything with uniformity".³⁷⁾ Instead of the note of optimism he sounded in *Report from the Beria Reserve*, Moroz in this essay sees everywhere the signs of "deculturalization, alienation, dehumanization and the loss of our roots".³⁸⁾ A bland *mélange* of international culture conveys universal mediocrity. "The songs over the radio are the same on all continents. The fashion is the same from Brazil to Japan . . . People are excessively developing their technical function at the expense of the spiritual, and this, for some reason, is called progress."

The twin effects of deracination are evident in the apathy of the intellectuals and the Ukrainian intelligentsia for its failure to protest the rape of local culture. Only a few can be expected to follow him on his pilgrimage to Kosmach to "search for an answer to the

question, 'Who am I?'"³⁹⁾ Of the ordinary people too, only a minority will heed their "instinct for spiritual self-preservation" and escape a bovine existence.⁴⁰⁾ The siren song of cultural assimilation is too potent, in Russia as in America, to keep members of other nationalities attuned to their traditions. The American melting pot is a cauldron, in the metaphor of Moroz, "a chaotic mixture of fragments of all cultures".⁴¹⁾ Immigrants are eager to be "denationalized" and boast of their "openmindedness" when they have shed their native language and traditions. "It is the same here. If you wish to prove that you are 'progressive', forget your ancestry and become a 'universal man' (which actually means, a Russian)."

The final essay, *In the Midst of the Snows*, finds Moroz returning to a polemical vein. His quarrel is primarily with Ivan Dzyuba, one of the literary critics who inspired the *shestydesiatniki* with his essays against Russification and public addresses protesting at the arrests of "nationalists" in 1965.⁴²⁾ Threatened with expulsion from the Kyiv section of the Writers' Union, Dzyuba submitted what appeared to Moroz a recantation, though it did not satisfy the Party ideologists.⁴³⁾

That personal error of judgement aside, the essay is pertinent to an analysis of Moroz's thought for its depiction of the *shestydesiatnyky*, the pioneers of the modern Ukrainian renaissance, as a kind of religious brotherhood overcoming "the ice of indifference and nihilism that had accumu-

³⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 78.

³⁶⁾ Ibid. p. 77.

³⁷⁾ Ibid. p. 73.

³⁸⁾ Ibid. p. 80.

³⁹⁾ Ibid. p. 84.

⁴⁰⁾ Ibid. p. 72.

⁴¹⁾ Ibid. p. 74.

⁴²⁾ Harvey Fireside, "Crackdown in the Ukraine", *Commonweal*, 19 Oct. 1973, p. 61.

⁴³⁾ Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification?* (London, 1970), p. 249.

lated over long years".⁴⁴) The moral superiority of the intellectuals inspired the people, their arrests in 1965 merely added "an aureole", of martyrdom. The regime, therefore, realized that "it was necessary to kill the legend of the writers of the sixties, those men with new qualities... to deprive people of the example which revived them and to convince them that their God was only a stage prop."

Moroz turns the epithet of "Don Quixotes", which the proponents of a "realistic" accommodation of Ukrainians to their subservient condition had applied to uncompromising nationalists like himself, into a title of nobility. "All discoveries, all inventions, are the works of the Don Quixotes".⁴⁵) If his brand of nationalism smacks of romantic idealism, of an apparently hopeless quest for the recovery of bygone values, Moroz is satisfied that "there is no alternative". Not arguments to persuade wavers, but living embodiments of "apostolic fervour" are required to inspire the people. Finally, he is able to refute charges that his platform is anything but progressive. Citing the odes to nationalism penned by Nehru, Sukarno and Sun Yat-sen printed approvingly in Moscow, Moroz shows that Ukrainian patriots should not be ashamed of marching under the same banner against their colonial masters.⁴⁶)

The imagery of Christian martyrdom employed by Moroz in this essay reappears in the "Final Statement" he addressed to the court at his second trial in November 1970, at Ivano-Frankivsk. The past persecutions of his intrepid band are viewed as stones that "turned out not to be stones but boomerangs, which returned, without fail, and struck you".⁴⁷ He refers to himself in the

third person as five years ago "a nobody, an unknown history lecturer", catapulted to world renown thanks to his persecutors. His recantation at this point would represent "a stunning blow to all conscious Ukrainians".

He appears to bear his martyrdom, proclaiming: "The dead become a banner. The dead become a symbol which inspires brave souls to new sacrifices."⁴⁸ And faced with the prospect of "a lingering death from mysterious chemicals in Vladimir prison", he concludes with the same hope in youth that marked his prison essay three years before. The faith of Moroz in the emergence of the Ukrainian renaissance into a mass movement rests on the fact that "there are 800,000 students and everyone has a radio", to echo his message from abroad.

Under the strictures of his imprisonment for the past six years, Moroz has not been able to do any more writing. Indeed, it is questionable whether he can even survive beyond the halfway mark of his sentence. The occasional bulletins that chronicle his agonies attest to the fortitude with which he has obeyed the code of conduct he set for himself. On 10 May Moroz was transferred from the Vladimir Prison to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry. In the middle of June he has been declared sane and sent back to a Moscow prison. In the attention he has aroused in the West, Moroz is living up to the assessment of his Canadian editor, John Kolasky, as the "symbol of all opposition to national oppression in the USSR", and "perhaps the most important political prisoner in the USSR today".⁴⁹) In his enforced isolation, he is embodying the force of his final declaration. (There is silence which is louder than shouting."⁵⁰)

⁴⁴) Report, p. 90.

⁴⁵) Ibid. p. 93.

⁴⁶) Ibid. p.p 108-9.

⁴⁷) Ibid. p. 118.

⁴⁸) Ibid. p. 119.

⁴⁹) Ibid. p. xxii.

⁵⁰) Ibid. p. 119.

Iosif Meshener (Israel)

„Liberation struggle of the subjugated nations — the foremost strife in the USSR“

PRESS STATEMENT

Mr. Iosif Meshener, a Jew from Moldavia, was arrested in February 1970 and sentenced to six years imprisonment for "anti-soviet propaganda". He spent 5 years in the Mordovian and Perm concentration camps and the last year of his sentence in Vladimir prison. Released in February 1976, he lately joined his family in Israel, and at present is visiting West European countries.

On Saturday 30th October 1976 British radio and press reported about a hunger strike of political prisoners in Vladimir prison and concentration camps in the USSR.

I would like to draw your attention to the traditional hunger strikes of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union in which I personally participated.

A series of the one-day hunger strikes starts on the 5th September, to mark the beginning of the Red Terror which began on that day in 1918. This particular hunger-strike has its special ritual. Political prisoners of all nationalities make a symbolic grave of an unknown political prisoner and then each of the nationality group lights one candle in memory of all their compatriots perished as a result of this Red Terror in the concentration camps and prisons in the USSR since 1918. A short prayer follows on behalf of each group in a solemn silence. Some individuals also offer their candles and prayers for their relatives. I particularly recall this ceremony in the Vladimir prison in 1975 during which even the guard looking through a spy hole with a mystical dismay in his eyes, did not interfere when our cell of seven inmates — Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish, Uzbek and other — commemorated victims of the Red Terror.

The hunger-strike on 30th October, a Political Prisoner's Day in the USSR — marks symbolically the continuation of the Red Terror, and, finally, the hun-

ger-strike on 10th December, a day of Proclamation of the Human Rights is to remind the Western World of the danger that stems from the Soviet Union.

At present the foremost strife in the USSR is the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations for their national independence. Ukraine and Baltic Nations, Middle Asian Nations and Caucasus — all are striving for their rights. The fact of mass exodus of Jews from the USSR is a vivid example of the complete failure of Kremlin's nationality and assimilation policies.

I would like to refer to the attitude of a Russian patriot, Mr. Vladimir Bukovsky, who said that an empire and democracy are incompatible, therefore the West should consider the fate of the subjugated peoples in the USSR who are subjected to forcible assimilation and those who had survived national catastrophes in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, Vietnam and Cambodia, Angola and Cuba as the imperial appetite of Kremlin is not confined only to the borders of the USSR.

In connection with this I would like to mention the visit of Mr. Boris Ponomarev in Britain, which opens the whole series of planned visits of Soviet party and political representatives, whose aim is to lure the West into a trap, under the auspices of the Helsinki agreement.

The policy of this détente, in my opinion, is a longterm policy by which the Kremlin imperialists are trying to entrap the West.

In the Vladimir prison I was acquainted with Mr. Nikolay Sharygin, a Ukrainian, who used to live in Britain and was sent to Moscow by his firm, specializing in computing technology, for business purposes. In Moscow Mr. Sharygin was detained by the KGB who proposed to him to become their agent in Britain. He refused and consequently he was charged with treason (he once was a Soviet citizen) and sent to a concentration camp. The chief of the KGB Andropov, who personally in-

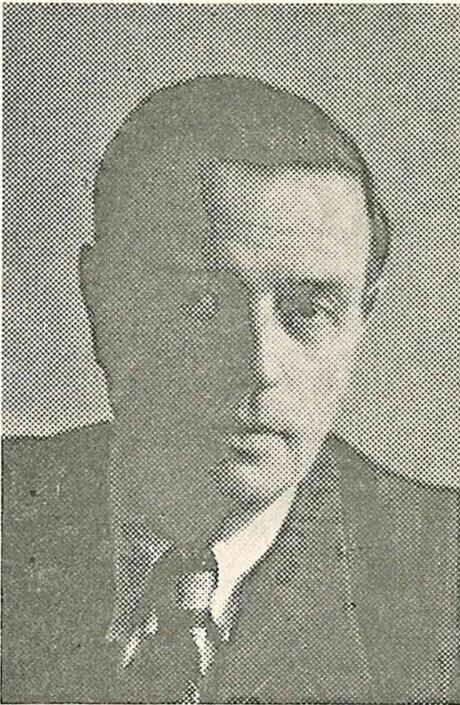
terrogated Sharygin, said plainly to him: "you will remain in prison for 10 years, and the English Queen will not declare war against us because of you!"

Such is a true face of the empire, such are its interests which have brought Mr. Ponomarev to this country and before him the so-called poet Evtushenko, who tried to pose as a dissident and in fact was paving the way for the visit of Mr. Boris Ponomarev.

London, 1st November 1976

Professor Rodoslaw Ostrowski †

(25. 10. 1887 - 17. 10. 1976)



On the 17th October 1976 at the age of 89 died in the United States of America Professor Rodoslaw Ostrowski, President of the Byelorussian Central Council, for a number of years member of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and from 1950 till 1964 Chairman of the ABN Delegation in Great Britain.

An outstanding fighter for freedom and independence of Byelorussia, who deeply believed that only united subjugated nations can disintegrate the Russian colonial empire from inside, he enthusiastically joined the ABN.

Professor R. Ostrowski was born in Zapole near Slutsh, attended the Slutsh Grammer School and began his studies at the University in St. Petersburg. As chairman of the Slutsk Students Association (Zemlachestvo) he was arrested in 1911 and barred from all universities. Later he continued his studies by joining Dorpat University (now Tartu, Estonia) from where he graduated in 1913 and took up the post as a teacher of physics and mathematics in Chenstokhova, Poland. When World War I broke out he fled to Minsk and worked there as a mathematics master until the February Revolution of 1917, taking part in political activities.

As a man of unbounded energy he organized a number of Byelorussian schools.

On December 5th - 17th, 1917 the All-Byelorussian Congress was held in Minsk, capital of Byelorussia, comprising 1,812 elected delegates, representing all political parties and groups. It adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for the creation of a Byelorussian independent state and elected Rada (a Council) which

proclaimed the Independence of the Byelorussian Republic on its ethnographical territories. On the 25th of March 1918 twelve nations recognized it "de facto".

R. Ostrowski was a delegate to the Congress, member of the Rada and minister of education in the government headed by R. Skirmunt, and the editor of a weekly magazine in Byelorussian language "Rodny Krai" (Native Land) in Minsk.

When on the 10th December 1918 Minsk was taken by Bolsheviks the Rada moved to Grodno (western part of Byelorussia), later to Czecho-Slovakia (Prague) and remained there up to the Second World War as a government in exile.

However, Byelorussians continued to fight against the Russian Communist regime, in particular in 1920 the famous Slutsk uprising took place, in which over 10,000 soldiers participated. The uprising was crushed by the Red Army. The remaining soldiers of the Slutsk division on the 28th December 1920 crossed the Polish border where they were interned.

Working at Vilna, Ostrowski presided over the Byelorussian School Society (over 12,000 members in 1926) and the Byelorussian Co-operative Bank. He was also a member of the political orga-

nization "Hramada" formed by Byelorussian members in the Polish Parliament, which grew very rapidly and at the end of 1926 had over 120,000 members. On January 14th, 1927, together with the members of "Hramada" (about 3,000 people) R. Ostrowski was arrested but acquitted because the charges against nearly all accused were unfounded.

The second All-Byelorussian Congress was convened in Minsk on June 27th, 1944, consisting of 1,039 delegates which annulled all ties with Russia and approved the Independence of the Byelorussian Republic according to the Declaration of March 25th, 1918 by Rada, whose principles were restated.

Moscow's rulers to this day cannot forget R. Ostrowski's anti-Communist activities and at every possible opportunity try to smear his name.

R. Ostrowski's wife was arrested in October 1939 by the Soviet Russian police and tortured to death. His son Victor sentenced to 8 years in hard labour camp in Siberia (Vorkuta) died last year.

After World War II, R. Ostrowski lived in Germany, later in Great Britain, in 1964 moved to the USA, and in spite of his advanced age, he never stopped fighting for the freedom of his country and all subjugated nations.

RESOLUTION

In Defense of the Persecuted Churches

The ABN CONFERENCE condemns and severely protests against the barbarous persecution by Russian militant atheist Communist despots of religion and churches in different subjugated countries, in particular in Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Latvia, Estonia, in Caucasian countries, Central and Eastern Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Turkestan;

and appeals to the Vatican and the World Council of Churches to cease

cooperation with atheist imperialist regimes,

and to develop oecumenism with the catacomb Churches and not with the loyal regime "churches" like the Russian Pimen Church.

The ABN CONFERENCE expresses full support to the endeavours of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church for a Patriarchate, and sends expressions of deep respect and greetings to the Confessor of Faith and Martyr for Christianity and his nation — Patriarch Cardinal Josef Slipyj who was persecuted by atheist Russian Bolsheviks for 18 years in prisons and concentration camps in Siberia.

They Speak On Behalf Of Ukrainian Youth

Observing the present stage of struggle in Ukraine it must be stated that moral and political struggle, conceptual and cultural strife, attempts to assert Ukrainian qualities and values are continuing and intensifying. This period will not end since the stress on spiritual formation and assertion of the nation cannot be extinguished in spite of the various phases of liberation struggle and an accent on its different aspects, as for instance the socio-political, economic and military.

In Ukraine and the Russian empire, there continues a campaign in defence of Moroz, Shukhevych and other imprisoned cultural and political leaders and the ideas and principles of the ABN are being propagated as a realistic method of liberation through our own efforts. Some of these methods are demonstrations of workers, strikes of workers and collective farmers lasting one hour, one day, or even several days. An appropriate graduation of actions is also actualized where and there by attacking the enemy in various spheres of life, including the economists . . . All of us should remember the events of Novocherkask, Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzherzhynsk in 1972 . . .

Reports are reaching us that during court proceedings against political, cultural or religious leaders, short-term strikes of students, workers and collective farmers were held. We have read "The Cataract" (which was written by a young Ukrainian political writer who was imprisoned for 12 years by the Soviet Russians) that those being tried in Lviv were showered with flowers by the crowds as they were led from the automobiles to the court room . . . that Lina Kostenko (a young Ukrainian poetess) strewed flowers in their path and that the defendants walked on a carpet of flowers to their trial.

We need not speak for our nationalist brothers in Ukraine. They speak for themselves. They communicate their desire for freedom and national independence, though with great difficulty, but they do communicate. They have an IDEAL and they give expression to that ideal.

A young Ukrainian underground author says the following about the national idea: "The national idea exists and will continue to exist. It is real for us today and means the fullness of the sovereign nation and cultural existence of the Ukrainian nation. The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind — and the very absorption by the national idea, a dedication to it, leads at the same time into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs . . ."

The late Vasyly Symonenko, a poet of Ukraine, most likely killed by the KGB in 1966 at the age of 29, declared: "My nation exists! My nation will always exist! Nobody will eradicate my nation!"

Lev Lukyanenko, a young Ukrainian lawyer condemned to death, (later commuted in 15 years hard labor) declared in Mordovia (1972): "If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world I would still fight for Ukraine!"

The young Ukrainians have regenerated and have gained new life. They have grasped the great idea and revived faith in it.

The spirit is there, the awakening, the realization. These words came from young Ukrainian freedom fighters, fighters for the truth. Young Ukrainians though born under the propaganda machine called the USSR, still not only saw the truth but had the courage to stick to their convictions and say the truth. For this they now suffer,

but they have not been silenced. They call for help! They call for realization! Whatever the Soviet Russians do, these heroic fighters against Soviet Russian Communism, neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism, cannot and will not be silenced. They are fighting for the disintegration of the Russian empire, for independent democratic na-

tions of all the subjugated nations, especially Ukraine.

They speak on behalf of all Ukrainian youth. There is no need for interpretation or clarification. These words are clear. We are striving and pledge ourselves to bring to an end all totalitarianism, Communism and any other form of imperialism.

Statements And Activities

Moroz US-Congress Resolution

On 24th August, 1976, the Congressional action in defense of Valentyn Moroz moved one step further when the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, headed by Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, sent S. Res. 67 to the floor where it now may be voted upon.

The resolution, one of many in both chambers of the US Congress, calls on the President "to express the concern of the American government for the freedom and safety of Valentyn Moroz."

To be sure, it is not a binding resolution, but it does express the spirit of the Congress and, therefore, of the American people, a voice President Ford would be loath to ignore, considering his personal statement on the question of human rights, as well as the resolutions adopted by the Republican National Convention and incorporated into the party's platform.

Moreover, we know that on two previous occasions the White House did raise the case of Moroz with the Soviet authorities on the highest levels, attesting to the current Administration's concern over his fate. Certainly, the "sense of the Congress" resolution would provide both added impetus and latitude to the Administration to act in the case of the incarcerated Ukrainian historian.

The Moroz resolution is the first to be reported out of committee in the US Congress. Its fate in the Senate is now in the hands of Senators Mansfield of Montana and Scott of Pennsylvania, majority and minority leaders, respectively.

The immediate task before those who would like to see Valentyn Moroz free: to press Senators Mansfield and Scott to have a vote on the resolution; to seek the support of other Senators for the resolution; and to request the House Committee on Foreign relations to emulate the action of its Senate counterpart and report one of the Moroz resolutions out of committee. It is of paramount importance that we apprise representatives in Congress of the urgency of the situation and ask them for immediate supportive action. In the absence of such, the resolutions will expire by year's end. The time to act, therefore, is now.

Memo To Pope Paul VI

His Holiness
Pope Paul VI.

8th April, 1976

Your Holiness!

The month of March marks the 30th anniversary of the „Sobor” organized by the Soviet Russian government and the Russian patriarch, which was held in the seat of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan in Lviv, Western Ukraine. At this „Sobor” the Berestia Union of 1595-6 between the Ukrainian Church and the Universal Catholic Church was unlawfully annulled and our Church was forcibly incorporated into the Moscow patriarchate. None of our bishops took part in that „Sobor” and all of them, except the Head of the Church Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, together with hundreds of priests and thousands of faithful have died in Soviet Russian concentration camps for their faith and the union with the Holy See. By the will of God our Patriarch and Cardinal, Josyf, was freed and is leading a heroic struggle for the preservation of our Church, its strengthening in the catacombs in Ukraine, and for the maintenance of the unity with the Holy See.

This barbaric „Sobor” (concilium latrocinium) has already been condemned by history, reason and canonists. We ask Your Holiness not to allow any difficulties to be created for our Patriarch Josyf in his work for our Church abroad, to give him the possibility to finish the holy task undertaken in the establishment of a patriarchate for our Church, entitled to it since the beginning of the Union and awaiting blessing by Your Holiness. To hurt him in our situation is to hurt our entire nation, and this may leave a deep wound in our Church and national organism which will take long to heal.

We ardently beseech Your Holiness to create for our Church the possibility for peaceful development and to enable His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf to complete and consolidate his task in the atmosphere of Christian justice and Christ's love. Unfounded and unjust reproaches are being made against him which harm not only our Church but also the whole Universal Church; these reproaches come not only from foreign hostile forces but, we have to sadly admit, also from our own brothers. The harm done to our Patriarch will be done to us all

We believe that Your Holiness will guide the Sacred Congregation for Eastern Churches to correct its attitude, which is violating all the historical agreements between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Apostolic See, on which the Union with the Apostolic See was based. The decisions of the Second Vatican Council concerning Eastern Churches support the Patriarchal system of our Church. The decisions of the Synods of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, headed by His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf, are indissolubly linked with strict adherence by the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the agreements of the Union

between our Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Holy See, as well as to confirmations by the Popes of the privileges, prerogatives and rights of the Kyiv-Halych Metropolitans, who had patriarchal rights.

The decisions of the Synods of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, headed by our Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, maintain the unity of our Church abroad, as well as indissolubility, in the person of His Beatitude the Patriarch, Martyr and Confessor of the Faith, of the whole Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and abroad. They also protect our faithful from assimilation and denationalization abroad. His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf awoke, strengthened and united the faithful around our Ukrainian Catholic Church, became the uniting force, and became the spiritual leader and centre of the whole Ukrainian Christian community. We ask your Holiness that your significant words that the Ukrainian nation unite around the Martyr for all of Christ's Church become a directive for the Eastern Congregation, especially when atheistic Moscow attacks His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf, supposedly defending the policies of the Apostolic See against the ideas — of martyred Christianity — of His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf.

His Beatitude suffered tortures at the hands of the atheistic Russian regime for his faithfulness to Christ's Church, the Holy See, and to the Ukrainian nation.

We appeal to Your Holiness to give full support to our Patriarch Josyf, to recognize him as Patriarch, as he has been recognized by all the faithful of our Ukrainian Catholic Church and the majority of priests and bishops and to forbid Bishop Hornyak to divide our Ukrainian Catholic Church. Our suffering Ukrainian Catholic Church deserves, through thousands of martyrs, the right to a PATRIARCHAL CHURCH. We therefore ask Your Holiness to recognize it as such.

With deepest respect for Your Holiness,

Yaroslav Stetsko
Former Prime Minister
of Independent Ukraine

Mutiny Aboard A Soviet Warship

On November ninth, 1975, the Swedish military radio monitoring service picked up open, uncoded signals from the Soviet missile destroyer "Storozh-voi". What the Swedes heard made them prick up their ears. The "Storozh-voi" was in the midst of a mutiny.

The ship apparently was returning from a routine cruise when the crew of 250 seized the ship's captain and other

officers and started a course for the Stockholm archipelago. The mutineers apparently intended to seek Swedish asylum. The ringleader of the mutineers was identified as the ship's political officer. The ship's crew was made up mostly of Latvians. Before the seizure of the ship was completed, a lone crew member, loyal to the Soviet captain, sounded the alarm. At least one Soviet

warship and an unspecified number of Soviet fighter-bombers rushed to intercept the mutinous destroyer.

At this point, the Swedish military radio monitoring service began picking up radio communications between the mutineers and the attacking Soviet ship and planes. Then came an astounding development.

A member of the Swedish Defense establishment revealed that the attacking Soviet planes bombed the wrong ship! Before the mistake was corrected a number of crewmen and officers on the second ship are believed to have been killed. The Storozhvoi itself finally came under attack. It was disabled and left dead in the water. An estimated fifty crew and officers on both

ships had been killed. The Storozhvoi was then towed to Riga, capital of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, where the mutinous crew was tried by a court-martial. Latvian sources reported that the ringleaders were executed, the Storozhvoi was repaired and equipped with a new crew and the ship was sent on a tour of Soviet Baltic ports in an attempt to counter fast-spreading rumors about the mutiny...

The motive for the Storozhvoi mutiny may be the fact that the members of the crew were of Latvian nationality and that thirty years after the conquest of their homeland by Russian forces, a Latvian crew of 250 on a Soviet warship decided that a mutiny for freedom was worth a risk.

Reminder For Beograd Conference

WYACL Conference Seul, Korea 1976

WHEREAS, The Seventh Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL) protests against the all-round suppression and exploitation of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Russian colonial empire, i. e. the Soviet Union and its satellites, and under other Communist dictatorships, especially against the subjugation and exploitation of the young people of the subjugated nations and against the persecution of their intellectual elite.

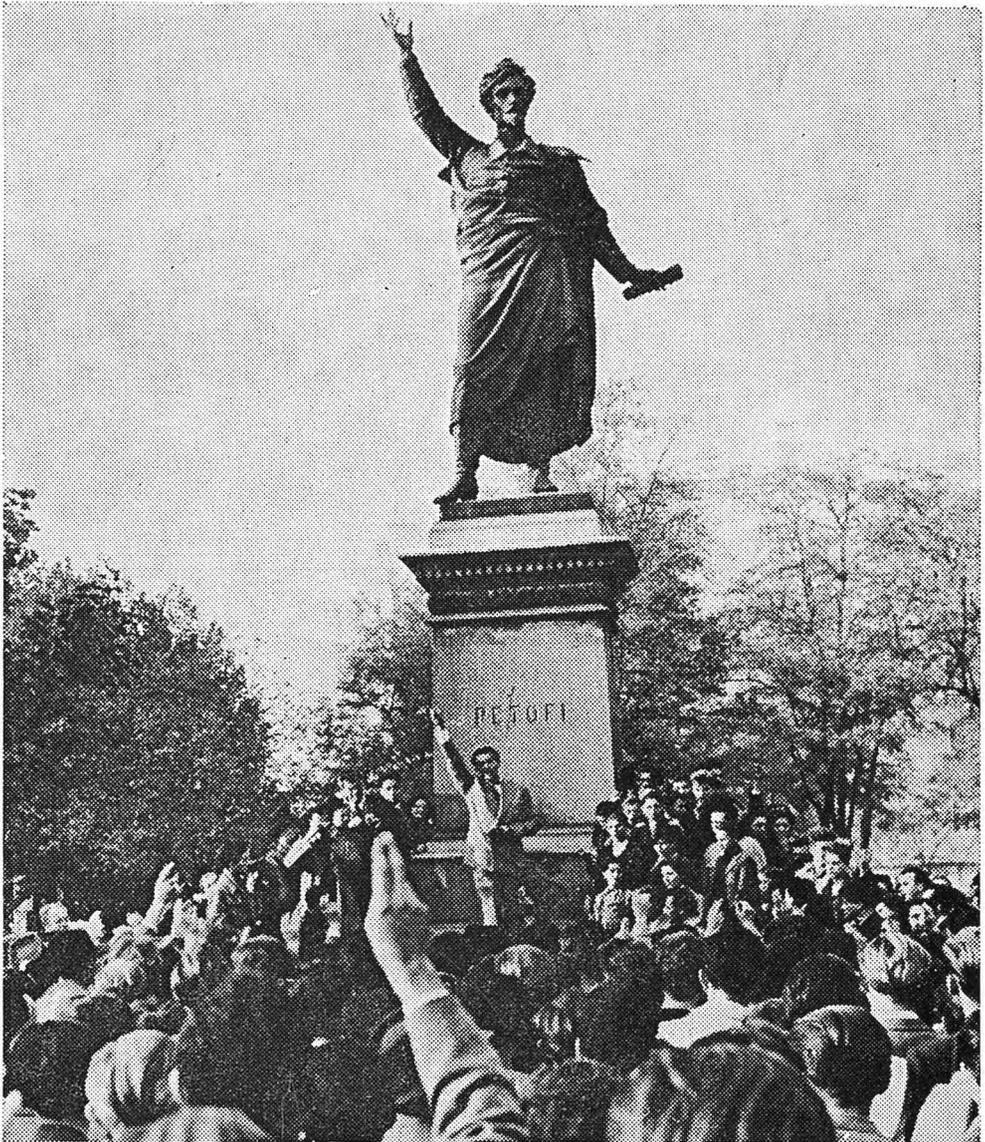
Whereas the Seventh WYACL Conference greets the suffering youth of the subjugated peoples as a vanguard of the revolutionary liberation struggle, expresses its full solidarity with the aims of this liberation struggle, in particular with the struggle for independence of the following nations: Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and others;

Let it be resolved that the Seventh WYACL Conference demands:

- a) The elimination of all Communist dictatorships.
- b) The disintegration of the Russian colonial empire and other forcefully created artificial state structures into independent national states within the ethnographic boundaries of the respective peoples at present subjugated.
- c) The reunification in freedom of all nations divided as the result of the Russian and Communist aggression.

The Seventh WYACL Conference advocates the establishment of a new international order in the world based on human dignity, freedom, independence and equality of rights of all peoples.

The Seventh WYACL Conference appeals to the youth of the free world to fight for the realization of these ideals and aims and to make sacrifices to achieve them as the youths of the subjugated peoples are doing.



Beginning of the Hungarian Revolution 1956: Youth Demand Freedom and Independence at Petőfi's Statue in Budapest.



ABN Conference in Manchester, Great Britain, 14 - 17, October, 1976.