

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Unknown
Artist From
Ukraine
Sends
Cristmas
And
New Year
Greetings

LIBRARY
of
Ukrainian Publishers
Ltd.

CONTENTS:	<i>Phylis Schlafly</i> (USA)	
	The Strategic Nuclear Balance	3
	<i>Yaroslav Stetsko</i> (Ukraine)	
	The Present Stage of the National Liberation Struggle of the Subjugated Nations	7
	<i>The British League for European Freedom</i>	
	The Reality of Peace and Security in Europe	16
	Cuba Did Not Have to Wait for Castro to Obtain Freedom	17
	<i>Roman Rakhmanny</i> (Canada)	
	Spirit under Oppression	18
	<i>Dr. B. Hayit</i> (Turkestan)	
	The Struggle between the Nationalism of the Subjugated Nations and the Chauvinism of Russians in the Soviet Union	20
	<i>Dr. J. Kaskelis</i> (Lithuania)	
	Life in Lithuania under Russian Occupation	25
	Svitlychny Transferred to Perm Concentration Camp	27
	Congressman Koch Attacks Russia for Dzyuba	29
	<i>D. Donskoy</i>	
	Moral and Political Revival	30
	Croatian Problem	37
	<i>Sl. S.</i>	
	Alerting News from Ukraine	38
	A Sovereign National State or "Self-Determination"?	40
	News and Views	42
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	45

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.

Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice
to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only
with indication of source (ABN-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to Deutsche Bank, Munich. Filiale Depositionskasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No. 30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), 8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon: 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.
Verantw. Redakteur Frau Slava Stetzko.
Erscheinungsort München.
Druck: Dr. J. Herp, München.

Message from Valentyn Moroz

Excerpt from Anatoly Radygin's Episodes
from Mordovian Concentration Camps

The "Chekists" made a mistake. Prisoners are strictly prohibited from accidentally meeting in the floor of the prison. However, this time something got broken in the well arranged mechanism. A door roared in the vestibule of block II and Valery Ronkin and I found ourselves face to face with a man wearing a stripy recidivist garment. A moment of consternation — then the two men recognized each other grievously, and both friends suddenly exclaimed: "Valery!" — "Valentyn!" They embraced each other for a short moment, but at once the furious, scowling jailers whispering frightfully (God prevent the chiefs from learning that such a meeting had taken place) tried to separate the two long time friends.

When the doors slammed behind both of us and the prisoner we met, respectively, Valery asked me whether I recognized the prisoner. I replied that I never met him before but that I had heard much about him, respected him without knowing him personally and pitied him; however, even I, having seen a lot during ten years of imprisonment, could hardly imagine that a man could be driven into such a state.

The man in question was Valentyn Moroz. Every Ukrainian undoubtedly knows his name. Probably every Ukrainian abroad has seen his portrait. These portraits no longer resemble him! The Moscovite policemen have taken care that this man's fine intelligent face and clever eyes will never again resemble that portrait. His meagre, terribly ill-looking face and the striped uniform strikingly and frightfully reminded me of the photographs of nearly finished off "Osventsim" victims. The prison garment was whirling around the body of this tall man just like around a thin wire carcass. Sparse bush-like hair on faded dry skin having a greenish parchment colour (dreadful to look at, like that of a mummy) surrounded his high forehead and his edged cheek-bones... His eyes... No, I can't possibly describe what I saw in those eyes in the few short minutes of our meeting.

Later on, we learned that Valentyn had been thrown into the ward next to ours. Osyb Terela who idolized Valentyn was particularly persistent. For a whole month we tried, disregarding danger, to get into touch

with Valentyn by knocking at the wall and calling, but the poor man had been bullied by denunciators and ward provocation agents to such an extent that, before he convinced himself we (and not agents speaking Ukrainian fluently) really were in the adjacent ward, he neither replied to our tapping nor took our notes from the hiding-places. He was so accustomed (if one can get accustomed at all) to daily "Chekist" provocations, blackmail and the ruthless constant inventiveness of the prison inquisitors that only after one month, having caught sight of us through an opening which happened not to be shut, he started to call back and exchange journals and notes with us. He did so, however, only when his ward-mate was away for an inquest, a medical visit or taking a walk. Then Valentyn was usually led alone past our ward and, having left behind his escort, he succeeded in whispering some phrase that we were awaiting, hidden behind the door.

I could hardly believe that he was the same determined, high-spirited and clever Moroz we knew from hearsay and from the excerpts of his books, that had reached us. We often heard cries and scuffle noise coming from his ward and tramping jailers of the "Buzkomanda" (operative appeasement group) storming the ward; somebody was dragged away somewhere and somebody was excessively complaining. Then it usually got quiet and the noise started all over again a few hours later.

In a few months I was supposed to be released and, therefore, I repeatedly asked Valentyn what message I should deliver. Pain-stricken as he was he frowned and insistently repeated: "Let people know only one thing: I am being retained together with insane people and my life is like hell! They are trying to make me mad just like those who are thrown into my ward. They are assassins and cannibals. I do not have any air to breathe!" This, using the same words, he repeated several times.

Thus I repeat, too: one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion approaching insanity. His present existence comprises a frightful mixture of hungry life in jail and the miserable existence in a room of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have completely lost their human look and have no national or social distinguishing features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and morally tortured day by day.

Remember this!

The Strategic Nuclear Balance

There is a joke making the rounds in Moscow that goes like this. When Stalin died, there was a clerical error at the Pearly Gates and he was mistakenly admitted to Heaven. In due course, he met St. Peter and said, "Things are really very dull here, with everyone so happy and free. I would like to have a look at Hell to see if it might be more to my taste."

St. Peter quickly granted this request and assigned an angel to escort Stalin down for a tour of Hell. When Stalin arrived there, he found Hell was a rather exciting place. — parties, young women, whiskey, and perpetual merriment.

When they returned to St. Peter, Stalin said: "If it's all the same to you I'd rather spend my time in Hell." St. Peter readily gave permission for Stalin to make the move, warning him, however, that there would be no chance to change his mind — the decision would be final. Stalin agreed to the condition.

The angel again escorted Stalin down below. This time, however, when they arrived, Hell looked the way it really is, full of fire and brimstone, evil-looking people, and pain. Stalin turned to the angel in astonishment and said, "But it wasn't like this when you brought me here before!"

The angel calmly replied as he departed: "Ah, Mr. Stalin, when you came before, you just had the guided tour."

When American community leaders and distinguished foreign visitors are told about US defenses, they are given the "guided tour". They are taken on visits to our Strategic Air Command headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska, to other air and naval bases, to our NORAD early-warning system headquarters in Colorado, and possibly to a Mi-

nuteman missile complex. Visitors cannot help but be impressed with the powerful weapons, expensive installations, instantaneous methods of communication, and splendid-looking officers who exude confidence. Visitors go away thinking America has powerful military defenses and that we have nothing to worry about.

Of course, America does have expensive (although obsolete) weapons. So also did France have her Maginot Line, prior to World War II. The question is, are America's weapons powerful and modern enough to protect the United States and her allies against the strategy and weapons of any potential aggressor? That is why our subject today is "The Strategic Nuclear Balance," or, How does America's strategic nuclear power weigh in the balance with the Soviet Union?

Tyrants and aggressors have dreamed of conquering the world from the beginning of history. In the past, that was always "Mission Impossible" because the world was too immense, the oceans too wide, the mountains too high, the people too numerous and unruly. It was simply impossible to raise, equip, feed, and transport an army able to conquer the known world.

Now, for the first time in history, nuclear weapons have given to would-be world conquerors the means of achieving their goal. Aggressors need no longer be restrained by oceans or mountains or distance or climate or transportation or personnel problems. Nuclear missiles can leap across the widest ocean, raining fire and destruction on any enemy target, however remote or populous. Submarines prowl the seas, carrying nuclear missiles which can hit any target with zero warning.

This is why the distinguished Hungarian-American scientist, Dr. Edward

Teller, has said that nuclear weapons do not mean the end of the world, but they do mean the end of non-nuclear power. Whether we like it or not, we are living in the nuclear/space age, and nuclear power is the force which counts more than everything else combined.

Let me give you one illustration of why this is so. Our bombings in South-east Asia have been carried out by American B-52 bombers. These B-52s each carry 27 1/2 tons of conventional bombs. Each bombing mission does quite a bit of damage.

Let us assume, for a moment, that one B-52 would have to fly in order to equal the explosive power which it could carry in just **one** mission if it carried **nuclear** bombs? Would you care to guess? Six months? Two years? Fifty years? How many days would a B-52 have to fly carrying **conventional** bombs in order to equal the explosive power it could carry in one mission with **nuclear** bombs?

The answer is, more than 2,000 years of days. Just imagine a B-52 starting to fly at the time of Christ, flying every day through all those centuries. How many times would the plane wear out and have to be replaced? How many crews would grow old and die?

That is almost as much explosive power as is contained in just one Soviet SS-9 missile; and Brezhnev has 300 of them, not counting another 1,318 ICBMs of lesser power.

This is the kind of power in the hands of the men in the Kremlin, who have never deviated from their goal of world conquest, and have repeatedly proclaimed their desire to assist "history" in eliminating the "capitalist/imperialists" so that Communist "peace" can reign triumphant. This is the kind of power in the hands of men who are not restrained from evil by honor, humanity, the Ten Commandments, treaties, the Golden Rule, or the Marquis

of Queensberry rules for a fair fight, but respect only force in the attainment of their goals.

The Soviet Plan for World Conquest

The year 1969 was the year when an American walked on the moon for the first time. It is obvious that such a feat did not "just happen." An achievement of such magnitude required a **plan** of appropriate vision, duration, and financing. First, the idea had to be dreamed of by scientists. Then, a strategy had to be adopted by the politicians: in 1961, President John F. Kennedy proclaimed our commitment to that objective. Then, the resources had to be allocated: Congress voted the funds. The space capsule and other equipment had to be proof tested, and finally produced. Eight years after President Kennedy's commitment, the moon walk finally took place.

The Soviet Communists have a long-range plan for world conquest. The launching of the first Sputnik in 1957 convinced Soviet scientists that nuclear power married to intercontinental rockets could be the key to fulfillment of their Communist dream. By 1960, the Soviet military elite had developed the strategy of the surprise nuclear strike as a means of sending the "capitalist/imperialists" to their grave.

We know this because the great Soviet intelligence agent, Colonel Oleg Penkovskiy, transmitted to the United States, through his British contact, Greville Wynne, at least 5,000 secret Kremlin documents which set forth this strategy in complete detail. He summarized these official military documents in these words:

"A future war will begin with a sudden nuclear strike against the enemy. There will be no declaration of war. Quite to the contrary, an effort will be made to avoid a declaration of war. When conditions are favorable for delivering the first nuclear strike, the So-

viet Union will deliver this strike under the pretense of defending itself from an aggressor. ... About 100 nuclear charges exploded in a brief period of time in a highly industrialized country... will suffice to transform all of its industrial areas and administrative-political centers into a heap of ruins, and the territory into a lifeless desert contaminated with deadly radioactive substances. ... This plan has been worked out in every detail and is on file in the General Staff. ... I know the extent of their preparations. I know the poison of the new military doctrine, as outlined in the top-secret 'Special Collections' — **the plan to strike first, at any costs.** ... Imagine the horror of a 50-megaton bomb. ..." [Emphasis added.]

Colonel Penkovskiy paid with his life for sending these documents to warn the West of the Kremlin's plans. The US Defense Department has never released these documents to the public, but admitted in writing on February 1, 1972, that they are "still extremely relevant to current Soviet strategic doctrine and war plans."

On January 6, 1961, Khrushchev made a lengthy speech entitled "For New Victories for the World Communist Movement", which was recognized throughout the world as a Soviet pronouncement of major importance. President Kennedy called it "a Red blueprint for eventual world domination". Looking back, we can see clearly that it marked the political approval and adoption of the Soviet strategy for a surprise nuclear attack on the United States. As the speech was to be circulated in the West, it was written in "Aesopian language", and the plan for a nuclear attack on the United States was disguised as a means of "preventing" the United States from attacking the USSR.

In October 1962, due solely to political pressure in an election year, our State Department was forced to send

a U-2 plane over Cuba to see if it were really true that Khrushchev had shipped nuclear missiles there. Our State Department did not believe this possible because Gromyko had **promised** President Kennedy that the Russians would not do such a thing. To the great surprise of the Kennedy Administration, the missiles were actually there and the result is known as the Cuban Missile Crisis. Most Americans still do not realize that those nuclear missiles were capable of killing millions of people everywhere in our country except in the far northwest.

Of course, only one factor forced Khrushchev to take his missiles off their Cuban launching pads. It was not due to the brilliance of our diplomats or the courage of our President. It was because General Thomas Power, Commander-in-Chief of our great Strategic Air Command, put all our B-52 bombers on airborne alert, armed with nuclear bombs; and he broadcast this alert out in the clear so that the Russians would be sure to get the message. At that time, we had approximately 50,000 megatons of nuclear delivery power, whereas the Russians had only 5,000 to 10,000 megatons. Khrushchev had no choice; he had to back down. America had overwhelming nuclear superiority — and the Russians knew we had it.

Since then, the Russians have been in a massive armaments program without parallel. Nothing in history can compare with the money and effort the Russians have poured into armaments since 1962. Even after overtaking and passing the United States, the Russians are continuing to spend more than 40 percent of their Gross National Product on armaments. The weapons which the Russians are building have **no** usefulness except to destroy or blackmail the United States.

In intercontinental ballistic missiles, those giant monsters which can cross the ocean in 30 minutes, the Soviets now have at least 1,618. This means

they have 3 ICBMs for every 2 that America has.

In addition to this clear superiority in numbers, the Soviets have a stunning superiority in explosive power, which is variously estimated at from 5-to-1 to 8-to-1. The Soviets have 300 SS-9 missiles, each of which carries 25 megatons (or 25 million tons) of explosive power. The United States has nothing comparable, or even nearly comparable.

The new 1973 edition of the most authoritative naval reference work in the world, **Jane's Fighting Ships**, published in London, states that the Soviet Union has made "staggering advances" during the past year, and now has the most powerful navy in the world. It cites particularly the new Soviet ballistic missile submarine, which will carry 4,000-mile-range missiles, a much greater range

than the best US submarine-launched missile. The number-2 official in the US Defense Department, Deputy Secretary William P. Clements, Jr., stated on April 13, 1973, that "Russian submarines are stationed off both United States coasts with atomic warheads targeted at every major city in the country".

In strategic bombers, the Soviets have test-flown a brand new **supersonic** bomber called the "Backfire", while the United States still relies on the old, **subsonic** B-52s, most of which are at least 15 years old and have developed "metal fatigue" from heavy use in Southeast Asia.

In addition, the Soviets have extensive, already-deployed antimissile defenses, and an excellent civil defense program.

(to be continued)

Long-Term Prisoner Dmytro Verkholyak

Ukrainian prisoner Dmytro Verkholyak, born in 1928, a hospital assistant by profession, is confined to a Russian concentration camp in Perm. He was arrested in 1948 for belonging to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and given the death sentence by the Russian occupation court. Later the death sentence was commuted to 25 years of hard labor in a concentration camp.

For many years D. Verkholyak performed difficult, exhausting work in a concentration camp in Potma. In that harsh camp, as the result of fatigue he suffered a heart attack and the doctors barely managed to save his life. After this serious illness Verkholyak was not able to do hard work and was declared an invalid of the second category. At that camp the Russian overseers were disturbed that the ailing Verkholyak does not perform hard labor. From the Potma concentration camp he was later transferred to a concentration camp in Perm. He was regularly subjected to cruel treatment

but was not given lighter work of hospital assistant in line with his profession.

What is more, in 1972 although his health had not improved very much, he was deprived of his invalid-of-the-second-category status and being a sick man was forced to do hard labor. Verkholyak was also forbidden to meet his wife, motivating this by the fact that he was married in church, and such marriages are considered illegal by the Soviet government.

It is hard to describe how much misfortune and harsh persecution was suffered by this man in the Russian death mills in the course of his stay at the camps. The Russian "humanists" not only treated him cruelly during his captivity, but knowing that his 25-year term of imprisonment is running to a close they demanded from him that after his release he does not return to his native Ukraine, for the sake of which he had endured such great suffering.

The Present Stage of the National Liberation Struggle of the Subjugated Nations

(Part Two)

Metaphysical and Ethical Concept of the Liberation Struggle

The facts of struggle are deeply rooted in its ideological and political motivation. It also determines the quality and the substance of freedom toward which the young fighters of the subjugated nations aspire. The struggle is neither being waged from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, nor from positions of philosophical materialism, but just the opposite. Two concepts of the world, two systems of value are clashing. This is no longer the question of "pure" and "betrayed" Communism, of "pure" and "betrayed" Marxism, but of Christian — or more broadly — of religious metaphysics and philosophy, of religious faith, of theism vs. atheistic materialism. This is the ideological and philosophical backbone of the struggle. It did not help any that in the textbooks of world history the Russians did not dedicate a single line to the greatest revolutionary event in world history: the birth of Christ, whose religion encompassed more than half a billion people. They also disregard other religions — Islam, Buddhism, Judaism — persecuting them as the "opium of the people". It is not an accident that the intellectual elite of Ukraine, for instance, cultivates the Christian philosophy of H. Skovoroda (1722-1794). This is what the young generation teaches: "God has created man... When there is no God, there are no people... Christians while building the kingdom of God have resurrected the dead spirituality... Happy are those who have God... The basis of morality is the idea of God and

the immortality of the soul... Spiritual life is the only genuine life... The Church, the bearer of the spirit, must be preserved... The main thing is to defend the Church..."

The young generation has reached the level of ontology. In the face of imposed Marxist materialism it would be a mistake to remain without an answer to the problem of man's origin and being.

Ethics motivated by religion has a lasting foundation. It is not by chance that one underground author in Ukraine writes: "We shall build the holy cathedral, send our spirit to heaven and it will stand for centuries... How much did our ancestors have to sacrifice while inculcating in their children human ideals, beliefs, selfless love of truth and respect for the God of their ancestors..."

"What have you created for your people in exchange for persistent agitation against religious beliefs and rites, ancient customs, traditions and holy days — i. e. all that which in the past a foreigner had to respect, if he wanted to show his respect for the people..."

Religion has been placed at the foundation of cultural creativity: "It is impossible to imagine traditional cultural treasures outside the Church... A struggle against the Church means a struggle against culture... How many times was the nation saved by the Church alone... Under the conditions (prevalent) in Eastern Europe, the Church was the only force independent of the government..."

"The apotheosis of Man as a creature like unto God and not a cog. How can

Stone-Age despotism be ingrained in the soul of a Ukrainian, who as early as the Middle Ages elected and deposed the Cossack chief, 'Koshovyy', and could himself become a 'Koshovyy' who gave birth to the philosophy of Skovoroda — a hymn to human individuality, with the maxim 'know thyself'... Philosophy for which the Ego is the basis of everything, even of the kingdom of God, and even God Himself is nothing other than the fully developed Ego. He who knows himself has found the desired treasure of God... The true man and God are one and the same!"

In the face of these and similar documentary revelations of the point of view of the young generation inside the subjugated nations, the Sovietologists of most of Western research institutes with their thesis about the "new" Communist and later even the "Soviet" man can declare their bankruptcy. For us, Sovietology is the study of lies and deception, the exposure of falsehood. Regrettably, this is not so for Western statesmen.

Fifty years must have done their job, maintain the Sovietologists, i. e., they must have re-educated man. But they forget that Christianity has been re-educating man for two thousand years and has not transformed him into an angel. Why should a diabolical system be more successful — provided such comparisons can be drawn at all?

The National Idea and the Heroic Concept of Life

To our regret, we cannot cite the authors' names, for some of them are languishing in prisons while others are still free. Nevertheless, the authenticity of all the quotations is guaranteed by our conscience.

A young 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

state 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 national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential questions of human conscience... Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself. Without nationalism there is no progress; without nationalism there is no nation... The liberation movement in the whole world — the most outstanding phenomenon of the present — is occurring under the banner of nationalism. More than half of mankind considers it as its banner..."

The late Vasyl Symonenko, a poet of Ukraine, most likely killed by the KGB ten years ago, at the age of 29, called: "My nation exists! My nation will always exist! Nobody will eradicate my nation!" Or: "Be silent Americas and Russias, when I speak with you (Ukraine)!"

Lev Lukyanenko, a young lawyer condemned to death (later commuted to 15 years of hard labor), declared in Moldavia: "If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine..."

A young Estonian prisoner in Moldavia proudly says, "Do you know Estonia is one thousand years old. Once, here were sixty Estonians and Estonia survived. Estonia has survived in camps as well". And on one occasion, presenting a bouquet to a representative of the government, which when unwrapped turned out to be a mesh of barbed wire a prisoner shouts: "Long live free Estonia!" — and then all know that the prisoner is an Estonian." This incident from camp life is related by Prof. Osadchyi, sentenced to 10 years after already having served two years of imprisonment, in the essay "Catar-

act". "The Ukrainian Kalynets — poet sentenced to 12 years — creates a new model of the world — says the brave Latvian poet Knut Skuenis..." a prisoner in a Mordovian concentration camp himself.

Or Ali Khashahulhov, a North Caucasian (Ingushet) sentenced as a young boy for anti-Russian nationalist (Ingushet) activity says mournfully: "If our nation does disappear, a skeleton of a wolf will harden high up in the mountains. Of a giant wolf. This will be the last wolf of the world. Wolf means the native land, its symbol, its flag. When the Ingushets were deported to Kazakhstan during the war, the wolves also disappeared from the Waynakh hills. The wolves could not live without the Ingushets, who were deprived of their fatherland. The wolves did not wish to become a flag for foreigners... If I knew, says Ali, that my languages would die tomorrow, I would die today..."

The wolf and the native land... The Russians — foreigners. Where can one find Bolshevik "successes" here? These are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of Communist Sovietism and the Russian "older brother" theory.

"If Yurko — the son of Gen. R. Shukhevych — commander-in-chief of the UPA — had denounced his father he would be in the Crimea long ago..." "Go away, scoundrel", says Yurko to an overseer from the KGB who tries to talk him into signing a statement renouncing his father; "go away or I'll send you to a mausoleum"... And his father told him: 'You grow up, it is not yet certain what will happen in your lifetime'... And since the age of 14, Yurko has languished for his father for 19 years already in camps of severe regime (1968)..." After serving his 20-year sentence, Yurko Shukhevych was sentenced anew on September 9, 1972, to 15 years!

The young people have revived, have renewed themselves, have gained

new life. They have grasped the great idea and revived faith in it.

"A nation is a temple, the desecration of which constitutes the greatest crime... Let the tenth part of a nation remain, but with full-valued spirituality — this is not yet fatal. A whole willow grove grows from a piece of a full-valued willow twig. We live in the spontaneously irrational, in the depths, by roots alone which continuously sprout but rarely reach normal blossom", says one of the greatest heroes in the field of cultural creativity — Valentyn Moroz, convicted to 14 years. "Denationalization is deheroization... De-Christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, mass resettlements from village to city — all this constituted a destruction unprecedented in Ukraine's history of traditional Ukrainian structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed..."

This formula summarizes the position of the young generation as far as its program and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality. "An individual who respects, knows and loves the history of his nation — lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people, his land... The nation is immortal, it will live... Know yourself in your people..."

The young generation is captivated by the heroism of its ancestors. It gave rise to legends which were revived by the young people: "Legends which cultivate and raise our spirit above this abyss, writes a young author... Legends about the transmigration of souls, contemplation of the soul's immortality, legends about the continuity of the kin, about the immortality of a people... We are speaking about the legend of the nation's eternity..."

The entire class theory, Marxism, Sovietism with its theory of the traditionless "Soviet" people, the world proletariat, of the withering away of nations, the class struggle, are useless!

Traditions of the Subjugated Nations and Their Own Way of Life

In their literary, historical, philosophical and sociological works, the young persecuted authors express the following views: "The past is our greatest treasure, a spiritual shield, a highly tested experience. An individual with just the present is like a tree without roots... We deposit into the immortal national treasury our very best and take from it as much as one can... We pour ourselves as a drop into its (national) sea and think about the eternity of the sea..." And an underground author makes a typical assertion: "Our nation did not follow the older brother (the Russian people — Y. S.) but chose a difficult, thorn-covered spiritual path — but ITS OWN..."

"The past is our treasure, the roots, the veins which nourish us with sap, and without which we shall disperse and wither... The knowledge of the PAST gives us an opportunity to perceive more profoundly our nation and ourselves in it..."

The young generation discovers the road of reawakening in the struggle for the assertion of its own values. It declares, "The present events in Ukraine are also a turning-point: the ice of fear which firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking..."

"Spiritual slavery — says another author — is the greatest national calamity; prosperity makes a man neither great nor happy. What does it all weigh in comparison with freedom, with life for which you strive, and with the right to think! Wealth is to be found within ourselves, and not in money, property or deeds.... CONSCIENCE IS THE WORST TORTURE ..."

"No matter where you go — writes still another author — there are foreign bayonets... the Russians stand in regiments. The stronger think, strive to

counteract evil... The weaker — only pray... We have no right to die as long as our people live in slavery... The earth will not receive us, will throw us out..."

In the face of Brezhnev's neo-Stalinist terror, also toward the creators of cultural values, such a mighty: "But, why do they now fear the WORD more than hundreds of swords?... The bonfires... were turning into ashes, concealing every spark for the conflagrations to come, which will yet raise the flames as crimson banners and herald the Great Day... All of us are precursors... The Messiahs will follow in our footsteps... They cannot help coming... Nothing is permanent in the world, including falsehood... The Messiah will come soon and through his sufferings save the people and their freedom..."

Persecution, suffering and death is the road which leads toward resurrection.

"Jesus was seized... And crucified... And He rose for ever in the hearts of the unfortunate... We are but precursors..." say the Unsubdued of our days about themselves. We live in the pre-revolutionary era in the Russian prison of nations and individuals, a colossus on clay feet, a colossus on a volcano.

And today our purpose is to point out to its weak spots in order to help liberate the free world from the fear of a rabbit hypnotized by a boa constrictor.

"Tyrants love tears and repentance, while somebody's uncrushed dignity is the same for them as a knife in the heart!

"Without freedom, comrades, there is no soaring, no creativity", declares another young writer.

Just as in the early stages of Christianity, the enemy-tyrant is afraid of the WORD, that is, of ideas and of the faith backing it. The thermonuclear age is an ideological age and requires an ideological struggle.

The Truth Is Dead Without Its Carriers

Truth does not triumph of itself. It triumphs when its carriers are ready to sacrifice their lives for it. The problems of Man, characters, examples, symbols, apostles, the alternatives of government — is a matter of no lesser significance.

The unbroken Valentyn Moroz, himself a banner of Man and Nation, writes that in I. Dzyuba's book the people "did not search for arguments, they searched there for FAITH, for a charge of infatuation. Outwardly it seems that an individual is first being convinced, and then he begins to believe. In reality, the opposite is true: first a person flares up, becomes infected with faith and only then are arguments selected for a ready-made conviction. What is IMPORTANT IS TO BELIEVE, THE ARGUMENTS WILL FIND THEMSELVES... No apostle has ever converted anyone by arguments. Not a single spiritual revolution had occurred without apostles. Contemporary renaissance is also impossible without them..."

And on January 10th, 1965, in a speech delivered in Kyiv on the occasion of V. Symonenko's 30th birthday, Ivan Dzyuba urged: "The people are not waiting for anything so much as for a living example of heroic public conduct... The people need this example... and today such heroic actions are possible, and today as ever, the madness of the courageous is the wisdom of life... And today, or perhaps today as never before, one can and one ought to fight... There are epochs when decisive battles are fought in the sphere of social morality, public conduct, when even the elementary human dignity resisting brutal terror can become a revolutionary force. Our age also belongs to such epochs..."

And Valentyn Moroz continues: "It is possible to have great spiritual treasures, but they simply will not be noticed if they are not taken by an IN-

FATUATED person and melted down in the furnace of his infatuation... Contemporary Ukraine needs apostles, not accommodators, not realists with their 'arguments'. Not one spiritual revolution has taken place without apostles... If we want to be Ukrainians, let us fear a 'realist' like fire... Ukraine is a flower which has grown among the snows... An idea is not enough. An idea is bare and dry — what is needed is its living embodiment..."

"The truth is known — what is needed is faith... Faith needs absolute truth, dogmas. Dogmas — says V. Moroz — are gladly criticized by all, and this is understandable in our reality, but while pursuing this petty occupation they somehow failed to notice that an individual without any dogmas, an individual who does not believe in anything, has become the main danger. Nihilism has set in — a product of mass culture... In a human being the technical function is being developed hypertrophically at the expense of the spiritual and this for some reason is called progress."

"... Let us look at national history" — writes a young philosopher of history currently in prison — "had not those become its heroes who with a child's smile have passed over abysses and have raised highest the spirit of NATIONAL IMMORTALITY? Have not the practical, the down-to-earth and the ill-adjusted been forgotten..., who ridiculed the Don Quixotes. For legends are created by a Don Quixote, who glances with a fiery look beyond the summits of life. And the rash Don Quixotes become heroes of folk tales and national history... But the people collect the traces of the great, often futile, efforts of a Don Quixote, into a legend singing praises to the madness of the courageous..."

When I. Dzyuba issued a statement of repentance, V. Moroz declared to the court: "Well, we shall fight. Just now, when one has signed a statement of repentance, another one reclassified him-

self as a translator — just now it is necessary for someone to give an EX-AMPLE OF FIRMNESS... The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind bars is not easy for anyone. But not to respect oneself — this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

As can be seen from the facts of direct struggle, the subjugated nations possess those who believe in the idea of national liberation, its apostles and carriers. Therefore, neither the idea nor its carriers can be killed anymore.

The Contrasting Worlds

In 1825 Herzen wrote, "Centuries of serf dependence were not able to eradicate everything independent and poetical in the celebrated Ukrainian nation. It has more individual development, more local coloring than we (the Russians); in our country the ill-fated uniform carelessly covers national life. Our people has no knowledge of its history, while every village in Ukraine has its own legend. The Russian people know only Pugachev and the year 1812."

And in 1971 the **Ray of Freedom**, I/71, an uncensored Russian periodical criticizing "The Program of the Democratic Movement" of the USSR of Sakharov and Co., said that "the Russian people is the only one in history which destroyed its genuine intelligentsia or permitted it to be destroyed, in 1918-1921, 1928-1931, 1937-1939. The people as a whole are philistine slaves who often idealize their slavery and are at the same time capable of being cruel tyrants. If we were to establish a democratic order, then filled with vengeful hatred toward their 'nachalniks' of yesterday and contempt for today's 'soft' government, they would start a vicious, bloody orgy, as was the case in 1917-1921. And then the newly-emerged political adventurers, playing upon the evil passions of the mob, will thrust aside the 'slaverers' democrats in order

to institute a new tyranny, with a new evolution of terror and cruelties in the course of decades..."

"The traits of the Russian Church: cringing before the state... Inactivity and non-resistance to evil... Religious egoism and anti-sociality... At this time, can voices of protest of the clergy be heard against the harassment of the dissidents? Do we hear anything about self-immolations, hunger-strikes, demonstrations, attacks on illegality, arbitrariness, imperialism, the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, the persecution of religion and so forth?

"In the country half the population is non-Russian having its own interests and expectations... The question must be raised... concerning the realizations of the right to separation of developed (?! — Y.S.) peoples into independent states... In our everyday life there is alcoholism, sexuality, epicureanism... In the event of the first hard test there is repentance, testimony against friends... Dobrovolskiy against Ginsburg and Galanskov, Zinov'yeva against Pimenov and so forth. A moral and political renaissance is needed... cultivation of moral purity in oneself... spiritual depths... unyielding courage... indestructible energy..."

Fearing unity of the national and the Christian ideas, **Robitnicha gazeta** of March 13, 1973, wrote: "Priest and former Uniate (Ukrainian Catholic) monks... attempt to conduct illegal religious activities... disseminate... religious leaflets, small calendars and prayer-books with anti-Soviet and anti-Communist contents... urge (people) not to work in Soviet institutions, refuse to accept passports, military cards and other Soviet documents."

The Road to Liberation

The spiritual and moral revolution is a real fact. It is a precondition of a political revolution. The national political revolution is unconquerable provided it grows out of the traditional original

elements of spirituality and sociality of a given nation. Synchronization of the national and social revolution is a guarantee of its success. Cultural revolutions do not occur because culture is created in the course of centuries. What occurs are the culturally political revolutions, i. e. a forceful removal of the enemy occupant, who makes impossible the development of national culture from the nation's own traditional historic roots.

Now a particular struggle is being waged in the cultural sphere, for it is a battle for the national and human soul. Before the soldiers take to arms, a revolution is staged by poets and artists. There was Shevchenko before the year 1918 in Ukraine. Without Petöfi and his brilliant revolutionary songs and deeds, there would not have been a Kossuth. Without Mickiewicz and Slovacki, there would not have been a Pilsudski. Nevertheless, parallel to this struggle of ideas, including armed clashes and mass demonstrations, strikes, and resistance to a hostile occupation and system in life generally.

A consequence of this is the inclusion of the spokesman of the extensive police and terror apparatus, Andropov, and that of Bonapartism, Marshall Grechko, in the highest party organ. The presence of Gromyko in that body testifies to the success of the policy of weakening the West. This policy also furthers the intensification of terror inside the country. Brezhnev (Party) and Kosygin (administration), Andropov (KGB), Grechko (the military), Shelepin (trade unions) and so forth — all organized forms of violence are united in the highest body of the party. Their chief aim is to save the empire from revolts of the subjugated nations. Re-Stalinization, intensified Russification, mass imprisonment of fighters for national and human rights, national and cultural genocide, linguicide, modernized methods of terror; psychiatric clinics, chemical and medical means of breaking an individual's willpower, the

use of arms in crushing national and social resistance, as well as open revolt of the masses (e. g. Lithuania) — all this characterizes the era of Brezhnev.

Counting for national and religious rights on reformism, evolution, the "human" face of Communism, constitutionalism and democratization from above has proved disappointing. Those who fought for the fulfillment of rights guaranteed by the constitution are behind bars.

There is noticeable one basic difference between dissidents and fighters for national rights, between reformists and nationalists. The former strive to repair the existing empire and system; the latter wish to topple it by reestablishing independent national states. For this reason many of the former belong to the so-called third Russian emigration, while the latter are either executed or languish in concentration camps for 15, 20 and some even for 35 years, as the Ukrainian nationalist Oleksa Bilskyi, imprisoned since the age of 19 now in Potma, who went blind while in prison. Oleksa Bilskyi, 55, is suffering imprisonment solely for his nationalistic views, for which he refuses to repent.

The appearance upon the surface of life of DARING individuals who stand up for their convictions, defend human and national rights and risk their own lives and freedom — all this is of crucial importance. Of course, if the struggle were limited only to the forms and methods employed by them, it would have no prospects. It must always be borne in mind that these figures could have appeared only on the foundation of the twofront struggle of the UPA-OUN, the Lithuanian insurgents, the nationwide resistance of the Georgian, Turkestani, Armenian, North Caucasian, Azerbaijani and other nations.

The underground organizations continued to exist and still exist. Some were short-lived, others not. The OUN in Ukraine and anywhere else where

Ukrainians live is constantly active in the underground.

If the essence of an underground revolutionary organization is primarily ideological unity and political guidelines for action, and afterwards only in the last rank technical contacts for the sake of following these guidelines, which to a large extent can be done openly then it is impossible to destroy it. If our concept of liberation is not a palace revolt but a general revolt of nations, then the guideline for their mobilization must be transmitted openly. A description of mass armed action in Novocherkask, Nalchik or Tiflis broadcasted over the radio constitutes a guideline for analogous actions in Dnipropetrovsk, Tashkent or Kaunas and vice versa. In such actions, new leaders emerge. Underground organizations provide an **ALTERNATIVE AUTHORITY** to that of the occupant. It is also created by **LEADERS** of spirit and action who have come to the fore openly. This results in the occupant's attempts to force statements of repentance and to discredit the underground as a foreign agency in order to do away with **SYMBOLS**, with **ALTERNATIVE** leadership, with the **ALTERNATIVE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS' SOVEREIGN RULE**.

In order to prevent the enemy from resorting to his wicked techniques of deception, the Lithuanian heroes took out medical certificates prior to their self-immolations attesting that they are **MENTALLY** healthy. Such instances of courage as that of the young student-worker Kalanta, or student Palach, of the fighter of UPA-OUN Makukh are rare in history.

In the main, the liberation movements of the subjugated nations are nationwide movements. This is confirmed by those who appeared in the West, particularly the Jews; the Ukrainian nationalist movement, the movement of the Georgians, Lithuanians, Turkestani, Tatars, Jews, Byelorussians, Estonians,

Latvians... Before our very eyes, the liberation movement of the Croats — the struggle of an entire nation for its independence.

The 1972 disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk (Ukraine), Nalchik (North Caucasus), Kaunas (Lithuania), Moldavia, Tashkent and Bukhara (Turkestan) and in 1973 in Tiflis (Georgia) and Erivan (Armenia) and earlier along the Don (Cossackia), or the toppling of Gomulka in 1971 following a workers' revolt, the student disturbances in Budapest in 1973, the posture of the Czechs and Slovaks who have not given up their struggle for independence in 1968 and later the Bulgarians and Rumanians who resolutely combat imposed Communism just as the Poles do or the Germans who perish at the Berlin Wall prove that the liberation movements of the subjugated nations are not only movements of the intelligentsia but of the people in general. The fact that the young intellectual elite is united in a common front with workers and collective farmers is a guarantee of the invincibility of the popular revolution of nations. In his book "Will the USSR Survive the Year 1984?", Andrei Amalrik mentions that out of 134 signatures protesting imprisonments in Kyiv, 25% were those of workers.

"Glory! Glory! Glory!" shouted the crowd which filled the entire Pekarska street in Lviv (this occurred throughout the five days). Flowers were tossed to us. They fell on the metal roof of the car, through a crack in the door upon us. When we proceeded to the court building, we walked on a carpet of fresh spring flowers..." writes M. Osadchyi about the trial of the cultural leaders (**Cataclysm**, p. 42).

Without discrediting anybody's struggle for freedom we would like to recall that in Moscow only several persons demonstrated against the sentence passed on Bukovsky, the majority of them being Jews...

The world-renowned Estonian declaration of the spokesmen of national freedom about the fact that all three Baltic states are resolutely in favor of independence, that Marxism is bankrupt, while Christianity is invincible, that the time will come when tanks will not be marching on Prague or Bratislava but on Moscow or Leningrad, proposes the only realistic road to liberation — the armed struggle. (To Expect or to ACT?)

The maneuvers of WVD troops in the fall of 1970 held near Moscow under the motto "Crushing Revolts in Concentration Camps" point to the preparations of the occupant for a confrontation with its greatest threat. Vasyl Symonenko points to armed struggles as the only road to liberation. "Oh Kurd, save your cartridges, but do not spare the life of killers!... CONVERSE WITH THEM WITH BULLETS ... Oh, Kurd, save your cartridges. Without them you won't be able to protect your kin!"

There is no path to liberation other than the simultaneous national liberation revolutions of nations subjugated in the USSR and the guerrilla strategy is the only realistic one. Nuclear bombs cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, for this is tantamount to the occupants' committing suicide. The greater the growth of classical military technology, the greater becomes the significance of armed people, the "primitive" method of warfare. On the heels of the general call for further development of conventional arms, there will come a time when voices will be raised in support of uprisings inside the empire of tyrants, as a way of avoiding a nuclear war.

In the nuclear age ideological, psychological and political warfare is becoming more intensive. In military technology and strategy, this is reflected by guerrilla warfare. Both Moscow and Peking are aware of this. This awareness, however, is still lacking among the official circles of the West.

The processes of development inside the subjugated countries normally proceed along the lines of popular uprisings and a joint front of the captives against their captors. It was not by chance that while in a concentration camp, a young Ukrainian poet dedicated to Jan Palach his poem "about a virgin killed by the occupants in Golden Prague".

Another dedicated his poems to Georgia, Latvia, Moldavia, Byelorussia and still another wrote:

"If you want your nation to be free, express solidarity with those who are liberating themselves and you will find support among them..."

The invincibility of the spirit and a joint front of struggle of the subjugated is a guarantee of victory.

"Long live free Ukraine" — said Vasyl Makukh;

"Long live independent Lithuania!" — said Romas Kalanta;

"It is better to die in flames, than to live under the Russian yoke!" — shouted Czech Jan Palach.

How deeply were they inspired by an idea when they were capable of this kind of a sacrifice?!



An open letter from John Braine

When our freedom has gone it will be too late to do anything about it. One of two ways in which we can act now is by helping those behind the Iron Curtain, who have the courage to protest. They ask that we should listen to them and pass their message on. If we don't do this then we and our children will pay dearly for it. It is our sacred duty to help our comrades — and let us call them comrades and put an end to the communist monopoly of the word.

In helping them we help ourselves.

John Braine

The Reality of Peace and Security in Europe

Western Governments may co-operate with the Soviet Government in their tactic of detente and peaceful co-existence in the belief that they are buying time and security for non-Communist Europe. Thinking people in the West however, and those suffering under Soviet Russian, Yugoslav and other Communist tyrannies live under no such delusions and know only too well that the reverse is the truth. If Western Governments do not stand firm against the smooth talk and blandishments of the Kremlin, not only will the fate of the subjugated East European nations including the nations in the USSR be sealed, but Russian expansionism will march steadily forward.

A pre-requisite, therefore, to lasting peace in Europe **must** be the liberation of the subjugated nations from imperialist Communist Russia.

The 1973 London conferences of the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations clearly showed their understanding of the reality of the situation as the following highlights from some of the speeches demonstrate: —

1. "The real youth revolution is behind the Iron Curtain"

2. "Human rights denied to our subjugated brothers in Russian Empire are denied also to us; for a man cannot be free unless the people of which he is part are also free"

3. "Russian chauvinism is directly opposed by non-Russian nationalism in the USSR"

4. "The subjugated nations in the Russian Empire are natural allies of the free world, and form the first line of defence in any war with Russia"

5. "Security in Europe is an impossibility while Russia is threatened by violent internal national revolutions"

6. "Strong national revolutionary liberation movements within the USSR hinder Russian imperialist aims"

7. "There can be no lasting peace or co-existence between tyranny and freedom"

8. "Kremlin tyrants who globetrot in the guise of peacemakers deceive only wishful thinkers and fools"

9. "Western trade with the USSR is maintaining tyranny there, preventing economic collapse, and financing Russian imperialist expansion"

We all know the appalling results of appeasing Adolf Hitler in 1938. Can we possibly now pretend that detente with the arch-communist despot Leonid Brezhnev in 1973 will achieve anything less than disaster for the whole European continent?

THE FREE WORLD HOLDS SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE TOGETHER!

The Russian Communist Empire would collapse from within if the free world withheld food supplies, industrial/technological knowhow and financial assistance!

Dr. Antony C. Sutton, Fellow of the famous Hoover Institute on War, Peace and Revolution at Stanford University, USA spent ten years researching Soviet technology. His evidence is carefully documented in three massive volumes entitled "Western technology and Soviet economic development" from which the following are a few of the many facts uncovered.

"There is no such thing as Soviet technology. Almost all — perhaps 90-95 per cent — came directly from the United States and its Allies. In effect, the United States and NATO countries have built the Soviet Union and its industrial and military capabilities... It has been achieved through trade and the sale of plant, equipment and technical assistance..."

"The Soviets have the largest iron and steel plant in the world. It was built By McGree Corporation, and is a

copy of the United States steel plant in Gary, Indiana. All Soviet iron and steel technology comes from the United States and its Allies."

"The Soviets have the largest marine in the world — about 6,000 ships... About two-thirds were built outside the Soviet Union, and fourfifths of their engines were manufactured outside the Soviet Union... Those built inside the USSR are built with foreign technical assistance."

The Russian Communist Empire only became viable because of the infusion of massive Western economic aid through certain international finance houses. When the Soviet grain harvest failed so disastrously in 1971, it was Dr. Henry Kissinger who recommended

that President Nixon should come to their aid with a loan of \$ 700 million, thus enabling the Russians to take one third of American wheat reserves. More recently the Commission of the European Economic Community has subsidised large butter exports to the USSR at give-away prices.

Every citizen in the free world must insist that non-communist Governments take every possible step to prevent further economic and other assistance to the Russian Communist Empire, until such time as its leaders conform to the UN Declaration of Human Rights and release their captives — the subjugated European peoples.

**The British League
for European Freedom 1973/4**

Cuba Did Not Have to Wait for Castro to Obtain Freedom

(Excerpts from the remarks of Ambassador Joseph John Jova (USA) at the March 21, 1973 session of the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States.)

Cuba did not have to wait for Mr. Castro in order to obtain its freedom. Cuba's freedom was obtained first through the efforts of its own people, not only of its men, of its soldiers, but of its civilians and even of its women and its children. I'd be very glad to provide for the record some old letters that are in my possession, about the work of the Cuban patriots during the Ten Years War of the nineteenth century, where the Cuban women fought almost as hard as the Cuban men. I am happy to express once again my admiration for the women of Cuba although fortunately, this time at least, no slighting allusions have been made against them. In Cuba after that, there was still another war for independence and in this the Cubans again fought — and without any Mr. Castro whose ancestors were sitting in Spain at that moment — fought fiercely for their independence. The United States did not intervene in that war to help Cuba.

Our devotion to liberty and to Cuba actually brought us into a conflict which we regretted then and which we regret even more over the years, into a conflict with Spain with which basically we had no quarrel; with Spain, a country which actually had assisted us in obtaining our own independence in the previous century. I am happy to make note of that here in the presence of the Spanish Observer.

Thus, Cuba obtained its independence — true, with American assistance — and after that it was fully independent and it was moreover a member — it still is actually a member — but then in pre-Castro days an active member, a respected member of this Organization where Cuban delegations over the years held positions of leadership and helped to create history inside this Organization. Thus, I must take objection to the references made to Cuba, only under Mr. Castro, having liberated itself from the United States.

Spirit under Oppression

I remember him clearly. He was five when the Nazis were ravaging Ukraine.

Oblivious of danger, barefoot, care-free, Ihor Kalynets would chase the frisky, impudent hares through the golden-tinged fields under a genial blue sky. Or, making himself useful (as he thought), he threw pebbles like marbles at the crows which from the tree tops were keeping an optimistic lookout for small stray fowl...

Now Ihor is 34, a poet and in a Soviet jail.

Those Europeans who formed (under the patronage of the Nobel Prize laureate René Cassin, in June 1971) an international committee for the defense of human rights in the USSR, claim that the Soviet "hard labor camps" alone hold over one million men and women.

Unaccounted

In his paper presented to the plenary session held in Brussels last February, Professor Peter Reddaway of the London School of Economics, also pointed out that very large numbers of prisoners are being kept in jails, psychiatric wards and areas of compulsory settlement. These, both in European and Asiatic Russia, are not accounted for.

In that nightmarish phantom category are Ihor and his wife Iryna.

Tried secretly and separately under the cover-all charge of being a party to "anti-Soviet propaganda", they were sentenced to six and nine years' imprisonment respectively plus three years in exile each.

Their infant daughter is being taken care of by relatives whose fate is as uncertain as that of any Soviet citizen linked in any way to a person under the "temporary care of the police authorities".

What "crime" have the Kalynets committed?

Could it have been Ihor's boyish chase of a nationalized hare in one of Ukraine's kolkhozes?

The poet's "crime" was compounded by his love for Ukraine and his openly expressed desire to promote a three-dimensional concept of Ukrainian identity in a society where everybody is obliged, at least to pretend, to be one-dimensional — a non-entity.

Ihor, one of the more talented Ukrainian poets, is read both in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian diaspora.

Tradition meshes in his verses with the contemporary aspirations of Ukraine's youth: Their longing for uncensored self-expression in art and everyday life... their claim for human rights of Ukraine without discrimination, and for national independence.

These are all legitimate aspirations and pursuits even in the USSR — at least on paper.

Kalynets' poems, however, reached their readers through longhand, private transcripts in the pre-Gutenberg tradition rather than from being processed by the official printing presses.

His two collections of poetry, "stalled" or rejected by Soviet censors, have been published abroad. They are available in North America.

Born in Prison

The earlier collection of poems, entitled "The Opening of a Christmas Theatre", is enhanced by woodcuts — the work of a young artist born in prison, Bohdan Soroka, who somehow developed his talent in concentration camps.

His father, the architect Mykhaylo Soroka, died before completing his 25-year term, in the hard-labor camp of Dubrovlag, Russia, last year.

Some recent immigrants to Israel from the Soviet Union (Avraam Shifrin, for example), remember Soroka as a

man of integrity and a defender of prisoners' rights in Vorkuta and other places of detention.

Kateryna Soroka (Mykhaylo's wife and Bohdan's mother) was recently released from the same hard-labor camp after her own 25-year term.

Although she was kept in a camp close to the plot in which her husband Mykhaylo has been buried, she was not informed of his death.

Just a Number

Only a number — not name — marks his grave. Months later, prisoners brought the wife the news from another camp, says the Russian-language "Kronika", an uncensored news bulletin circulating clandestinely in the USSR.

Thus, the arrest and the nine-year-term of compound imprisonment of Ihor Kalynets' wife is no exception in the country which officially, every March, celebrates Women's Day.

But what puzzles an observer of the Soviet scene is the lack of justification for her sentence.

Iryna Kalynets' "crime" consisted of her giving moral support to her Husband's ideas about the preservation of the identity of the Soviet Ukrainian, a citizen of the empire of the one-dimensional.

She had compassion for the Ukrainian patriots (intellectuals, workers, and kolkhoz peasants) imprisoned by "authority". She also dared express her indignation in such cases as that of historian Valentyn Moroz.

Poems for Moroz

Moroz's name is known to many Canadians. It was brought to the attention of Canada's parliamentarians and its government in 1971, in connection with two diplomatic visits — Prime Minister Trudeau's to the Soviet Union and Premier Kosygin's to Canada.

A strong humanist, Valentyn Moroz was imprisoned for the second time in the autumn of 1970. The terms: 12 years imprisonment and banishment from Ukraine.

According to recent reports, some unidentified common criminals allegedly with the connivance of the authorities of the Vladimir prison in Russia, set upon him with knives.

As to the esteem in which this defender of human rights is held by the young Ukrainians, witness the lines dedicated to Moroz by Ihor Kalynets in his more recent collection of poems. They read:

I wish this book were to you,
for an instant least,
Veronica's cloth on the road to
Calvary.

I wish this book,
like Veronica's cloth, reminded us
of the grace
of your face.

Taking the key from Ihor Kalynets' verse, I too wish I could reach readers with the following words:

A Patriot

Ihor Kalynets does not remember me. I never saw his wife. I did not meet Bohdan Soroka. He was born and grew up in captivity. I know however, his mother when she was a student and already a Ukrainian patriot.

But writing about them today in Canada, I perhaps immodestly wish this article were like St. Veronica's cloth to my fellow North Americans, reminding them of those striving to retain their spirit under oppression.

(This article was published in the Saturday November 3rd, edition of The Montreal Star.)

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

The Struggle between the Nationalism of the Subjugated Nations and the Chauvinism of Russians in the Soviet Union

(Part Two)

Soviet propaganda insistently asserts that the Communist leaders in Russia have succeeded in solving the national problem of the former Russian empire. This of course, is a delusive manoeuvre since in reality the national question has not been solved in the Soviet Union, but rather is still awaiting a solution.

The Soviet way of solving the national question of course implies Moscow's rule over the captive peoples, which, however, bears no relation whatsoever to the true national free way of life and to international cooperation. In our opinion the national question can only be solved if each nation has the possibility to decide, without any external interference, its own way of life by setting up its own state and a democratic administration of this state. The non-Russian nations did not get any chance to freely express their will. Consequently the national question was "solved" according to the concepts of the regime and of Russian chauvinism, but by no means, according to the wishes of the nations concerned.

Even at present the national problems within the Soviet Union constitute an acute and vital issue in the USSR. This is confirmed by the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the statements made by Communist leaders in Moscow.. Brezhnev's speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR also clearly shows that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union still worries about the manifestations of nationalism — the non-Russian peoples' demanding their national rights.

The goal of the Soviet Russian leaders in determining the life and future of the subjugated nations is first to bring about the mutual approaching (sblizhenie) of the so-called socialist nations and then fuse them into one Soviet nation (slivanie). The Soviet Russian leadership in Moscow does not state that the first step of the melting process (assimilating non-Russians with Russians) must be carried through by using police force. Using violence for achieving this object is not possible either because an imprudent measure on the part of the Soviet leadership could incite a national revolution. However one tries to represent the process of the nations' and ethnic groups' approaching one another as an "objective process" in the Soviet Union. On December 21, 1972, Brezhnev declared in his speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR that the Communist Party would take steps against any interference with the process of mutual approaching among the nations, against the inhibition of this process on various pretexts and against any attempts to artificially foster the national peculiarities. It follows from this statement by Brezhnev that the Soviet leaders consider the process of assimilating the nations a natural process of the Soviet society and that the Communist Party does not want to tolerate the cultivation of national peculiarities. Consequently, they will exert any pressure possible on the nations in order to carry through the policy of fusing the nations.

It is insistently noted that under the present conditions of the regime, the fate of the nations within the USSR is

at stake. The cruel deportations and exterminations of smaller peoples of the Soviet Union, victims of the Soviet Russian regime, are recorded in history. It is generally known that in 1943 Karachanians and Kalmycks, in March 1944 all Chechens and Ingush, in April 1944 the Kabardins and Balkars were deported from their settlement areas to the remotest parts of the USSR. The Crimean Tartars were deported just as were the Volga Germans. Such steps of genocide taken against entire peoples which have also become widely known in the West (see Robert Conquest, *The Soviet Deportations of Nationalities*, London, 1960) was condemned by Khrushchev (after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) only after Stalin's death in 1956. Khrushchev blamed Stalin alone for the deportations of peoples. In the course of the so-called policy of de-Stalinisation the respective nations were rehabilitated, too. Their territorial unity was, at least in formal respect, restored in a modified way. Through the Decree of August 1964 the Volga Germans were partly rehabilitated, too. However, such a rehabilitation game was somewhat frustrating for the Crimean Tartars and Volga Germans, for these ethnic groups were not allowed to return to their lands. The intense efforts of the Crimean Tartars to obtain permission to return to Crimea, causing much suffering, failed because of the Kremlin's obstinate policy. The intervention of Gen. Hryhorenko (in the West known as Grigorenko) from Ukraine and of Prof. Sakharov could not move the Soviet leaders to grant the Crimean Tartars permission to return to Crimea. Numerous Crimean Tartars demonstrating for their right to return to Crimea were arrested and sentenced in Tashkent. Gen. Hryhorenko was imprisoned in a Soviet mental asylum. The freedom-minded Western world took note of the tragic fate of the smaller peoples of the Soviet Union, but it was little disturbed about it.

The more astonishing, therefore, was the statement of the Communist leader of Yugoslavia. Tito, who said the following in 1952 at the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia:

"The practice of dominant nations, that is Russia, inside the Soviet Union led to tragic consequences for the non-Russian peoples. Some of them, which once, i. e. prior to their enslavement by tsarist generals, not only constituted one whole as peoples, but also were independent as states, have today been completely eradicated from the face of the earth and in the most inhuman way, which could be envied by Hitler himself."

It is really astonishing that one of the Communist leaders brought up facts of this kind, while the Western statesmen saw the acts of genocide perpetrated by the Soviet Russians or heard of them, yet have done nothing against them.

1) **The Russification policy** has become a component of Communist politics. After 1954 the Russian language was declared to be the second mother tongue of the non-Russians. Forced linguistic Russification of the individual non-Russian nations is progressing rapidly. In 1970 85.6% of Ukrainians considered the Ukrainian language their mother tongue, 80.6% of Byelorussians and 89.2% of Tartars regarded the languages spoken in their respective countries as mother tongue. About 13 million non-Russians are said to have declared that Russian was their mother tongue. Since 1959 many schools teaching in Russian have been set up for them by non-Russians. The pupils' mother tongue was reduced to an elective subject. Furthermore, the Russian nation is represented as the "elder brother" of the non-Russian peoples. This is done officially, too. In Soviet terminology Russia has the meaning of fatherland even for the non-Russian nations. Speculations in the name of the Russian people have gone so far as to make use of the so-called internation-

alism of the USSR for camouflaging Russian domination. The anthem of the Soviet Union also lays emphasis on "Great Russia".

2) **The settlement of Russians** in the non-Russian countries has also been fostered intensively. Over 21 million Russians are living outside the RSFSR in other Union republics; 9,126,000 thereof are living in Ukraine, 938,000 in Byelorussia, 1,473,000 in Uzbekistan, 5,522,000 in Kazakhstan, 397,000 in Georgia, 510,000 in Azerbaijan, 268,000 in Latvia, 414,000 in Moldavia, 705,000 in Lithuania, 856,000 in Kirghizia, 344,000 in Tadshikistan, 66,000 in Armenia, 313,000 in Turkmenistan and 335,000 in Estonia. The Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia are particularly severely struck as the Kazakh population included 42.4% of Russians and the Kirghiz population 29.2% of Russians in 1970. The Russian advance in the Far Eastern territories and the Soviet Republics of Central Asia (Turkestan) has become particularly perceptible in the recent years as the Soviet leaders intended to establish a bulwark, comprising a Russian population majority, against China. The population of Turkestan is reputed to be an unreliable national group in the struggle of the Soviet Union against China. According to the 1970 census 8,509,000 Russians were living and working in Turkestan, occupying posts in the Government and Party apparatus (including the army) and in the economy. It must also be noted that in the so-called autonomous Soviet republics within the RSFSR the Russians constitute an absolute majority. In Armenia and Georgia the Russian population elements were not able to assert themselves. The total population of Armenia comprises only 2.7% of Russians and that of Georgia only 8.5%.

3) Russian Communists are preponderant in the **Government and Party Apparatus**. This holds true for all political, military and economic sectors of the USSR. It is a rule of the regime

that all important posts in the Government and Party Apparatus at the Union level have been occupied by the Russian majority for a long time. The most important key positions in the individual non-Russian republics have also been conferred on Russian Communists. The central organs in Moscow directly control the individual Soviet republics through Russian functionaries.

4) In its **cultural policy** the regime makes no difference between Russian and Soviet-Communist. Only the emphasis laid on the Communist ideology is a Soviet-Communist feature. However, it has been recognized that ideology alone was not sufficient to give substance to the cultural policy. Consequently the traditional cultural policy of Russia was united with Communist ideology. Russian cultural supremacy was bound to support the ideologically conditioned cultural policy of the Soviet regime in every respect. The Soviet regime officially played up the role of Russian culture in the cultural life of the non-Russians.

5) The **purely Russian administrative apparatus** taken over from the Tsarist era of Russia and having been reformed to include the Soviet concepts of Socialism and Communism replaced the national administrative apparatus of the non-Russians. One easily perceives that in the Soviet Union a strictly centralized Russian administrative apparatus has been substituted for the national administrations. In this respect the so-called sovereign "national" Soviet republics have been transformed into some kind of Russian provinces. The national designations only serve for camouflaging the chauvinism of Russia and for restraining the national strivings of the individual non-Russian nations. It should be recalled that each ministry of the "national" Soviet republics is subordinate to the respective department of the USSR and that, just as the ministries, the Parties of the Soviet republics are supposed to be external agencies of the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union in the respective national regions.

We have tried to recall the realities, phenomena and activities of Russian chauvinism in a brief summary.

Now the phenomena and activities of the **subjugated peoples' nationalism** within the Soviet Union will also be outlined in short to see whether **nationalism as opposed to Russian chauvinism** and Communism has any chances of survival and whether this nationalism has the ability to dig a **grave** for Russian Communism and chauvinism and to blow up the walls of the Soviet Russian empire.

1) **The subjugated peoples** have tried and are still trying to defend themselves against linguistic **Russification**. Each nation seeks to preserve the purity of its language. The national intellectual circles are anxious to keep the young people away from the waves of Russification as far as possible. Mixed marriages between Russians and non-Russians are very rare.

2) **The national intellectual circles** are anxious to **preserve the national consciousness** of their respective peoples on the basis of their past (laying emphasis on national political independence prior to their subjugation by Russia, their cultures, literatures, religious beliefs, their customs and habits). There is, amidst the national intelligentsia, a small group having lost its sense of solidarity with its own people and regarding itself as a pillar of the regime. This group has no significance within the national intelligentsia. Its members speaking Russian instead of their mother tongue take themselves to be something particular. They have a kind of inferiority complex vis-à-vis the national intelligentsia although the Soviet regime grants favours, to these non-Russians. The majority of the national intellectual forces feel primarily bound to their own nation. They thoroughly study the past and present problems of their people. Most of them

are graduates of Soviet schools. This majority group of intellectuals, owing to their experiences gathered within the Party and Government apparatus, have produced the real forces opposing the regime. They try to guide the young people according to their views.

3) The subjugated peoples constantly seek to emphasize their **national peculiarities** vis-à-vis the regime. The regime, in its turn, tries to take sweeping measures against such endeavours. What are these national peculiarities? There is the detachment of the respective nations from Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Armenians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Daghistanians, Tatars, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Tajiks and others primarily regard themselves as such. They do not say that they are Russians or Soviets. **Many peoples** within the Soviet Union **have a great historical past** as far as culture is concerned. **The superiority of the respective cultural heritage vis-à-vis the Russian culture is stressed constantly.** Religious life is also a particular **national element** (e. g. Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism) which has been preserved. The non-Russians even refuse to accept Russian customs. Finally, the carriers of nationalism are striving to defend the interests of their respective Soviet republics vis-à-vis the central power of the Soviet Union and to give preference to national interests against those of the Union when setting up economic plans. Moreover, the national forces try to prevent or obstruct planned Russian settlement in their respective Soviet republics. They further seek to have their national languages recognized as being equivalent to the official Russian language. All these phenomena are considered national features which are fought by the regime although, so far, the regime has not succeeded in eliminating these phenomena as the national peculiarities are cultivated by those who are acting within the framework of the regime.

4) So far the international public circles have sufficiently got to know that there exists a political opposition with democratic ideals within the USSR, which acts in two directions, i.e. a Russian and a non-Russian one. The non-Russian opposition is directed **against the regime** on the one hand and **against Russian imperialism** on the other.

5) **The subjugated peoples** have numerous **secret organizations** seeking to achieve national independence, respectively. They realize that the possibilities for their activities are limited and they try, very cautiously, to enlighten their respective peoples with a view to national independence and freedom and to gather forces for a future armed struggle with Russian imperialism and Communism. **Nationalism** has proved to be viable, owing to the psychology of nations. Even Brezhnev admitted this in his speech of December 21, 1972, when he stated:

"... nationalism ... a highly viable condition ..."

Soviet leaders are compelled to tolerate the existence of nations. However, their strategic policy aims at exterminating the concept of the nation in the future. Thus, Broydo, Rector of the Communist University for the Workers of the Orient, had written in his pamphlet entitled "The Nationality Problems" in 1925:

"As soon as the proletariat wins its final victory, society will be free from any national spirit. The ideological remainder of the national spirit will also disappear step by step. Men will forget their national development and relationships as a result of Communist evolution. Herewith, the nation will die."

This goal is pursued at present with the following underlying theory taken from a Soviet journal:

"Marxism-Leninism teaches that Communism leads to nations completely merging into one another."

At present the nationalism of the

subjugated peoples is also fighting against the intentions of the Soviet-Russians, as outlined above, in order to preserve them from being inundated in the Russian imperialistic "sea" leading to a complete loss of national identity.

Lastly, it must be noted that the nationalism of the subjugated peoples within the Soviet Union comprises nothing else but the respective national elites' efforts to secure the existence of their nation forever. The members of these elites hold and are convinced that only freedom for individuals and national independence can guarantee their future existence.

Nationalism acts as a dynamic force mobilizing the members of the respective nation to fight for their freedom and national independence. However, it also needs the moral support of democracies from abroad. The US law enacting the "Captive Nations Week" was the first step of moral support given to the oppressed nations. They were indeed enthusiastic about this law which, unfortunately, met with no response in the free world. The UN resolution concerning the abolition of colonialism constitutes a basis for fighting Soviet Russian colonialism, too. The free world, however, did not put to the fore the requests for freedom and independence for the nations living in the colonies of the Soviet-Russian empire. So far, the free democratic world has not set forth any concept for liberating these nations from Soviet-Russian rule. In our view an alliance between the still free world and the nationalism acting within the Soviet Union would be very useful to both sides. The free world would be freed from the pressure exerted by the Soviet Russian empire and nationalism could achieve its final goal — national independence. **Nationalism** as manifest in the Soviet Union is not a device for shocking the world but, on the contrary, an **explosive against Soviet Russian imperialism.**

Life in Lithuania Under Russian Occupation

(Part Two)

The greatest damage has been done to the Lithuanian agricultural economy by the introduction of the Soviet system of land collectivization. As a result of this action, about 360,000 former individual farms have been merged into 1,787 large estates or "kolkhozes". After collectivization, 1.44 acres were left to each individual farmer for his private cultivation. The farmers still till this land after working in the "kolkhozes". The peasant's income from this small plot of private land in many cases constitutes up to 80% of his total income. Large "kolkhozes" are supervised by Russians inefficiently (just as the whole Russian agricultural system is inefficient). Many "kolkhozes" have some machinery; however, when it breaks down, they have to wait for replacements and repairs too long and the agricultural crop spoils directly in the fields. In addition, transportation inefficiency causes additional spoilage enroute, as well as in warehouses and in the course of distribution. The agricultural workers are forced to work in the "kolkhozes" for very meagre remuneration. They hate the "kolkhozes" and the whole Communist system. They show passive resistance everywhere and hope to get rid of Moscow's tutelage. During the independence of Lithuania, agriculture and the entire economy had the most rapid growth in Europe. What is the agricultural situation in Lithuania under the Russian occupation can be seen from the resolution adopted at the Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, held in 1972. Sowing, harvesting, and threshing is being delayed, and great losses of crops are occurring. The yield of crops remains poor in many "kolkhozes"; the number of cattle has fallen, and the productivity of cattle has shrunk in the "kolkhozes"

of the republic during the past year. For example, the meat production amounting to 120.0 in 1966 fell to 114.0 in 1969, and to 110.0 in 1971; milk production diminished from 120.0 in 1966 to 109.0 in 1969, and to 99.0 in 1971. The production of fodder has lagged far behind the needs of cattle breeding. For example, in 1970, cattle received 30% less fodder than in 1968. Because of this, the production of agricultural goods decreased considerably during the last Brezhnev "Five Year Plan". The farmers are laughing and saying: "The more Russians in Lithuania the less agricultural produce available".

Before the Second World War, in Lithuania there were 4,739 Communist Party members. More than half this number were non-Lithuanian. When the war started, 2,480 escaped to Russia; the Hitlerites killed 371 Communists. As of January 1956 there were 38,087 Communist Party members in Lithuania. This constitutes about 1.3% of the population, while in the Soviet Union the party membership at the same time amounts to an average of about 4% of the population. It must be emphasized that a large part of the party members in Lithuania are nowadays newcomers from Russia. On the average there are less than 4 party members per each "kolkhoz" with over 200 families. The scarcity of Communist Party members on "kolkhozes" is an indication of the unpopularity of the Communist Party in Lithuania. In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the Russians constituted 32.5% in 1971; in Estonia Russians make up 25%, and 40% in Latvia. In 1972 in the Soviet Union there were 15,000,000 members.

Indoctrination — The aim of Moscow in Lithuania is to produce collaborators faithful to the Russians and the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union. This indoctrination is carried out through its huge propaganda apparatus. Various Soviet fetes, holidays, anniversaries, and commemorative occasions of important Russian and Soviet personalities are used for this kind of indoctrination, and there is a great abundance of them. [There are the annual holidays dedicated to the Soviet Army and Navy (February 23rd), the International Women's Day (March 8th), the Day of International Solidarity of the Workers (May 1st & 2nd), the day of the Great October Revolution (November 7th & 8th), and the day of the USSR Constitution (December 5th). There are also various anniversaries of Marx and Lenin.] Commemorations of Lithuanian uprisings against the imperialist Russian Tsarist regime in 1863 and 1905 have been converted into commemorations of uprisings against the "bourgeois capitalist" not against Russian imperialism. When the cult of Stalin collapsed, the Lenin cult replaced it. In the schools of the republic the regular instructional programs are especially adopted to Communist indoctrination. Pupils are organized into "Octobrists", and "Komsomol". For the purpose of indoctrination of the masses, a complete system of party work training and propaganda apparatus has been established. Another very important means of indoctrination are the so-called "folk universities".

Russification or Russianization — In many cases Communist ideological indoctrination is really a preparation for Russification and vice-versa. The Russification of occupied Lithuania is not new to the Soviet Union. It is rooted deeply in the imperialist policies of Tsarist Russia. This old colonial empire has developed special techniques to Russianize the subjugated nations. They dampened the national spirit; they forced the Russian language into public life and into all schools; they conquered nations which were forced to accept Russian Orthodoxy, and a

cult of love for the Tsar was propagated. Now everything is the same. They are forced to believe in "Communist religion", which means the adoration of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, etc., holy pictures and crosses are replaced by pictures of Communist creators and emblems of the Soviet Union; instead of adoring the Tsars they have to adore the "dear Soviet Fatherland". In occupied Lithuania, one is now supposed to use the old traditional word "tevyne" (fatherland) to designate the entire Soviet Union. The Lithuanians must refer to their homeland as "teviške" (home area/village/town, native area) and cannot refer to Lithuania as their fatherland. You have to adore the dear: "Fatherland of Socialism" Soviet Union — Soviet Russia. The Russian language has to be taught beginning with the first grade of the public schools; the pupils are instilled with the love for their elder brothers, the Russians. Many schools now use only the Russian language. The proceedings and other scientific publications of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences are, by and large, published in Russian. Telephone books are published in Russian; the post office uses mostly the Russian language; every letter which comes from or goes abroad is censored. You can send all kinds of newspapers and books to foreign countries, but only a selective number of books and newspapers is allowed into Lithuania. Streets, squares, plazas are named mostly after Russian heroes or Soviet Party functionaries. Some public offices and railway stations are marked only in Russian. National education is hated by the Russians. The Russians praise the Big Brother—"Russia" everywhere.

All other nationalisms but the Russian are condemned. Broadly speaking, **they conduct spiritual and national genocide** against the native peoples. In general, their methods of repression and Russification are much more subtle and enormously efficient (especially in cultural and spiritual genocide). **Moscow**

has introduced an organized program of Russification through massive resettlement; even the Tsars did not do this. According to the census of January 15, 1970 there were still only 3,215,000 inhabitants in Lithuania. Even if one calculates 10% as the normal an-

nual increase in population since the Russian occupation, at present, there should be at least 4.5 million inhabitants in Lithuania. But, since 1939, Lithuania has lost 1,371,000 people. This is a terrible loss to such a small nation...

Svitlychny Transferred to Perm Concentration Camp

Ivan Svitlychny, 44-year-old literary critic and essayist who was sentenced last April to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile, is reported to have been transferred from a Kyiv prison to a concentration camp in the Perm oblast, deep in the Russian republic.

The Soviet Secret Police (KGB) has constantly pressured Svitlychny to recant publicly, but that he refused. In their efforts to break down Svitlychny, the KGB applied pressure on his family and relatives.

Svitlychny was one of numerous Ukrainian intellectuals arrested by the KGB early in 1972. He was held incommunicado until his trial last April. Like other Ukrainian patriots, he was tried behind closed doors, under article 62 of the Ukrainian SSR's Penal Code.

His sister, Nadia Svitlychna-Shumuk, was tried shortly afterwards and sentenced to four years of imprisonment. She is the wife of Danylo Shumuk, another Ukrainian patriot who was sentenced to 10 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile. The couple's son Yarema has been placed in the custody of Nadia's mother.

The sources report that many other Ukrainian patriots, Ivan Kandyba, Ihor Kaly nec, Evhen Pryshliak, the latter serving a 25-year sentence and still not allowed to receive mail from his brother in Canada.

Repressions at the Lviv University continue. Last spring several Ukrainian students and faculty members were dismissed by the authorities for protesting against Russification and for barring students from access to Ukrain-

ian history sources. One of the involved students, Zorian Popadiuk, is reported to have been sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment. Most of the others were drafted into the army.

Youth Arrested

Widespread arrests of young people were reported last summer in major cities of western Ukraine. The KGB is said to have been hunting for "democratic groups" of young people who published and disseminated clandestinely a journal entitled "Postup" (Progress).

Arrests, preceded by dismissals from the jobs and from the party, are further continued in the Odessa oblast. The oblast party secretary, P. P. Kozyr, was reportedly given special powers to combat "bourgeois nationalism" in the area.

A series of protests were staged in Kyiv last August by students who demanded the transfer of Russian instructors from the Kyiv State University.

The nature of beauty is such that the more hindrances one encounters on the way, the more one is drawn to it — just as in the case of that noblest and hardest metal which, the more it is rubbed, the more it shines.

☆

Falsehood depresses and is reactionary, that is why the desire is so strong to fight against it.

Hryhoriy Skovoroda

Ivan Dzyuba Pardoned after "Recantation"

New York, N.Y. — Ivan Dzyuba, prominent critic and one of the most articulate Ukrainian intellectuals, who was arrested and sentenced last March to five years of hard labour and five years of exile, recanted in a public declaration and was pardoned by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The 42-year-old essayist-critic, who authored the famous treatise "Internationalism or Russification?", said in the declaration that he "unequivocally condemns" his "past errors" and that he has already started writing a new book which will "reveal the incongruities and the fallacies of the views" presented in the former work.

"I think that this work will not suit the tastes of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists abroad", said Dzyuba in his declaration which was published in the November 9, 1973, issue of "Literaturna Ukraina" (Literary Ukraine), official organ of the Union of Writers of Ukraine,

which is published twice a week in Kyiv.

News of Dzyuba's recantation and subsequent pardon was reported by the Soviet press agency Tass on November 13. The New York Times of Wednesday, November 14, carried the story along with Dzyuba's photo. The New York Daily News had a UPI account of the case.

The declaration contains statements and passages that leave little doubt that it was forced upon Dzyuba who was held incommunicado since his arrest in April of 1972 until his trial last March. The trial, like those of other Ukrainian intellectuals, was held behind closed doors.

The declaration concludes with a statement that "in the immediate future" Dzyuba intends to work for a "prolonged period of time" at some industrial plant "to feel the atmosphere of the working collective and to get into the mainstream of its life".

Mock Trial And Cruel Sentence

When Ivan Dzyuba's "trial" began in Kyiv on March 6, 1973, the KGB fearing sympathy demonstrations for the prisoner gathered a large number of armed "protectors" around the court building.

Dzyuba conducted himself courageously at the mock trial, in spite of his severe illness and the brutal treatment at the hands of the terroristic organs. In his final plea he urged the KGB court to give him a chance to live out the last year of his life in his family circle, since the doctors believe that this is how long he will last in view of the state of his tuberculosis. But the

inhuman occupational court nevertheless sentenced him to five years of harsh imprisonment and five years of exile.

News about the harsh verdict rapidly spread around Kyiv. It was decided to protest somehow. In the night of March 7 and 8 a fire broke out in the Physics and Chemistry Laboratory of the Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. In Kyiv, it is believed that this fire was caused as protest against Ivan Dzyuba's unjust sentence. Fearing further demonstrations, the city administration twice postponed the observances of the Shevchenko anniversary. On March 9th, this year's distribution of T. Shevchenko prizes took place in a morbid and depressing atmosphere. Somebody suggested that this prize first of all should go to the one convicted two days earlier.

**Is it not love that unites, builds
and creates, just as enmity de-
stroyes?**

Hryhoriy Skovoroda

Congressman Koch Attacks Russia For Dzyuba

Washington, D. C. — Congressman Edward I. Koch, the Democrat-Liberal who represents the 18th Congressional District of New York (Manhattan), interrupted the regular session in the House of Representatives Wednesday, November 14, to "bring to my colleagues' attention the most recent illustration of the brutal policies of the Soviet Government toward its own citizens. It is the case of Ivan Dzyuba, a prominent Ukrainian writer and critic of Soviet policy on domestic nationalities."

Mr. Koch went on to describe the role of Dzyuba in defense of "the cultural independence of religious and national groups within the Soviet Union". He quoted the Tass announcement and the story in The New York Times of November 13 to inform the Congressmen of Dzyuba's "recantation" and subsequent pardon.

It will be recalled that Mr. Koch was one of the main speakers at the mournful rally in New York Sunday, September 23, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Kremlin made famine in Ukraine.

Mr. Koch's statement, subheaded "Ivan Dzyuba: A Ukrainian Hero", was published in The Congressional Record of November 14, 1973. Full text of the statement is as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring my colleagues' attention the most recent illustration of the brutal policies of the Soviet Government toward its own citizens. It is the case of Ivan Dzyuba, a prominent Ukrainian writer and critic of Soviet policy on domestic nationalities. In January 1972, Mr. Dzyuba was arrested and held incommunicado until he was sentenced in March of this year to 10 years of prison and exile. His crime was his ardent defense of the cultural independence of religious and national groups within the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government knows of this man's long record of cou-

rage in opposing cultural coercion. Dzyuba's concern has not confined to his Ukrainian brothers and sisters. His universal feeling for ethnic and religious freedom is reflected in this eloquent statement he delivered on the 25th Anniversary of the Babi Yar massacre of 40,000 Jews: "Let the Jews know the Jewish history, the Jewish culture, and the Yiddish language and be proud of them."

Today's New York Times reports that Dzyuba has been pardoned from his sentence. He has been quoted by Tass as having said that he now "unequivocally condemns" his previous work and is now writing a new book to correct his "past fallacies". Again the world is being asked to believe that the atmosphere of a Soviet prison has opened the mind of an intellectual to the truths that had previously eluded him. What Tass does not reveal is that Dzyuba is suffering from tuberculosis. According to the Times, other Soviet dissidents have expressed doubts that he would be able to survive a full term of 5 years in penal camp and 5 years exile.

It is reasonable to believe that Dzyuba was given a choice between his life and the integrity of his beliefs. It is the choice imposed upon countless other Soviet citizens who have dared to take exception to State policies. Such a dilemma must be especially cruel to a man who has defended the intellectual and cultural diversity of his countrymen against government demands of conformity.

If we cannot expect Russia to reverse its habits of oppression, surely we can do all that is peaceably possible to encourage it to allow those subject to brutalization to leave. This is the clear intent of the Jackson-Mills-Vanik Trade Amendment. Certainly we need no further revelations of mental physical violence against religions, nation-

alities and intellectuals to demonstrate the need for this kind of economic sanction against the Soviet Union. As the Dzyuba case shows, this is not simply a Jewish issue. There is no indication that any group in the USSR wishing to maintain its freedom of

thought is exempt from reprisal. As the Ukrainians also know, all Soviet citizens must face the real possibility that hypocrisy may become necessary for life itself. Those forced into this position deserve our understanding and support.

Russians About Themselves

Moral and Political Revival

In November 1969, there appeared the "Program of the Democratic Movement" signed by the "Democrats of Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic". It was followed in early 1970 by the "Tactical Bases of the Democratic Movement". These works set forth the ideas of a free political system, a triple-tiered economy, the self-determination of nations, unlimited cultural creativity, reconciliation with Western countries, a rejection of the doctrine of class struggle, declared principles of strict secrecy and a renunciation of force in the political struggle for democracy. All this does not raise any objections and corresponds to the profound expectations and hopes. But we do not wish to discuss the positive qualities of these documents. The program as a whole arouses deep dissatisfaction among us...

The lessons of history did not do any good. The horrible examples of Bolshevism did not teach anything. The errors of revolutionary intelligentsia of the past are being repeated. Still another socio-mechanical reconstruction of society is being proposed, yet another magical reorganization... The question boils down again to a mechanical transformation of the outside world. And again the center of gravity is outside man — in the form not the essence of things.

Where is the human being as such, its inner world; where is the positive moral and cultural substance? After

all, without rearing a new, better man, without respectable people who stand behind it, who support it and realize this program in practice, a sweet tongued utopia. The program would be fitting and realized quickly if in our state in contrast to the anti-national despotic regime of political bureaucracy, there existed a thinking, honest, socially active intelligentsia as a whole, a freedom-loving and brave people. But as yet, there is nothing of the sort.

That, which we consider to be "intelligentsia" are *en masse* dishonest and unthinking people, pitiful and downtrodden by their social and personal everyday existence, narrowly educated spiritual slaves of the regime. Here it is also worth mentioning that the Russian nation is the sole one in history which destroyed or permitted its genuine intelligentsia to be destroyed in 1918-1921, 1928-1931 and 1937-1939. The people as a whole are the philistinized slaves who often idealize their slavery and at the same time are themselves capable of being cruel tyrants.

Here is the thought of one West European thinker: "... In despotic states where there are neither virtues nor honor, people can be roused to action only by the hope for an increase of their comforts of life" and "the state decays when base souls brag about their slavery". In public life, they are both cowards and violent persons. So-

cial relations are generally characterized by hostility, suspicion or fear of one's neighbor. In the very nature of the regime, as if in a mirror, are reflected all defects, faults, weaknesses and imperfections of our nation. What is more, thanks to these defects and faults, the regime exists and performs its deeds.

Let us suppose that tomorrow, one way or another, we would remove the government of the present-day political bureaucracy and institute a democratic system. An idyll will not follow. A fearful slave of yesterday, unused to public life and social discipline, having felt full freedom, will not be able to stand it. Filled with vengeful hatred toward his "nachalniks" of yesterday and scorn to today's "soft" government, he will start a vicious bloody orgy, as had been the case in 1917-1921. And then the newly emerging political adventurers, playing on the dark passions of the mob, will push aside the "slavers"-democrats in order to institute a new tyranny, with a new evolution of terror and cruelties in the course of decades. And again groaning and sighing, all will find themselves near the broken trough...

The program is pointed against the despotic regime of the political bureaucracy. In the meantime, an even greater stumbling block on the road to rising progress than the regime, which is slowly decaying, is our unfortunate, cowardly and illiterate intelligentsia and our imperfect people. Hence, the job of rebuilding should be started from a different aspect.

What forces of reform are present in our country? First, the political reconstruction forces. We have a movement for civil rights, for democracy, for "socialist democracy", for "pure Leninism", for Russian socialism, a "national-labour" alliance", for constitutional monarchy and so forth. All of them believe in nice ideas, which sound wonderful, have noble aims, deliver words

worthy of better pages of anthologies. But the majority of "politicians" do something real in the name of their ideas sluggishly and unwillingly; a smaller part takes a certain risk upon itself and only a few individuals are ready to sacrifice themselves... and some famous names are already known.

What morality do we notice in many contemporary politicians-intellectuals? Instability and neurasthenia, carelessness and lack of respect, an indifferent attitude to their tasks and a terrible fragmentation, deception and falsehood, vanity and boasting, a lack of discipline and a sense of duty, a contempt for any kind of sacrifice in the name of something above the personal and the placing of personal pleasures and interests above the interests of the cause. In everyday life, there is alcoholism, sexuality, epicureanism. In case of the first hard test or defeat — fearfulness, panic, demoralization, burning of valuables, often cooperation with investigators, repentance, testimony against friends: Dobrovolskiy against Ginsburg and Galanskov (Moscow), Zinov'yeva against Pemenov (Leningrad), Kosyrev against Havrylov and Paramonov (Tallin), etc.

All this points to the fact that the most lofty ideas, perceived by the intellect alone, of themselves do not make a man purer, better and more moral.

The conscience of our generation is not in order.

And the people take upon themselves the burden of responsibility which they cannot shoulder and of which they are not worthy.

Hence, do they have the right to lead, to head or to take the power away from the political bureaucrats? Power is worthy only of the better ones. And the whole centuries-old Russian tragedy lies in the fact that power was always in unworthy hands.

Second, the religious forces of reform. In our country there exist the

Orthodox, the Catholic, the Lutheran, the Baptist, the Moslem and other churches.

There is absolutely no doubt that the Church, more than any other ideological force contains in itself a huge moral potential. But even in the foundations of the Church we find decay. Here are its traits:

1. Cringing before the state whose aim it is to ruin and to destroy the churches. The Church does not fight for its moral ideals so much as it attempts to survive by way of servile submissiveness to the regime. It either helps to win the war for the Fatherland, or submits itself to new control of state security, or proclaims itself "fighter for Communism", or performs the propagandistic tasks of the state (a struggle for peace, condemnation of Western "imperialism" and so forth).

2. Inactivity and lack of resistance to evil. The Church has lost its former militant dynamism and finds itself in a state of letargy. It humbly inserts itself into the rigid framework prescribed by the state. The Church forgets that its basic mission on earth is a self-sacrificing struggle for the unity of mankind with God, the supernatural, the cosmic with the earthly, for the increase of moral treasures on earth, a struggle with the favorite forms of evil on earth — both social and personal. Only the movement of the Baptists—"initiators" for their religious rights, for religious democracy, the God-defending activity of some sects or tendencies is a grati-

fying and encouraging phenomenon in the religious world.

3. Religious egoism and anti-sociality. The Church hypocritically declares that its task is only the "setting of the souls in order" and that "all power comes from God". It fears like panic and disavows everything which smells like "politics". The Church forgets that one of its tasks is the preparation of the society of God on earth.

Not only a well-known number of illustrious souls has a morally positive influence upon society as a whole. No less favorable for moral development and healthy socio-political forms of society are the most general and broad human relations. At this time, are voices of protest raised by the clergy against the harassment of dissidents? Do we hear anything about their self-immolations, hunger strikes, demonstrations, their opposition to illegality, arbitrariness, social imperialism, the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, the suppression of religion and so forth? And this at a time, when we know about the heroic and successfully political activity of our great religious contemporaries — the Hindu M. Gandhi (India) and the Baptist M. L. King (USA), when we know about the immense social and political significance of the Buddhist monks in Siam, Burma and Japan or of the Christian clergy in other countries.

Third, the national forces of reform. The country has almost a half of non-Russian population, having their own interests and expectations. But we are not happy with the fact that these aspirations are very often narrow and limited, not rising to the level of the principles of the UN.

Totally justified, for instance, are the demands of the Jewish people for the right to leave for Israel, the Crimean Tatars — for their return to the Crimea, the Baltic peoples — for their separation into independent states. After all, the question must be put more broadly, more on a generally human scale:

**To him whose heart is aching,
the whole world seems to be in
tears.**

**You serve yourself best when
you walk firmly on the road of
common sense.**

Hryhoriy Skovoroda

about the right of the dear USSR citizen to go abroad, about the return of the repressed to their native land with the compensations for losses, about the realization of the right to separation of all mature (! — ABN-Correspondence) nations into independent states.

From this superficial survey we can see:

- either social significance without a high moral ideal,
- or a lofty moral ideal without social significance,
- or limited social and moral ideals.

For this reason, in the forces of reform we come across the amorality of politics, asociality of religion and the narrowness of nationalism. This proves that in all three movements the harmony of the personal, social and human has been disturbed, the harmony of the inner, outer and higher world, that one-sidedness is dominant, that moral foundations of general significance are lacking.

Therefore, now, when the true social life is just being conceived, we should with particular anxiety concern ourselves with the purity of the springs which are destined to feed the future deep rivers. All this compels us to put forth two principles, two appeals to all the forces of our country:

1. To supplement the moral foundation with the political and the political foundation with the moral.

2. To prepare the moral and political Renaissance of our Fatherland.

This historic revolution should be made by the political, religious and national forces of revival taken together.

Therefore, every honest and thinking individual, a member of the favorite movement, or anyone outside it, if he wishes to fight in the name of the moral and political Renaissance of the Fatherland, should cultivate and develop four qualities in himself and his surroundings:

1. **MORAL PURITY.** It contains the following traits: a vigilant conscience, goodness, humaneness, assistance to neighbors, toleration of the convictions of others, an inclination to sacrifice in the name of lofty above-personal aims, a militant spirit, the selection and application of dignified, humane methods, equalization of the interests of the cause with personal interests, a sense of discipline, readiness, a high sense of duty, painstaking execution of assignments, business ability, modesty, endurance, sobriety, control of passions of physical and material nature, extreme strictness toward the violators of moral norms.

It is mandatory to work out a Moral Code of champions of the Renaissance and to demand a strict adherence to it.

2. **SPIRITUAL PROFUNDITY.** Its substance is composed of the following: incorporation of the world sources of philosophical, social and artistic thought, inward enrichment through the achievements of universal culture, learning of the ideals of freedom, antidogmatism, immunity to the effects of deceptive mass propaganda, complete spiritual demarcation from the pseudo-culture of the state, its rejection and non-cooperation with it, antichauvinism, cosmopolitanism in the spirit of the UN, publication of an ever greater number of works which uncompromisingly expose the lies and injustice of our official society, leadership and political bureaucracy, official pseudo-culture and pseudo-morality. It is mandatory to work out a generally accepted program of moral and political Renaissance, based on the great ideals of Freedom and Love.

3. **UNYIELDING COURAGE.** The struggle for Renaissance requires more courage from an individual, than (is the case) in personal conflicts and in war, for then a legally defenseless, unarmed individual can find himself face-to-face with an almighty penal apparatus which has seized into its hands all means

and reasons for material life. Here every personality which fights should be an inaccessible fortress for the besiegers dying but not surrendering. The cause of Renaissance can be sustained only on the system of people-bastions. The component parts of courage are readiness for partial or complete self-sacrifice, intensification of the tempo of struggle in spite of hardships and failures, honest self-elimination of the weak in spirit, their making of a feasible contribution, effective counteraction of activity of KGB agents, counteraction of the influence of the morally decadent elements, their isolation from the cause, in case of a fiasco failure to supply information, non-cooperation and boycott of the investigation, no matter what method of action manifests itself to them, a preservation of their personality under conditions of isolation from society for future struggle, diligent investigation of the circumstances of each failure, revenge against the wreckers of the cause, just and harsh, a trial over co-wards and traitors.

It is necessary to work out the framework and to establish a Service of Moral and Political Defense, protecting the cause of Renaissance from the blows of the KGB, its agents and persons who damage the cause.

4. INDESTRUCTIBLE ENERGY. This means a permanent intensification of resistance to the manifestations of personal and social evil, dynamic activity, social efficiency, physical training, complete disassociation from official life, its boycott and non-cooperation with it. One should not spare the time, efforts and means for technical reproduction and dissemination of self-published materials (*samvydav*), for the necessary contacts with people, for defense actions and protests against illegality and arbitrariness, making answerable without mercy the negligent, the idlers, the gushers, the careerists, who take up the cause lightly and topple it.

It is necessary to work out the charter of the Renaissance Movement which lays down the rights, the duties and, most important, the degree of responsibility for the failure of the entrusted task.

• Partisans! Carriers of lofty moral ideals! We live under an iron heel of a totalitarian state which because of its ideological and political aims poses a terrible threat not only to ourselves but also to the rest of the world. In the face of this, the rest of mankind must arm and defend itself. Only the presence of strong breaking forces and the conflict with China forces the leadership of the state to make declarations about its love of peace. Therefore, side by side with the creation of the moral grandeur of our Fatherland, we have in addition a universal mission to save the entire world from a catastrophe...

The greatest share of responsibility for evil existing in the world is upon the conscience of our society. We should be the first to do penance for it. We must give mankind an example of great appeasement.

The chief burden of penance lies upon us, brethren in spirit and heart! There are many of us, but we are dis-united.

Therefore, without wasting any time let's seek out and get to know each other, let's assemble and fight together for the coming moral and political Renaissance of the Fatherland, relying on the support of progressive mankind.

It is time to put all in their places, and each will be rewarded for his deeds.

On behalf of the defenders of Renaissance

USSR, 1971

D. Donskoy

☆

(Reprinted from the periodical of the moral and political Renaissance **Luch Svo-body** [Ray of Freedom], No. 1, 1971.)

Freedom-Loving People Everywhere!

The liberation movements for the national independence of Ukraine and other enslaved nations against Russian imperialism continues to grow. The young generation particularly is fighting Communism, Sovietism, Russification and the economic exploitation by Russia of the subjugated nations. They cultivate the national historical traditions evolving from the glorious memories of independent and sovereign statehood.

Not only the intelligentsia i. e. writers, poets, cultural workers and leaders, students, artists etc. but also workers and peasants, in short all the strata of the populations join forces in their patriotic struggle for the preservation of national cultural values, freedom of expression, religious beliefs and for national independence and human rights. Thus the US Senate in its official publication stated that "the Ukrainian nationalist movement is the most powerful liberation movement within the USSR".

We are proud of our freedom-fighters in Ukraine and we should contribute no less than they — this being especially true and important on the occasion of the 30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS !

We ought to solemnly condemn Russia for its bloody execution of nationalist fighters, members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists such as Ivan Chayka, Petro Kovalchuk, Vasyl Malchuk, Mychaylo Soroka, Antin Oliynyk and for the brutal murders of the artist Alla Horska, Ivan Moyseyev, a soldier who was also active in organisation of believers in Christ, and others.

Let us jointly protest against the interment of intellectuals such as cyberneticist Prof. L. Plushch, P. Hryhorenko, a community leader A. Lypynis and others, who have been incarcerated in mental asylums under supervision, for an indefinite period of time.

Today again we vehemently protest against the sentencing, (from 10 to 15 years) by the Russian despots of many intellectuals e. g. I. Kalynets, poet, his wife Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, poetess and professor, I. Svitlychnyi, professor and literary critic, Nadia Svitlychna-Shumuk, philologist, Danylo Shumuk, after 27 years of imprisonment again sentenced to 15 years, Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, after 20 years of imprisonment sentenced to another 15 years, I. Hel, student, after 3 years of imprisonment sentenced to another 15 years, Mychaylo Osadchyi, university professor and poet, after 2 years in a labour camp sentenced to another 10 years, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk sentenced to 10 years, Valentyn Moroz, historian, after 5 years of imprisonment to another

14 years, I. Dzyuba, literary critic, Ye. Sverstyuk, writer, Iryna Senyk, artist, after 10 years of imprisonment to another 11 years, Nina Strokata-Karavanska, microbiologist, Vasyl Stus, poet, Vyacheslav Chornovil, after 3 years, sentenced to another 12 years, S. Karavanskyi, sentenced to 25 years, 33 years in prison already, poet, Shakespeare's translator, and about 300 other Ukrainian intellectuals, among them Chornovil's brother who has also been seized by the KGB.

Fighters for national and human rights and human dignity!

How can the Kremlin leaders boast about the humanism of the Soviet regime when it keeps in prisons and concentration camps Ukrainian nationalist O. Bilskyi from his 19th birthday for a period of 35 years who has in the meantime lost his eyesight, or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fighter Ivan Ilchuk who has been kept imprisoned for 25 years? Or is it human to sentence a Ukrainian patriotic woman Maria Palchak to death (later commuted to 15 years)?

FRIENDS,

We are moved and captivated by their bravery, sacrifices and endurance. We consider it to be our sacred duty to turn with an urgent and solemn appeal to the Governments of the free countries that they demand:

a) that Ukraine's and other captive nations' independence, as it is guaranteed in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Human Rights Declaration be fully restored and preserved;

b) that all fighters for national and human rights be released from imprisonment;

c) the liquidation of concentration camps: the withdrawal of the occupational forces from Ukraine's soil and other subjugated countries.

We urge the public opinion of the world, including Churches, humanitarian, political, youth, veteran and student organizations, Nobel Prize recipients, mass media to openly defend and support the Ukrainian cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights,

— to form an international cultural, political, trade unionist and humanitarian front of the free world in defence of Ukrainian intellectuals and patriots and of freedom fighters of all subjugated nations!

Finally we fully support the Government of Great Britain in its effort to maintain together with France an Anglo-French Nuclear Power for the purpose of defending the still free part of Europe since all as well as the subjugated nations will benefit.

August, 1973.

ABN-Ukrainian Delegation

Croatian Problem

Recent events in Croatia, which have been widely discussed by the world press, radio and television, clearly showed the existence and seriousness of the Croatian problem which — thanks to the misleading Yugoslav propaganda — was until then completely ignored in certain Western circles.

Ever since the creation of Communist Yugoslavia in 1945 the Croatian people refused to recognize that state as their own because it was forced upon them.

As a result of 25 years of persecution and exploitation by the Belgrade Communist regime the Croatian students, intellectuals and workers rebelled and publicly demanded freedom and independence of Croatia.

This unarmed rebellion of the Croatian people, which discredited the Yugoslav system — and once more the very concept of any Yugoslavia — was brutally suppressed by Tito's army and secret police. This was done by the same Tito who bombastically condemned the strangulation of the "Prague Spring" by Brezhnev's tanks, and now on Brezhnev's orders he duly strangled the "Croatian Spring". For this criminal act against the Croatian people he was awarded the "Order of Lenin" which he received in Moscow, where he went for five days of conspiratorial talks with Bolshevik criminals both about the consolidation of Russia's conquests in Europe by means of the much publicized "European Security Conference" and the plans for undermining the rest of free Europe.

On behalf of our captive Croatian people we appeal to the United Nations to demand from the Belgrade Government the immediate release of all imprisoned Croatian patriots, furthermore to recognize the Croatian right to self-determination, as recently expressed by the Croatian people, and also to enable peaceful separation of Croatia from Serbia.

On the one hand the Western powers, and on the other the Russian imperialists — both for their own interests — want to preserve Yugoslavia, which in fact is a greater Serbia. We Croats do not want to be under permanent death sentence and in danger of biological extermination for anyone's interests! Therefore, the Croatian people reserve their right to use all necessary means in their just struggle for the protection of their existence and for the restoration of the independent state of Croatia.

It is a self-deception to think and believe that Yugoslavia is in the West's interests because this artificial state is already an extended arm of Russian imperialism. This truth makes us brothers in suffering and brothers in arms with all other peoples who suffer directly under Moscow's and Peking's tyranny or indirectly under the tyranny of their "Gauleiters" in Communist satellite countries.

After terrible retreats and defeats of all those whom once we so naively believed to be champions of universal freedom, the Croatian Liberation Movement firmly believes that there is no other alternative for the enslaved peoples but to undertake all necessary steps for a simultaneous revolutionary guerrilla struggle in their own countries for the restoration of their freedom and their states, and for the salvation of freedom of the rest of the world which is already so dangerously undermined by criminal Communist doctrine and Russian imperialism.

Croatian Liberation Movement

**Save us unnecessary expenses!
Send in your subscription for
ABN Correspondence
immediately!**

Alerting News from Ukraine

In ABN Correspondence we published a series of alerting news items which point to a repeated wave of Stalinist terror in Ukraine and other subjugated countries. Our young people are forcefully drafted into the army; the nationalists are imprisoned or treacherously murdered. In prisons, unprecedented methods are used to break the will of prisoners, as had been related in an article of the former prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, in particular, the terror applied to P. Yakir through the use of the most modern methods invented in order to achieve his breaking down. We recalled the statement he made to his friends that no matter what he would "testify" under KGB pressure during an inquiry — it will be a lie.

This recalls a declaration made by Cardinal Mindszenti who took similar precautions in the face of a possible breakdown as the result of refined terror; the terror toward Amalrik; the draconic sentences meted out to cultural leaders; public executions or undercover assassinations of nationalists by the Shelepin-Stashynskyi method; the lone struggle of Petro Starchyk, a professed Christian, the haloperidol injections administered to him so that — as he related from prison — "its seemed that nothing of me remained in me"; the tragic strife of Gen. Hryhorenko; the heroic resistance of Prof. Leonid Plyushch, confined to a psychiatric prison of severe regime in order to break his willpower; the tortures of Karavanskyi, Moroz, Chornovil, Dzyuba; the classic declaration of Valentyn Moroz in "Among the Snows" that fighters for truth must provide an example of civic courage; the death in Canada of Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi, who was physically totally ruined before he was exiled to the West, although with God's help his spirit has remained undaunted and firm.

The most refined methods of modern chemistry and medicine are applied by KGB specialists to Ukrainian cultural leaders, in particular, in order to break at least one or two of them and to force them to issue a statement of repentance in the style of Tukhachevsky, Bukharin, Gen. Yakir and many other prisoners of the Stalinist times, most of whom were rehabilitated after their death. In the face of tortures, they scourged themselves, calling themselves "spies of foreign secret services", repented, denounced their ideas and their comrades.

The international atmosphere furthers this. Nixon and Brezhnev embrace each other. No one from the official world is concerned with the fate of fighters for national and human rights, with ancient cultures of Europe and Asia, although this same world grants these rights to Africa.

The KGB is trying to force out such statements of repentance from any one of the prominent cultural leaders of the subjugated countries for two years now.

In prisons, staffs of doctors and chemists from the KGB attempt to destroy the spirit and the nervous system of the prisoners in order to force some of them to repent and to denounce their ideas, their friends, their native land.

The endurance of a prisoner has its limits. Some may break down, confirming that the present KGB methods are the most refined.

An ever more intensive terror is rampant in Ukraine. At times the Brezhnev-Andropov methods outstrip the methods used by Stalin and Beria since they are more subtle and — as the result of scientific progress — new criminal investigations of professional KGB staffs have also "progressed". Reports from Ukrainian villages tell of night-

time murders of people suspect of nationalist activity, quietly in the streets, in order to spread fear and panic. Instances were noted where relatives refused to extend their hospitality to their closest family members coming from abroad.

A new wave of perfidious terror is inundating Ukraine. The fighters, however, do not surrender. It is not decisive that the KGB causes a physical, nervous or mental breakdown in one or two of them through injections or drugs added to food. We recall a letter to the UN from Mordovia about systematic poisoning of the prisoners' food in order to break them and to force out statements of repentance... We know how the late Mykhaylo Soroka and others, elegantly dressed, were taken to the operas of Kyiv and Lviv, to restaurants and recreation centers with a single aim: "Sign a declaration and you are free!"

The facts of their firmness give proof of the strength of their characters and their faith in an idea. But the fact of breakdown and repentance is not a proof of the weakness of an idea, but of the diabolical methods of breaking an individual's will. We know of instances where the "judge" — a KGB agent — sat by the prisoner, after an injection, when the latter has fallen asleep, in order to hear him murmur in his sleep some names, some information... The prisoners are unyielding, but we do not know whether the KGB won't succeed in breaking one of them with their most modern methods.

We are not justifying breakdown and repentance, but this is only one side of the coin. And what about the other? The executioner is to blame, not the victim whom he tortures.

Those of us in the free countries of the world are not defending our prisoners adequately. We must change the style of our actions, and intensify them from all aspects. If we remain silent or use half-measures, the KGB will succeed in breaking some of our

prisoners. We must not only protest against imprisonment, but also against the methods of terror in the prisons and during investigation, against the perfidious methods of terror adopted in breaking the prisoners.

A unity of action of the entire patriotic public and the exiles from all the subjugated countries is required. Moscow must be attacked as the source of all evil inside the subjugated countries. By our silence we share the guilt for the sufferings of those who are being punished. Our broad action can help them, provided it is sharp, massive, multi-faceted, systematic, well organized and courageous.

Yet Another Church Closed

Recently there are more and more instances of objections by the Russian regime to the renovation or opening of churches in Ukraine. Thus, for instance, all attempts since 1971 by the faithful to open a church in the village of Kon-yushky near Dubno in Volhynia have not been successful to this day. In 1970 the authorities closed down the parish because the local priest said the Mass in Ukrainian and, what is more, mentioned in it Metropolitans Lypkivskyi and Polikarp instead of the present bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church.

To Turkey in a Boat

According to reports of the Western press, 26-year-old aeronautics engineer Valeriy Yanin fled to Turkey, in a rubber boat, from the cruise ship "Ivan Franko" on the Black Sea. After a three-day flight he asked for political asylum. He was taking his vacation trip on the passenger ship. The nationality of the fugitive is so far unknown.

★

In autumn 1973 the Secret Service tried to poison **Ivan Ilchuk** by offering him a drink on his birthday which Ilchuk did not accept from the denunciator appearing suspect; this saved his life.

A Sovereign National State or „Self-Determination“?

In political terminology, we often come across the term "self-determination" of the subjugated peoples as the goal of their struggle for their rights. This constitutes a great misunderstanding. We can talk about the "self-determination" of some border village with a mixed population, but never about the "self-determination" of the Ukrainian nation. The formulation "national self-determination" is intended to deceive the peoples. Lenin used it, adding the phrase "including secession", which means a possible alternative. Now, "self-determination under the supervision of the UN" is being proposed, i. e. those forces which attempt to impose a "world government" upon nations.

Ukraine "self-determined" itself in the early period of its history as a sovereign nation with its own system of government and its own culture. Having lost its statehood, it confirmed its "self-determination" by a plebiscite of blood in the struggle with invaders. Therefore, we reject this formulation as seemingly a necessary subsequent indicator whether Ukraine strives for independence or not. Even the independence of Chad or Ghana was not decided by "self-determination", for this term always implies one of the alternatives. **For Ukraine there is only a single alternative: complete sovereignty, independence and unity.**

Not a single state, including the African ones, have arisen in a way other than through the plebiscite of blood or its consequences. Have India, Pakistan or Algeria been granted independence by way of a plebiscite? It is even ridiculous to ask whether a subjugated nation wants to be independent, that is, a master on its own land, an owner or a hired servant. Our thousand-year-old history has shown whether Ukrainians want to be servants of the Russians or the Germans, or the masters on their own land. In our times, this is

confirmed by the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the people as a whole. Therefore, "self-determination" as a revolutionary slogan means a demobilization of the revolution. Ukraine is engaged in a struggle with the Russian occupants not for the right to choose independence or federation, but for the dissolution of the Russian empire and its own sovereign and united state.

Therefore, at international conferences or in the press we cannot speak or write that we are fighting for the right to "self-determination" but for the reestablishment of our sovereign national state.

The formulation "self-determination" is acceptable to every imperialist, including the Russian one of the type of Lenin, NTS or Sakharov, even adding "including secession", under the supervision of the UN, for example, or some other organization, which immediately negates the right of a nation to independence, limits its sovereignty or questions its desire for independence.

"Self-determination" and "plebiscites" are not for us. We have self-determined ourselves long ago through a plebiscite of blood. Ukraine has self-determined itself as an independent sovereign state over one thousand years ago and all this time defends its right not by voting and ballots, but by blood and the life of its sons and daughters. And now it fights for its right to an independent state, as an absolute, indisputable dogma.

Anyone who doubts whether Ukraine wants to be independent, does not understand (or pretends not to understand) the cardinal issue: there is no nation on earth which would not want to be independent; there is no individual on earth who would not want to be free. To make concessions and to

accept the formulation "self-determination" (and not national state independence) in order to find a "common platform" with the Russians or other imperialists is tantamount to betraying the national interests, for "self-determination" will be interpreted by the Russians in the Leninist or the NTS sense, while the world mafia, which wants to establish a world government, will interpret it in its own way. And again, instead of the Ukrainian Sovereign and United State, we shall have

a new "Ukrainian SSR" or a Reichskommissariat.

Our aim is national state independence exclusively, the Ukrainian Sovereign and United State, and the dissolution of the Russian empire into national states. The term "self-determination" can be used only to define the disputed frontiers, and not in the fundamental issues dealing with nation and state, its sovereignty and unity.

E. O.

Prince Philip Inquires About the Ukrainian Ambassador

The visit of Prince Philip and Princess Ann to Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, to attend the horse racing competition turned the attention of the British press to the Russian-subjugated Ukraine. In spite of the many errors committed by that press due to its ignorance of the historic, political and geographic particulars and complications of Ukraine in its present situation in Eastern Europe, the very fact that the members of the British royal family stayed in Kyiv brought many benefits to the Ukrainian national cause.

The first and foremost such benefit stems from the fact that for almost three months now the word "Kyiv" and "Ukraine" do not leave the pages of the British press. An excellent article by Mr. David Floyd was published on the pages of a large British daily, **The Daily Telegraph**, on September 4th. In it the author said that "... Ukraine is not Russia, anymore than France is England".

There was much talk about Kyiv and Ukraine in radio and television broadcasts.

But one of the best remarks on the servile dependence of Ukraine on Russia was the question by Prince Philip and the reply of the Russian Ambassador which he received.

At his arrival in Kyiv, Prince Philip

was greeted by the Russian Ambassador to London, who came to Kyiv for this very purpose. Having exchanged greetings, Prince Philip asked the Russian Ambassador jokingly: "And where is the Ukrainian Ambassador from London?" The Russian Ambassador replied that "although Ukraine is a sovereign and independent state, she has turned its representation in London over to the Russians".

Can one imagine greater cynicism from the side of a representative of Russian functionaries who, by a direct lie, dares to justify the absence of diplomatic representatives of "sovereign and independent Ukrainian state" not only in London itself but also in every other diplomatic and political center of the world, including the satellite states. With the exception of the UN General Assembly where the Ukr. SSR representation formally exists, we do not know of any other similar representation of Soviet Ukraine in the world.

We must be grateful to Prince Philip for raising this very important question in the very capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, in the presence of foreign press and other diplomatic representatives. And the British government circles should condemn when ever it is possible the Russian colonialism in Ukraine.

I. Dmytriw

News and Views

Guatemala Hosts WACL Executive Board

Excerpts From the Final Communiqué

The Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League under the chairmanship of President Professor Raimundo Guerrero of Guadalajara, Mexico, and honored with the presence of the Honorary President of the League, Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang of the Republic of China, met in Guatemala City on December 1 to 3, in accordance with the decision of the Board in its session in Washington, D. C., August 11 to 12, 1973.

The Executive Board noted with pleasure the spirit of freedom and independence manifested by the people of Guatemala. It also expressed appreciation of the hospitality of the Guatemala chapter of the League and of the officials who received them. Representatives from Asia, Latin America, North America, Europe, Africa, Middle East, the Subjugated Nations and the World Youth Anticommunist League were present.

The purpose of this meeting was to prepare for the VIIth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League which will be held in Washington, D. C. from April 6-11, 1974. The Executive Board approved the theme for this conference as: "PEACE IS... FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR ALL".

The VIIth WACL Conference will gather Anti-Communist forces from more than sixty countries of the free world to renew their spirit of unity and to plan the continuing battle to lift the scourge of Communism from the shoulders of mankind. The American Council for World Freedom, which will be the host for the VIIth WACL Conference, gave a report of its plans for the meeting.

The Conferences discussed the present world situation. They condemned the policy of detente which is spread like the web of the spider to draw the naive leaders of some countries into a communist trap labeled "peace". The true nature of the Communist rule is known by those subject to it; and their judgment is given in the iron curtains which the tyrants must use to imprison them. While these peoples are imprisoned, detente remains a fraud to soften up the Free World.

The Executive Board also declared its unwavering support of the captive nations that long have groaned under the Russian Communist heel. They condemned in the strongest terms the Communist barbaric oppression of peoples under Communist rule, especially the persecution of the intellectuals and artists, the satanic internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics, and the general cruelty to patriots under the Russian Communist regimes, in Ukraine, Lithuania, Azerbaijan and other captive nations.

The Executive Board called upon the NATO powers to remember that the whole purpose of NATO is to counteract Communism in Europe. It is essential that the NATO leaders put aside their illusions of detente and adopt the militant posture of the great leaders who founded the organisation. If NATO fails, the rest of Europe will be conquered by superior Soviet Russian Military Forces.

In Vietnam and Cambodia and Laos, freedom fighters have been mounting a gallant defense of freedom in the past quarter of a century. The invaders from North Vietnam must be driven

from the soil of the Republic of Vietnam, of Laos and of Cambodia. The cease-fire agreement of January 1973, must not become a restraint on the Republic of Vietnam, while the North Vietnam invaders disregard its provisions.

The Board noted with deep concern the continuing subjection of the Cuban people to the tyranny of the Castro regime. It declared that there can be no peace in Latin America until the Cuban people are liberated from the communist oppression. It condemned the initiatives of some governments to admit the Castro regime of the Organization of American States.

The board voted also that the Communist imperialists are talking about a "third world" because neutralism and non-alignment are useful to their united front scheme to divide the Free World. They would use nations of the

so-called "third world" for political extortion against the opposing superpowers. The conferees, therefore, call upon all the free nations to cast away mistaken policies of neutralism and non-alignment so as to avoid the Communist trap of the "third world" propaganda.

The conferees condemned the misguided governments, political parties, and mass media that lend "comfort, aid and sustenance" to the diabolical Communist designs of Moscow, Peking and Hanoi for the destruction of the free world. If the free nations do not wake up to the danger of Communism, this malevolent ideology and practice will prevail not only in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia but also in Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe and the United States. They called on all free peoples to prevent such a catastrophe to civilization.

Resolution moved by Mr. Donald A. Martin, Great Britain, seconded by Mr. Eric D. Butler, Australia, and carried by acclamation at EFC Conference in London on 25th of August 1973

Whereas it is suggested by the conference of the European Freedom Council that all anti-Communist movements should cooperate to appoint a special committee to investigate the charge that Communism is, in fact, to use the words of Great Britain's wartime Prime Minister, Winston Churchill in 1920, part of a "world-wide conspiracy", and that it was initially financed by international financial groups in the West who have since maintained the necessary financial support in order that, as Doctor Anthony C. Sutton, Fellow of the famous Hoover Institute on War, Peace and Revolution at Stanford University USA shows in his research that Western technology and industry has been used to hold the Communist Empire together and could be used to make the Communist Empire collapse from within.

It is suggested that all the relevant evidence should be brought together in a comprehensive report, published by the anti-Communist movements, and then widely distributed as a major part of an international campaign to insist on their economic assistance to the Communist Empire until such time as the Communist leaders by their acts show that they are prepared to release their captives.

A Pathological Law

It has been reported from Moscow that the office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR is demanding the lowering of age for capital punishment from 18 to 16.

The German Human Rights League in Munich sharply denounced this inhumane phenomenon, calling it "recurring". One is at a loss for words, said the GHRL representative, for "a 16-year-old is still an immature person, a half child".

This was also denounced by the Amnesty International. It rejects capital punishment in general.

A research worker from the Institute of Law, Politics and Society in Kiel, East Germany said that he does not doubt that this demand of the Russian Prosecutor's Office "is as good as approved" and that the Supreme Soviet will pass such a law. He stated further that "the Soviet government will apply this law without any scruples". This is done allegedly because criminality among the youth of the USSR has taken large dimensions.

This is the sample of Russian "humaneness" of which they boast so much in their propaganda. It is interesting to know the reaction of the young people — in particular those holding Socialist and Communist views — of Western countries when they find out about this, who complain, for instance, that there is no freedom in West Germany.

The Russians cannot surprise, shock or stun us by anything for being aware of their cruelty, we can expect anything from them.

The problem of criminality in the USSR also points to the fact that the Communist Party has failed to reeducate the people, which is best demonstrated by the youth. But from whom were the young people to learn humaneness, honest conduct, good mora-

lity, when their teacher himself is the greatest criminal, a pathologic killer who already has tens of millions of tortured victims on his conscience. It is unprecedented for an alcoholic or a psychopath to bring up his sons and daughters as honest and exemplary citizens.

This news tells us that dissatisfaction and rebellion of the population of nations subjugated in the USSR have reached such forms that the Communist Party is even afraid of its own shadow and is forced to resort to the most drastic methods from which the blood of a normal person turns cold.

It is interesting whether the governments of Western states, its educational institutions, as well as Churches, in particular the Vatican and its Eastern Congregation, will respond to this?

— — —

A Strike of Kyiv Workers

According to reports from Ukraine, in May 1973 there was a strike of workers at a machine construction plant on Brest Litovsk Highway in Kyiv, who demanded a raise in wages. At 11. a. m. over ten thousand workers announced a strike urging negotiations with the plant's managers, who in turn alerted the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In an hour a member of the Politbureau of the CC CPU came to the plant and after talks with the representatives of workers promised to fulfill their basic demands. At 3 p. m. the majority of the plant's managers were fired and an hour later the workers received the demanded raise in wages.

The strike had an organized character and this, the population believes, was responsible for its success because the regime allegedly feared that it could turn into a new Novocherkash.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ESTONIA

Escaping from the Proletarian "Paradise"

Finland Extradited Two Estonians

Two Estonians crossed the Soviet-Finnish border in Northern Finland with the intention to get to Sweden. But, as the Finnish press reports, the government extradited them to the Soviets without giving any explanation to the public. Perhaps it is ashamed to explain its naivety to the world.



A Great Patriot's Road of Martyrdom

The Ukrainian poet **Zinovi Krasivskyi** was transferred in the spring of 1973 from the Vladimir prison to a special psychiatric hospital in the town of Sychivka of the Smolensk region.

Zinovi Mykhaylovych Krasivskyi was born in 1930 in the Lviv region. In 1947, together with his parents he was deported to Siberia. En route the youth fled, but he was caught and sentenced to five years of concentration camp. Later he lived in Karaganda where he worked in a mine. During an accident in the mine he was severely injured and became an invalid of the second class. This made it possible for him to return to Ukraine.

Z. Krasivskyi continued his studies, completed the philologic faculty of the Lviv University and published a series of scholarly articles. He wrote the novel "Bayda". In 1967 he was arrested with a group which was accused by the KGB of having founded the under-

ground organization — the "Ukrainian National Front", which was allegedly headed by teacher Dmytro Kvetsko. This organization published a periodical, **Fatherland and Freedom**, in which Z. Krasivskyi supposedly published his poems and articles.

In 1969, the trial of the "UNF" members was held in Lviv. Z. Krasivskyi was sentenced according to Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR ("high treason") to five years of imprisonment, 7 years of severe regime camps and 5 years of exile — for his "participation in the founding of the UNF, publication of the illegal periodical **Fatherland and Freedom** and dissemination of over 7,000 nationalist leaflets".

Z. Krasivskyi was transported to the Vladimir prison. In 1969 together with M. Horyn, L. Lukyanenko and I. Kanduba, he was confined to the prison's corps 11, to a special department where they were regularly poisoned and from where they managed to pass on to the world their appeal to the UN filled with the drama of human suffering and the cruelty of the Soviet Russian government. In December 1970 he took part in a hunger strike on the occasion of Constitution Day and the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

While in prison Z. Krasivskyi wrote poems which he called "Lamentations of a Slave" (Nevilnychi plachi), linking them with slave ballads. This whole collection as well as a large poem "Apocalypse" (or "Revelation") were confiscated from him by prison guards during a search. For this he was accused of disseminating poems of "nationalist content". Prison authorities and "experts", having familiarized themselves with Z. Krasivskyi's works de-

clared him "insane". Major O. M. Bulo-va, the chief of the 11th Corps Medical Service stated: "How can anyone write nationalist poems at Vladimir prison? A normal person cannot do this... Krasivskyi... is crazy..."

In winter 1972 Z. Krasivskyi was transferred to Moscow to the M. Serbsky Institute. A psychiatric expertise made up of Dr. Lunts, A. V. Snezhnevskyi, and G. V. Morozov determined that "Z. Krasivskyi is mentally ill, and that he is incapable of standing trial", deciding to confine him to a psychiatric hospital for an indefinite time. Z. Krasivskyi was taken back to Vladimir prison where he stayed until his transfer to a psychiatric hospital in the Smolensk region. This hospital is located 200 kms. from Moscow. This hospital has been partially reorganized, having been adapted to conditions necessary for political prisoners. Its psychiatrists were reinforced by "new experts" who completed a special course on the national liberation movements in the USSR. Z. Krasivskyi was first "treated" with large doses of aminazin, which was later changed to haloperidol.

The KGB Banned Church Attendance

In the village of Krasne in the Tysyachiv district of Carpathoukraine a church, struck by lightning, burned down on July 26, 1973. The peasants decided to rebuild it by themselves and began to work evenings.

A week later, the first secretary of the district, Lupak, and KGB chief, Yakimov, arrived in the village with the militia. They called the people together and ordered them not to rebuild the church. But the peasants refused to obey. Then the militia approached on four trucks and began to disperse the construction workers. A skirmish ensued. Four people were arrested and handed over to the court. Many were beaten by the militia.

Two Members of the Moscow Opera Escape

The Western press and radio reported that 2 people fled from the Moscow Opera Ensemble which was appearing in Milan, Italy. The first to flee on October 20, 1972, was dancer Anatoliy Kleymenov, who fled upon his arrival in Milan and asked for political asylum. The other was a singer, the 38 year-old Renata Bayak, a mezzosoprano. She requested political asylum at the police headquarters in Turin. The police took her to a camp for refugees near Triest, where she is to await the decision of the government. She is a native of Kharkiv.

The Circle of Those Persecuted Broadens

According to reports from Ukraine, Volodymyr Kryzhanivskyi, 39, journalist and linguist, a graduate of Odessa University, for many years on the editorial board of the regional newspaper *Chornomorska komuna* was fired from the newspaper and expelled from the Party.

He was first a literary contributor, later becoming an executive secretary. He was a member of the Union of Journalists of the USSR. He wrote primarily about agriculture, often making critical remarks, very sharp at the same time, on various subjects in which he dared to criticize general notions, bad management of village councils and collective farms, the wasting of crops, the breakdown of equipment and so forth. He opposed Russification. He has been accused of nationalism and of being friends with active leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. He refused to acknowledge his "mistakes" at a closed party meeting and replied to attacks bravely. He is left without a job.

Kryzhanivskyi's turn has come after the conviction of Borys Reznikov, a journalist from Balta, following the

sentencing of Prytyka and (Mrs.) Karavanska. After the trial of the latter in 1972 in Odessa, a campaign of administrative and party pressure began against other Ukrainian leaders, who were summoned for "discussions" and accused at party meetings.

Yuriy Shukhevych Sentenced for His Memoirs

The Dutch Catholic daily *De Teid* (The Time) of August 27, 1973, carried an interview of French AFP correspondent Edward Dillon with academician Andrey Sakharov. In this interview Sakharov criticized the credulous attitude of the West in its negotiations with the USSR with respect to "détente". In Sakharov's opinion, the West should put strong pressure on Moscow to put an end to persecution and act in the spirit of the Human Rights Declaration. Sakharov called the USSR a huge concentration camp.

Sakharov began to illustrate terror in the USSR with the situation in Ukraine. "As early as the beginning of 1972 — stated Sakharov — political oppression was intensified. Especially in Ukraine it was very strong since January 1972. Various drastic sentences become evident. Yuriy Shukhevych, who was sent to a concentration camp as a child because his father was one of the leaders of the nationalist movement in Ukraine, later described this period in his memoirs, whose text is not known to anyone as yet. During a search of his home, the KGB confiscated these memoirs. As a consequence of this Yuriy Shukhevych was sentenced to 5 years of prison, 5 years of penal concentration camp and 5 years of house arrest. I could cite many more such convictions in Ukraine.

"Leonid Plyushch, a prominent mathematician, was detained in Ukraine as well. After a year-long interrogation Plyushch was declared insane. Psychiatric examination most likely took

place without him. In December 1972 a verdict was passed to lock Plyushch up in an insane asylum.

"Because Plyushch was considered to be mentally ill, he was not permitted to attend his trial and was not represented by anyone. His wife and friends did not dare attend the trial. His lawyer had no chance to get acquainted with the indictment and could not see his client before the trial. Plyushch was confined to a prison hospital in Dnipropetrovsk. His wife had not seen him since January 1972."

And further: "Here I would like to cite another case in Ukraine. A year ago David Shumuk (most likely Danylo Shumuk) was sentenced to ten years for writing his memoirs about his 25-year stay in a concentration camp. For this he was robbed of 35 years of freedom."

This is the third time that Sakharov has pointed to persecution in Ukraine. He did this for the first time in his interview for the Swedish radio.

Similar materials about the interview with A. Sakharov were published by Jean-François Revel on the pages of the *Paris Express*.

Minister Sharp Intercedes for Ukrainian patriots

In his talks with Andrei Gromyko, Mr. Sharp was reported by the UPI to have raised the question of USSR's treatment of Jews and Ukrainian political dissidents. Mr. Sharp is reported to have told Mr. Gromyko that there is considerable concern in Canada over these groups. He said he was not seeking to interfere but wanted Mr. Gromyko to know of Canadian feelings in this matter.

"If anyone in Canada wants to tell us how to run our affairs, we don't want that advice", Mr. Gromyko is reported to have replied.

(Ottawa - November 22, 1973)

Museum in a Cave

An expedition sponsored by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR which is conducting excavations uncovered a stone grave near the city of Melitopol in Ukraine. The grave consists of a number of old caves. On the walls of many of the caves one can see wonderfully preserved paintings of people and animals from the Stone Age. Aside from many objects of everyday life, the expedition managed to find over 30 stone vessels in the shape of fish. According to the beliefs of people living in the Stone Age, everyone should carve this type of a vessel during life in order to be happy after death.

After the completion of work by the scientific expedition, a museum of regional studies will be opened on the site.

Convict Dmytro Kvetsko

Dmytro Kvetsko, young Ukrainian historian and publicist, is confined to a Russian concentration camp in Potma, Mordovia. He was brought to the concentration camp from the Vladimir prison, known for its cruel, inhuman, medieval regime, in an undermined state of health. Recently, Kvetsko's health deteriorated even further, so that his fellow inmates who suffer together with him fear for his fate. The Russian camp authorities pay no attention to the state of health of the Ukrainian prisoner whom they force to work hard since he is on their list of the most dangerous prisoners.

Dmytro Kvetsko, born in 1935 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, history teacher and publicist, graduated from the Department of History of the Lviv University, was arrested by the organs of the KGB in early 1967 and sentenced in that same year for his membership in the Ukrainian National Front (UNF) to 5 years of security prison, 10 years of strict regime concentration camp and 5 years of exile. The Russian occupa-

tion regime indicted Kvetsko as one of the founders of the UNF and charged him with being the chief ideologist of the UNF. During long and inhuman KGB and court interrogations, at which Kvetsko refused to give any kind of testimony, he and other members of the UNF were accused of continuing the nationalist activity of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) and of the fact that their ideology and program are in no way different from those of the OUN.

In 1965/67 the Ukrainian National Front not only published the periodical **Fatherland and Freedom** (16 issues are said to have appeared) which reprinted **samvydav** materials and articles of the National Executive of the OUN, but the UNF also disseminated among the population some thousands leaflets found in the Carpathian forests, which were published by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

At the Bolshevik trial Kvetsko was strongly accused also because he was a former political prisoner of the Stalinist concentration camps. He and his associates who were tried for sympathizing with the UNF (Zynoviy Krasivskiy, Mykhaylo Dyak, Hryhoriy Prokopovych, Yaroslav Lesiv, Ivan Hubka, Myron Melyn, Vasyl Kulynyn) were accused of committing the "national crime" and were therefore tried on the basis of the following articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR: 56 (High treason), 55 and 62. All of them received high terms of harsh imprisonment.

Unbroken in spirit, although with undermined health, and harshly persecuted by the enemy, Dmytro Kvetsko is now most concerned and worried by the fate of his aging mother. In her old age she remained alone, deprived of the care of her only son, who was driven by fierce enemies into harsh captivity for many years only because he stood up in defense of the sacred rights of his subjugated Ukrainian nation.

Thomas A. Lane

Captive Nations Suffer Oppression

Washington, Juli 11: In the tolerant and friendly relations which ethnic groups develop in the United States, it is difficult to hold in perspective the oppression and even genocide which is practiced in other parts of the world. That is why the annual celebration of Captive Nations Week in the third week of July must remain a focus of our concern.

National oppression and exploitation is historically associated with imperialism. It may occur in any multi-national state of society where one tribe or national group controls the power of government, whether Burundi or Uganda or the Soviet Union. But in modern times, when most of the multi-national states of the free world have allowed a sharing in political power, the passionate excesses of the past survive chiefly in the Communist states. There the ethnic differences are exacerbated by the cruelty of a materialistic ideology.

One people who have for centuries suffered the deprivation of their liberties are the Ukrainians. Settled in the rich valleys of the Dnipro, the Dniester and the Boh rivers, north of the Black Sea, the Ukrainians held a rich and bountiful land. Their territory became the target of contending neighbors. In the mid-17th Century, the rulers of Ukraine turned to the Czar of Muscovy for aid against Poland and Turkey, only to have their country divided between Poland and Russia. A systematic oppression by Peter I was designed to convert Ukraine into a province of Russia.

In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, Ukraine achieved a brief national independence, 1917-1920, before it was reconquered by the Red Russian Army.

During the German invasion of 1941, the Ukrainians soon learned that the Germans came not as liberators but as new oppressors. Ukrainians organized their own partisan army to fight both the Germans and the Russians.

The story is richly told by Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaluk in his new book, "UPA Warfare in Ukraine" (Society of Veterans of Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Inc., \$ 10.00., 499 PP.), the story of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (1942-1952).

This army of the people operated against the occupying German and Russian Armies; and during the German occupation, it fought also against Russian Partisans operating behind the German lines. The book is a chronicle of heroic tenacity against insuperable odds.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army disbanded after the death of its great Commander-in-Chief, General Taras Chuprynka, but resistance to Soviet oppression has continued. Russian efforts to suppress language and religion of the Ukrainian people have evoked new and heroic defiance from the young and the intelligentsia of the Ukrainian nation.

We can be ashamed of an American Government which accepts the continuing enslavement of the Captive Nations as the price of detente with the slavemasters.

Washington News-Intelligence Syndicate

Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own.

Benjamin Franklin

NEW PUBLICATIONS

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.

OUR ALTERNATIVE

ABN and EFC Conferences

Brussels, November 12th - 15th, 1970

Speeches, reports and messages.

In English and French.

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

**UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM**

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**

Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**

GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

Prof. Vasyl Plyushch

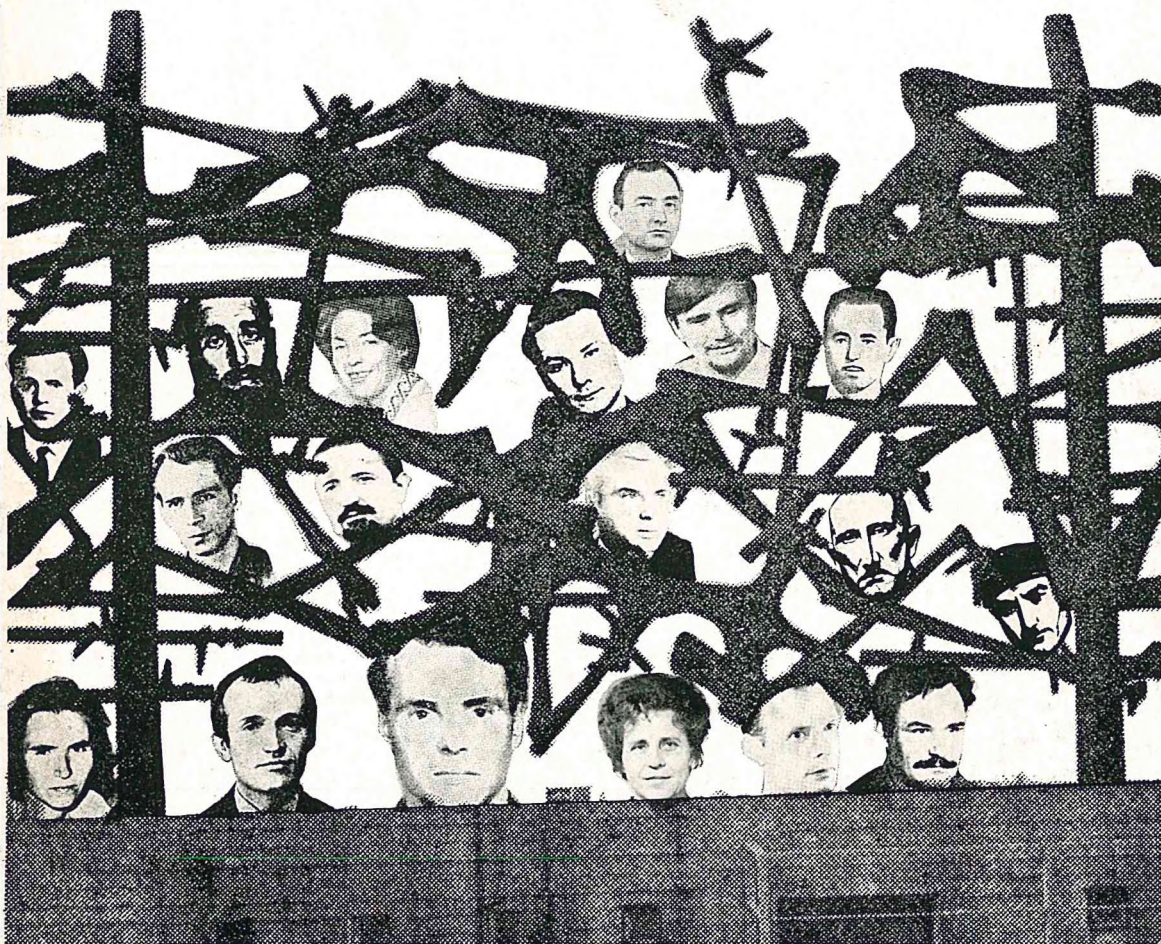
Order from: Press Bureau of ABN, 8 München 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Martyrs of Russian prisons, concentration camps and insane asylums waiting for your help in their defence:



V. Moroz, I. Senyk, I. Stasiv-Kalynets, N. Svitlychna-Shumuk, S. Karavanskyj, I. Kalynets, Yu. Shukhevych, L. Plyushch, M. Osadchyj, S. Kudirka, D. Shumuk, I. Svitlychnyj, I. He E. Sverstyuk, W. Leonyuk, B. Khrystynych, Ya. Hasyuk, V. Chornovil.

CONTENTS :

<i>Anatoliy Radygin</i> (Israel)	
A Closer Look at Life in the Mordovian Concentration Camp	1
<i>Hon. John G. Diefenbaker</i> (Canada)	
"Protest, Protest, Protest..."	24
<i>Phyllis Schlafly</i> (USA)	
The Strategic Nuclear Balance (Part II)	26
<i>Dr. Ante Bonifacic</i> (Croatia)	
An Exemplary Yugoslav Penitentiary Institution	33
Jan Palach's Grave Destroyed	35
<i>Alfred J. Anderson</i> (Estonia)	
An International Crime	36
Lviv University Under KGB Terror	38
Mykhaylo Dyak in a Perm Concentration Camp	40
Convict Dmytro Kvetsko	41
Terror Continues to Rage	42
Ivan Svitlychnyi in the Perm Concentration Camp	44
Two Preachers Convicted	47
Russia's Victim Mykola Kots	47
Imprisoned Ukrainian Women Petition the United Nations	49

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.

Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice
to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only
with indication of source (ABN-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositionskasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No. 30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN),
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon: 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.
Verantw. Redakteur Frau Slava Stetzko.
Erscheinungsort München.
Druck: Dr. J. Herp, München.

A Closer Look at Life in the Mordovian Concentration Camp

Editor's Note — Anatoliy Radygin, poet and captain of a fishing trawler, was imprisoned in 1962 for an attempted flight abroad and sentenced to 10 years, of which he spent 8 in the Vladimir prison and 3 years in the Mordovian strict regime concentration camps. After his release, he received permission to emigrate to Israel. He began to write a book about his profound camp experiences and observations, "of which — as he writes — a chapter on Ukrainians will certainly be a part. The materials from this sketch will also be there".

We received his memoirs by special delivery during the Arab-Israeli war.

Nobody had ever written this type of a description of prison life. These are not merely memoirs with epic descriptions of outside reality, with a chronological register of prison events, the convict labor of work brigades, the cruelties and sufferings or riots and insurrections. They do not even contain a recollection of the hardships of the personal fate of the author. He is not concerned with a recapitulation of facts, the subject of prison chronicle, but with a deeper meaning of facts which

characterize the quality and type of individual people and groups, with the selection of sometimes hardly noticeable expressions, conduct and facts which depict in relief not how people live but by what do they live, what spiritual content, ideas and interests motivate them and what do they turn out to be finding themselves on the bottom of hell. He reproduces the spiritual world of ideas by which the prisoners live, so as to remain themselves and not to revert to the level of crushed semi-humans even in the most difficult conditions.

These memoirs provide such a close perception of the spiritual climate of camp reality, such intimacy and close acquaintance with persons whom we know by names, deeds and writings and those unknown to us, the annoying and the hostile, that the reader feels as if he himself had recently been a prisoner of concentration camps and everything becomes comprehensible, familiar and inevitably threatening to him.

We begin the publication of Anatoliy Radygin's thoughtful, and inspired by deep sincerity, memoirs without any changes, just adding subtitles.

INTRODUCTION

When the automatic doors of the Vladimir prison slammed themselves behind my back with a metallic clank, it seemed that together with prison garb and lock-up filth, everything which surrounded me for the long ten years remained there behind me. But soon I realized that for a long time to come prison habits, other people's destinies, descents and ascents, animosities and friendships will always accompany me.

Thus, a front-line soldier views life through a gun barrel or the net of artillery panorama and divides people according to the cruel laws of his entrenched fellow-soldiers.

The Ukrainian cause has become for me a habitual legacy of these ten years. My Jewish and Ukrainian friends often smile having noticed the degree to which my speech is saturated with U-

krainianisms. I even dare to sing Ukrainian songs.

And this is not a skillful trick. From the first steps taken behind barbed wire of the Mordovian camps until my release to freedom through the heavy ironclad doors of the Vladimir center, the Ukrainian cause accompanied me everywhere and always. I do not recall a single cell in Vladimir where there would not have been at least one "neighbor" from Poltava or Vinnytsya, the Hutsul or the Lviv region... The Russo-Chehist empire swept Ukraine with a wide rake and collected at the Mordovian bogs all the daring and insolent, all the intelligent and free-thinking who raised their voice or hand against the trice-cursed "older brother". . . .

I cannot compile even a semblance of the great and bloody History of Ukrainians in the Mordovian Camps. I shall not be able to make the simplest statistical or sociological table; I shall not be able to draw any correlation between people and events, courage and treachery, wisdom and obscurity because the life of every individual in general and the life of every Ukrainian behind that line of estrangement is almost always an odyssey full of sufferings and hopes, and almost everyone of them is worthy of a novel, a poem or damnation. I am not forgetting even for a moment that the history of my people and the history of the Ukrainian people, when they happened to cross, left many dark spots in the fate of both peoples. . . . I cannot help but remember that the majority of Ukrainians, including the most noble ones, in line with their faith, and traditions, or as a result of personal tragedy, consider my people as alien, even hostile. Within my people this sentiment finds a rather broad reciprocity. . . . I am not a philosopher or a diplomat. We receive history from the hands of our parents and even in transforming it we are aware that new laws do not have a reverse force. We have similar aims — the

striving to find a homeland. We have a common enemy.

It is simply impossible to live in Mordovia and to be far removed from Ukraine.

There are no political camps without Ukrainians. There is no struggle for the Russian empire or against it without Ukrainian heroes, martyrs, without Ukrainian traitors. And when a gasping, hoarse voice shouts from the neighboring cell:

— "Boys, send word to freedom that I have died for free Ukraine!", and when in the insinuating Jesuit-like monologue of a Chehist with blue tabs there unexpectedly slips the familiar Ukrainian "soft 1", you suddenly begin to hear the breathing of a millennial nation which loves and hates, rebels, betrays and punishes, forgets nothing and creates beautiful songs.

I found my native land only recently... For a long time I lived side by side with Ukrainians, sharing with them a prison ration and the last pinch of tobacco. I perceived their indestructible striving for a homeland and their right to a homeland. I comprehended their (sense of) justice and forgive them the little notes and motives of injustice which sounded at times in their words and deeds.

THE UKRAINIAN SONG BEHIND BARBED WIRE

The zone, a huge enclosure for people, was seething. Somebody rushed somewhere, somebody else sat surrounded by thick scholarly volumes, somebody ran to the boiler room with a sooty chefir-bak" (a container for liquor made by prisoners in camp) on a long string handle, somebody wrote or reread a letter for a hundredth time, while from the furthestmost desert-like corner of the zone where 70-80 people of diverse height, the most dissimilar past (and most likely the most unlike future) gathered, there carried choir

voices, rising and fading away. A beautiful song. The Ukrainian song.

The people's faces were unusual. This was not a professional choir of equally passionless singers wearing tail-coats; this singing did not sound like the coordinated shouting of a tipsy company, nor like the tiresomely trained singing of drilled soldiers. Emotions, faces poured into the song, eyes lifted beyond the worlds — this was not singing, this was a type of a prayer,

SHEVCHENKO IN THE MIDST OF PRISONERS

It is not for me to judge as to the stylistic heights of Shevchenko, Franko or Lesya Ukrainka. One must live by and breathe the Ukrainian cause, Ukrainian poetry, Ukrainian joy and pain in order to dare speak about it. To me only one thing is clear — at that time in the whole empire there was no greater citizen, greater fighter and greater martyr than Shevchenko. And, also possibly, Mickiewicz.

In a narrow smelly cell of the Polma deportation (site) the short, heavily built Slavko Lesiv¹⁾ paced the plank-beds from one corner to next and all night read Shevchenko **by heart**, elatedly, prayfully... "Kateryna" (Catherine), "Tryzna" (Funeral Feast), psalms, and poems, angry and tender. Not many Russian people know and love Pushkin so much.

Roman Semenyuk was indignant at the fact that American Ukrainians raised a monument to the Kobzar (Shevchenko) side by side with the monument of Pushkin.²⁾

— "How is this possible?!" — he stormed violently — a serf, a sufferer

a moving communion with something incomparably higher than mere singing. One of my friends, a Russian, an accordion player, wished to join this moving music. Fingering the keys, picking up the melody, he began approaching that choir. Nobody chased him away. But they met him with such stares of bewilderment and chagrin. On a different occasion that boy was welcomed and greeted by these same Ukrainians. Now he was a stranger.

and martyr — side by side with a tsarist nobleman and chauvinist?!"

I did not agree with Roman, but who knows, perhaps it is better for a Russian and Ukrainian genius to stand in different places?...

Behind the camp barbed wire reign the laws of hunger training. Any sprout, any inflorescence of a beet, potato or cerberian dill are picked quickly and implacably. Only they are allowed to decide whether a prisoner will go to bed sate or hungry...

"Flowers — by all means!" This is even beneficial; this creates a festive, tidy, descent cover for the cursed earth, which from one end to the other is one continuous grave.

When it is possible, it is possible. An old, gray-mustached rifleman, beaten and shot so much that even the Bolsheviks were not malicious enough to send him to do hard labor, digs in that earth. He digs a little. He stands. He lurks, then bends down again.

And May arrives and on his bed of many types of flowers there suddenly blooms a portrait of the Kobzar. And you notice that his wrinkles and mustache and his entire stooping figure look for some reason like that tortured gardener.

The Chekists debated for a long time whether they should trample it or not, mow it down, or leave it. They could not make up their minds. And Taras Hryhorovych blossomed in front of the

¹⁾ A physical education teacher, born in 1945, sentenced to 6 years of concentration camp on charges of belonging to the Ukrainian National Front — Ed.

²⁾ Such fact does not exist. Too bad that Semenyuk suffered in vain without realizing that this was Bolshevik propaganda. — Ed.

barrack until his grandchildren and great-grandchildren were transported to other barracks and to other graves.

One does not even have to know the Ukrainian language.

A QUISLING NEWSPAPER ON THE PRISON TABLE

In the camp library among the files of **Pravda**, **Izvestia**, **Ukraina**, orderly as a musical comedy, in the midst of other habitual injustices a bright streak catches the eye: **Visti z Ukrainy** (News from Ukraine). Good health to you! At first you think:

— "Canada? Oh, yes boys, how insolent! Not only to get it and to smuggle it through, but in addition to put a newspaper from abroad on a common table!"

But taking a first glance at the titles — and everything becomes clear. Even the Kyiv and Lviv quislings do not em-

bark upon such open lies, such sweet praises, such shameless flattery. They are incapable of understanding that even if there is something bright and joyful, something proud and honest in contemporary Ukraine, it is not thanks to, but in spite of, the prohibitions and vigilance of the "older brother". And it will never be forgiven and must be punished. Sooner or later..

Every poetic stanza, every elated stroke of a brush, every daring word or noble deed is said and done only because of the oversight of a foreign guard. It is particularly offensive when this guard speaks the native language and in the evenings puts on an embroidered shirt...

A country of concealed fear and long since wept out tears will not forgive you, traitors from **News from Ukraine**, a newspaper which is placed on the prison table by the enemies of Ukrainian liberty.

THE FIGURE OF M. SOROKA — A REPLY TO SKEPTICS

Among my friends there are people, fully dignified, highly cultured, with satisfactory knowledge of history, who nevertheless refuse the Ukrainian people their national right to freedom, the right to have their own achievements and make their own mistakes. They feel that the 300-year-old subjugation has produced in Ukrainians, even the most talented and educated ones, only two extreme complexes: a fierce, blind and merciless hatred, or continuous service looking round at a Russian functionary or commander, and that both of these complexes once and for all exclude wise and sober statehood.

I was never confined with the late M. M. Soroka.. I only heard about him and his life from cell neighbors who had a chance to be with him. Among them there were various people: those who loved Ukraine, those who were indifferent to her, those who despised her, but I do not recall anyone who

would dare say something ill of Mykhaylo Soroka. They talked about him only with respect, with reverence. In his presence it was impossible to think up baseness, to express disgust, to manifest a weakness. That man lived and departed from this life as courageously as a knight, as peacefully as an intellectual, as brightly as a saint, with as much dignity as a statesman.

Through his life and death he gave a reply to my opponents and skeptics once and for all.

He could have ornamented any kind of a state and established any kind of statehood. I believe that the time will come when at the mention of his name, people will rise from their places and stand silently and solemnly, as the Americans rise at the mention of the name of Washington, Hungarians at the name of Kossuth and Jews at the name of Herzl.

Peace to his ashes!

CRIMINALS AND PEOPLE OF RIGID FORM

Within the gray camp throng, two categories stand out, visibly different from the colorless faces, colorless movements, gray pea-jackets.

The first are criminals who with truths and lies managed to get to "our" concentration camps. Bent in all weather, hands — inside the jackets' sleeves, a stern gaze. As repacious, violent, inaudible shadows they bustled about in camp twilight as bats, ominous, threatening, elusive. From them it was hard to expect anything natural — whether an explosion of unfounded rage which led to slaughter, or a sudden seizure of such hysterical and vain friendship.

The others are former soldiers and officers of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), members of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and non-partisan Ukrainian patriots. They also differed from everybody else. When suddenly a smart and neat man, calm and taciturn, shaved, in a clean shirt and polished shoes, in a carefully ironed prison garb passed through a pushing and shoving crowd, it was possible almost without mistake to guess his nationality, his party and the banner under which he fought.

Among Ukrainian policemen and petty informers there were very few such people.

These were people true to the lofty idea and an oath once taken. Many of them not less but rather more than others were tortured by hunger and cold and they lost so many comrades on the hard, bloody roads from the Carpathians and Kovel to Karaganda and Mordovia. Their fanaticism reached the proportions of monastic self-denial. The majority of them did not smoke, did not touch alcoholic beverages, even when it was possible to get them somehow. .

It is possible to approve of or to condemn the deeds and fate of "Halychyna" and "Nachtigall"³⁾, but their last living soldiers were worthy of imitation in endurance, in their ability to endure sufferings, in their ability not to let themselves sink to the level of a stinking ragamuffin. And I imitated them any way I could. Even if it were outwardly.

Intelligent snobs, who in the midst of arguments about Kent and Fichte forgot to visit the lavatory, ridiculed my polished boots, calling it "the reign of a Khakhol (derogatory term for Ukrainians) sergeant". But I feel that this is not the last sign of inner strength and self-respect.

Long live the reign of the sergeants of the vanquished but invincible army!

THOSE IN CHARGE OF RUSSIAN, JEWISH AND UKRAINIAN PRISONERS

In camp Ukrainians were everywhere. It is interesting to note that the last names of people who were in charge of our fate, our life, our meetings with our families, correspondence, and parcels corresponded in nationality to their tasks.

The name and being of a person who took care of routine, purely camp, regime and work climate of that frightful reservation was Russian. Major Ageyev was a shrewd and abusive man

who did not recognize politeness even if it were directed to him; sly in a Russian way, he first of all met with crimi-

³⁾ "Nachtigall" (Nightingale) — a German name of the military units "Legion of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN) organized in 1941 under the auspices of the German Army and soon disbanded by the Nazis. The majority joined the UPA, others were caught and sent to German concentration camps. — Ed.

nals and semi-criminals. Both the staff of his informants and the character of their denunciation, which he demanded, involved primarily drunkenness and fighting, narcotics and paederastics. One must admit that prior to the appearance of the first members of the ASCUNL⁴) and after the departure of the last Vlasovites from our camp there were hardly any Russian prisoners who would come here of them were unworthy or indecent people. Many of them deserve the highest praise and the brightest memory... Nevertheless, in camps for criminals the number of Russians far surpasses their normal percentage rate of the population of the USSR. In the political camps the opposite is true. This does not reflect a conscious dishonesty of every Russian person, but his inward readiness to accept the imperial nature of the state in which he is oppressed himself not less than others, but nominally and officially is considered the "older brother", and a "Russian soldier", and a thousand-fold bewailed "Russian muzhik". He is also glad that a professional criminal does not forget to raise a toast for him "in the first place". The criminals fought with Ageyev and... loved Ageyev.

Yoffe, a Jew (his inapt assistant, Lieutenant Kornel, was also a Jew) conducted a struggle with a more refined but brittle and less organized segment. Yoffe found himself in a totally unusual situation. This situation brought him almost to hysterics. He bottomed each camp Jew, including myself, and declared for the tenth time that he is a Jew, that he lost his family in the second world war, that he not only considers it a civic but also a personal duty to punish people who found themselves during the war on the other side of the no man's land... But he came across quite open hatred from

the side of the Jews, whose "percentage" in political camps turns out to be unusually high. He was "pushed around" from top and bottom. Before my very eyes Ageyev allowed himself anti-Semitic remarks directed at Yoffe; he was insulted by criminals, while Jews held him in contempt. And the Jews told him that he is a traitor of the Jewish people and that his zeal is not only similar to but a direct continuation of the actions of the Gestapo. Yoffe lost his nerve, and became thinner and thinner before our very eyes, until this "avenger" was transferred at last to command a camp for criminals. There, finding himself before robbers, he most likely stopped suffering from split personality.

On the other hand, the fate of people, to whom I am referring now, whom it was hard to frighten, and still harder to convert, was dealt with by "specialists" who spoke Ukrainian without an accent. Captain Krut, Captain Harashchenko, Captain Rusyn. I recall how Harashchenko sat in a circle of former Ukrainian partisans and outwardly an idyllic picture was formed:

— Spartans and Athenians, having finished the war, recall mutual gallant acts of heroism and mutual blunders...

There twinkled a dazzling selection of great and small battles, insignificant and large encounters, escapes and chases, and only an experienced eye could notice that this was not an amicable discussion, but a cruel duel of many years duration, which started long ago and has not ceased to this day: an accidentally defended triviality, inopportunely recalled name — and again the newspapers are covered with reports "From the Courtroom", and again people who have long since forgotten about their military past disappear from their families, again prisoners who spent 15, 17, 20 years in captivity are taken from concentration camps to a halting place for convicts — to stand trial. And "the audience greets with applause" the death sentences:

⁴) ASCUNL — All-Russian Social Union for National Liberation is a Russian underground political organization with rightist tendencies.

It is not known what bait can be "swallowed" by an intellectual full of complexes: It is not known where will a Marxist youth go, dreaming to wash away the blood from a Marxist banner, but people who once held anti-Soviet weapons in their arms always have been and will continue to be the most dangerous.

POLITICAL PRISONERS SALUTE A STAUNCH UKRAINIAN WOMAN

I shall not be quick to forgive this to my friend. It was his blunder, dictated by I do not know what. It could have been his desire to participate alone in interesting meetings and noble deeds, or perhaps his light-heartedness. Is there any difference?...

Several days after my release, we sat together in a large friendly company behind a table full of affluence to which I have long since disaccustomed myself, in the midst of warmth, affability, flowers and female smiles. And suddenly the telephone rang. A short dialogue, several little-comprehensible phrases, to which those in the house where used, and about the meaning of which it is improper to ask... My friend began to bustle around the room, taking flowers out of the vases and arranging a bouquet. I raised my brows enquiringly.

"Well, yes. It is necessary to meet and to escort a lady" — he replied almost carelessly.

He met her and escorted her. I had not known about it.. He met at one of Moscow's railroad stations, and escorted to another station, Mrs. Zarytska — Kateryna Zarytska, a woman-legend, a longterm prisoner of the Vladimir prison.

In jail she was forced to work in a laundry and was escorted to work a bit earlier than our brigade of carpenters. And so, when driven on by guards we poured out to an asphalted courtyard, in front of the third corps all raised their eyes as if on command. At the window of the laundry. There she stood already — a partially gray, tall woman; she stood without smiling and greeted us. And everyone, Ukrainians and Lithuanians, Jews and Russians, Moldavians and Armenians paid their respects to her. Some took off their caps, others saluted to the peak... And all in silence. The escorts saw this silent ritual every time, but said nothing, for silence had not been violated.

I spent 6 out of the 10 years at Vladimir. For three years I went out that door to work, and for three years, every morning, whether in the spring sunshine or in the grim cold twilight in a narrow window as a portrait of the Unyielding, there stood a woman, greeting and escorting us.

And I had not met her and had not escorted her... I shall not be quick to forgive this to my friend.

ARGUMENT AMONG PRISONERS ON UKRAINIAN AFFAIRS

There were constant arguments. Solid and superficial, scholarly and stupid, ridiculing and tearful.

Somebody declares that there was no greater mistake than the hostility between the Melnyk and the Bandera followers, that so many wonderful boys perished, who were later so desperately needed for defense against the real enemy. And others reply to him that

the Melnyk followers are themselves to blame, while the third say that Bandera followers started first.

Somebody maintains that Poles are still responsible for the Kholm-Pere-myshl settling of accounts, and he is told in reply that this is a Russian bone contention to prevent stupid Ukrainians from reconciling with the dull Poles and recall Transylvania, Hitler and Rumanians vs. Hungarians...

Somebody sighs that everything national was killed off and destroyed in Ukraine, that the archives were burned and manuscripts destroyed that coryphees and emigres from Ukraine have been and still are more respected abroad, while in Kyiv and Lviv the state regularly supports untalented verse-makers and unfeeling painters that with stubbornness worthy of better application, the cinematography of Ukraine is kept on a luxurious and affluent, but stupid and pseudo-folk level. And others retort that even in this mutilated state Ukrainian art has been, is, and will be superior to the Russian, in which even the better authors are pupils and wards of other nations. And in Ukraine, there are only the native ones, and — as it was recently proved by theologians and linguists — Adam and Eve spoke Ukrainian... And this is no joke!

Somebody disputes, using arguments, that the Koliyiv period pertains not to the military but to a robbery period of history of the Ukrainian nation, and that it was not the brightest spot in it. And he is told that there were no dark

spots in the history of Ukraine and that neither the peasant or the Kozak heroes are divided into military and robbery ones, and what pertains to the Jews — well they got what they deserved...

Somebody defends (Metropolitan) Sheptytskyi's blessing to the boys who fled under the German banners; he defends it ably; he argues with figures in his hands that in the age of aviation and tank armadas it is impossible to crush the power of the Russian empire by courage alone, that Hitlers will come and go, and Ukraine will remain. He is replied to in a similar vein and with like passion that it was necessary to think sooner and not to feed the Russian Army with sergeants and marshals for it is not certain who brought more tears — Ukrainians in Hitler's Army in three years, or Ukrainians in the Russian Army in threehundred plus years...

Arguments, arguments... About the past and the future. About blunders and betrayals. About achievements which were forgotten. And always about the same thing. About Ukraine...

A MAN HARDENED SPIRITUALLY

A person works. After 8 hours of the pounding of hammers and the screeching of saws in the prison carpenter shop, in a noisy cell for 16 inmates, in the domino, in the midst of screaming radio, in the smoke of cheap tobacco, under a dim lamp, having huddled up in the top cot, a man is working.

I do not know much about the finesse of structural linguistics, about the need and timeliness of this or that philologic work, but one cannot help being impressed and having real respect for the work of that man, having seen, if only from a distance, his notes. The systematics, the change in script, the tables and drawings, the lists and dictionaries. When you take these notebooks into your hands, you cannot help won-

dering at the striking love for work. Even in the business-like quiet of a research office not everyone manages to transform all this into notebooks. And he was destined to carry his notebook in his bosom, to hide it during searches in unbelievably small hiding places. And this notebook looks like a good copy of a dissertation, and it could be published immediately in this manuscript form. The man tears himself away from his work sometimes, gazes into the distance, extends his handwriting.

This man was lucky in still another respect, although it is tactless to consider happy a prisoner who is serving his second sentence on the basis of a sentence unknown to anyone. He was

also lucky in that all these years there waits for him a wife who knows how to write letters — and oh what letters ... Courage and fidelity, support and understanding — this cannot be bought for money and cannot be solicited through novenas. This is a genuine thing. Nina Strokata's⁵⁾ letters to Svyatoslav Karavanskyi.⁶⁾

At that time she had not been in prison yet.

At times in the middle of a working day, Karavanskyi puts a layer of veneer of the floor of the workshop, lies down on it and contemplates in silence gazing at the ceiling. The overseers would have reprimanded anybody else immediately — they have left Karavanskyi alone many years ago. They know: if they yell at him — he won't be frightened; if they threaten him — he smiles. But he will not get up and thus only gives a "bad" example to others.

What is he thinking of? Who knows. They will find out about it, and publish it in addition in Ukrainian publications abroad. They will be poems. Or perhaps, publicistic works.

⁵⁾ Nina Strokata, born on January 31, 1925, in Odessa, a microbiologist of the Odessa Medical Institute, arrested on December 8, 1971, on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" (Art. 62, Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR) and sentenced in May 1972 to 4 years in prison.

⁶⁾ In the original the first name is erroneously given as Stanislav. Karavanskyi was sentenced in 1944 to 25 years in concentration camp. In 1960 he was released in line with an amnesty after completing more than 16 years of imprisonment, having cut his term of imprisonment in half (12.5 years). In November 1965, Prosecutor Rudenko annulled the amnesty and Karavanskyi, without trial, was sent to complete his 25-year term. He compiled the confiscated "Dictionary of Rhymes of the Ukrainian Language".

But one day he did not succeed. When I came to Vladimir for the second time, Svyatoslav was already under investigation in the cell across (from me). And when the windows for the passage of food were opened simultaneously — this was severely prohibited, but it happened nevertheless — I saw how he paced the cell, stripped to the waist in the cold days when we did not take pea jackets off our backs. His physical hardness was no lesser than his spiritual firmness. Later we were transferred to different corpses, and eventually prison authorities went from cell to cell and, without concealing their malicious triumph, informed everybody about the new conviction of Karavanskyi.

Now, dressed in patched prison clothes, he could not meet us, even accidentally. He was thrown into a cell where chance people are in the majority — predominantly criminals. This is worse than could have been invented for a man of letters and a research worker. It is possible to endure and to forget about both hunger and mock trial, it is possible to work in the midst of noise and tobacco stench. It is considerably harder to be surrounded day and night by embittered and by hunger-brutalized semi-people, people filled with malicious and aggressive hatred, a militant ignorance, who in advance have entered anyone contributing to culture and science into the register of enemies, and who with all their beastly substance have mastered well the propagandistic nonsense — about the harmful Ukrainians, traitors, and the naive in their "helplessness", insulted in their "gullibility" Russian peasants. Nothing more cruel and more unjust could have been found for this man.

"KNIGHTS ARE STILL THERE"

Everything is contemplated upon. Both the first congress of the Slavophiles and the Hungarian nationalism which kept Ukrainians from the barri-

cedes in 1848, and the Polish "conceit" which so many times hindered both Ukrainians and Poles themselves in shaking off foreign yoke, and the ideology of Vynnychenko, and the blunders of Petlyura, and the death of General Shukhevych...

I did not happen to be confined with Yuriy Shukhevych, but if M. M. Soroka were a teacher and patriarch, then Yu. Shukhevych was a friend and companion — generous and tireless. This was said by all who happened to share a cell and a barrack with him. As long as there are such people among us — the Chekists can never achieve either com-

plete obedience or complete senselessness of their prisoners.

We knew that the son of General Shukhevych, a young intellectual and warrior, worthy of his family, will not be forgotten by Moscow...

And although we knew that this will come, all were shaken time and again by a new conviction. We knew what was in store for him again: the stench of cells and the meager food, a lack of understanding and hatred toward him on both sides of the prison doors, the hopeless tragedy of their families.

But one wishes to repeat the old: "There are still knights in Ukraine."

THERE WON'T BE ANYMORE LETTERS

Oh, how much does it mean, how dear is a letter received behind those walls. In the evening, after a scanty supper, no matter what the prisoners might be doing, about what they might be arguing, what they might be playing — all attentively listen to the clanging of keys outside the door. A bang — a spy-hole in the door was opened. All stood still. Mail!

It is not known who will receive news from home today, and who will have to wait for it for months. Only one very young man goes to the door calmly, assuredly. It is "Dyak"⁷⁾, of course, "who else if not Dyak", "it is Dyak" — seven, ten, twelve envelopes at once, almost daily. His parents, eleven brothers and sisters and almost as many relatives have promised to write and they are keeping their promise. This is already a custom in that family. Mykhaylo sits down, lays out the envelopes strictly according to numbers,

accurately, and engrosses himself in reading. First from his parents...

A DYING POET

On the other hand one man walks about the cell with a nicely hidden, but for a prisoner's eye, nevertheless noticeable longing home-sickness in his eyes. He, too, has somebody to receive letters from. All know from photographs both his wife, a beauty, and two sons, unusually handsome and lovely boys, "Ukrainian" to such a degree that in fun, regardless of their names, we called them "Ostap and Andriy". And the letters are getting fewer. And this worn out and tired man, but never complaining, paces the cell, creating bitter and angry verse by night. Angry — about enemies and traitors of his native land, bitter — about his own personal losses.

I lived together with Zinoviy Krasivskiy⁸⁾ for only two days. His high cul-

⁷⁾ Mykhaylo Dyak, born in 1935, senior lieutenant of the militia in Ivano-Frankivsk, arrested in March 1967 on charges of being one of the leaders of an underground organization, "Ukrainian National Front", and of circulating UPA literature. Sentenced to 8 years of strict regime concentration camp and 5 years of exile.

⁸⁾ Zinoviy Krasivskiy — former prisoner of the Stalinist camps, sentenced in Lviv in 1967 to 5 years in prison and 7 years in strict regime camps on charges of founding the "Ukrainian National Front". In winter 1972 he was transferred to a mental hospital for writing prison verse.

ture, his contained humor, his broad knowledge and striking tactfulness in the complicated bends of "intra-cell diplomacy" will humble, touch anyone. I met people to whom a 50-gram limit is decisive. O loss of only one eighth of a pound of bread turns people, who only yesterday were reasonable and intelligent, into embittered and inventive beasts of prey. And this man is starving. He starves and remains the same as yesterday, as a year ago, as five years ago. He is critically ill, but even such "delicacies" as noodle soup, the serving of which is considered a feast for the hungry people, does not pertain to him. His chronically bleeding stomach, his teeth lost in captivity close before him this means of survival as well.

And so side by side with him, two categories of souls group themselves a-

round him, two types of human beings manifest themselves. The first, as shrewd as jackals, rush to him, fight for the right to be his cellmates and to live off his sufferings and illness: to eat for him what he himself is unable to eat. And — others, who often far from him, roaming around different cells and different corpses, for years not having seen Zenko even from a distance, do not forget him even for a moment, looking for countless ways, countless ingenious channels in order to send him a handful of sugar or a pence of white toast collected for him from their scanty rations. At times, this brotherly gift, — a bag of yellowish sugar sand — makes a long journey passing through dozens of hands before it reaches (and sometimes it fails to reach the addressee . . .

THE POET'S VOICE IS TRANSMITTED TO YOU, FREE UKRAINIANS !

And in summer of 1972 the cells housing Ukrainians or non-Ukrainians sympathizing with them were subjected to a general search. They were looking for poems. All poems, written in Ukrainian, which they failed to destroy were confiscated and "investigated". They did not have to find them; it was not necessary to "investigate" them. The finding of these poems was a mere formality: Zinoviï did not conceal his attitude to the Paliys, to the history and fate of Ukraine and Russia. The Chekists decided not only to doom this man to a slow and starving death, but also to cast a shadow on his noble soul. He was sent to a mental institution. In the second corps just before my release Zinoviï managed to tell me, and he asked me to pass it on to freedom, that he demanded from the Paliys in white coats and blue stripes a new trial, an open responsibility for his poetic writings. He was ready to defend and to comment each stanza before any literary historic or medical board. But in vain! They know the

price of these poems very well. They know their accuracy and force very well. And for this very reason they threw an honest patriot and a great poet into the same cell with maniacs and paranoics, although both we and they knew very well that mentally Zinoviï, was the the healthiest man among us.

"WRITE IN RUSSIAN ! SPEAK RUSSIAN !"

But the Chekists thought out yet another mockery over the national sentiments of the non-Russian prisoners. Once a month, and in the "severe" regime — once every two months — the prisoner was allowed to write a single letter to freedom. And for those who write in Russian this is a constant moral torture: the harsh censorship, the inability to express anything, without even mentioning the intimate spiritual feelings which do not fit on the paper because one does not wish to reveal them to censors with impure and stereo-

typed views. It is impossible to guess what might seem suspicious or prohibited. Any phrase could be interpreted as divulging regime secrets; every quotation — as an agreed upon watchword; every mistake in style or grammar — as a code.

The letter was sent. And then for a week, two weeks or even longer nobody knows whether the letter has left the prison walls. And you wait for a few more weeks (to see) if they don't throw your letter through the little door, bespattered, ridiculed, felt by strange hands, and along with it — slow-witted, frightened, tearful letters and telegrams from home: "where are you?", "what happened to you?" You, but even more your mother, your wife, your children are skillfully, persistently and implacably tortured by these inquisitors.

But those who do not write in Russian are far worse off: their letters are initially not sent to their destination, but to their distant capitals (Kyiv, Tbilisi, Tallin). Then in a round-about way the letter returns with an official translation. Then if prison authorities decide to delete something the letter again repeats the same route (Vladimir-Kyiv-Vladimir); the task — "to identify in the national text reports which are not subject to forwarding". And only later, having fully enjoyed themselves, having worried both the sender and the addressee to death by alarming uncertainty, they forward the mutilated, belated letter to its Ukrainian, Armenian or Latvian address... Between two and six months, these squeezed out to bloodlessness news reports wonder from one government office to the next.

—"Write in Russian!" — and when the tired nationalist deviates from his principled stand of many years and writes his letter in Russian, it can come even sooner than the letter of a Kaulanite or a Moscovite.

During visits — it's the same thing. "Speak Russian!" Some non-Russian

phrase, and the visit with an aging mother is inevitably and implacably interrupted.

— "Speak Russian! Write in Russian!"

I had an opportunity to testify before experienced European and Transoceanic lawyers. I was shaken when having told them about all this they shrugged their shoulders, stating that censorship is anticipated by normal law and that all our sufferings and tears in connection with "mail" pranks cannot even be placed as a reproach to our jailers.

How should these undoubtedly honest lawyers, who are accustomed to court publicity and the openness of penal procedure, who are used to extreme hardships in begging the prosecutor for an arrest or a search warrant when there is the least doubt of its legality, who are accustomed to be surrounded by annoying and omnipresent press — how should they understand the entire depth and painfulness of tortures to which the Russian jailers transform every "regime-sanctioned" act.

In letters we often came across little reports, forgotten by the censors, of student wardens. Their school is located right here at prison. Future representatives of operations departments and regime supervisors get their training in censorial "work". Among them are young people of all nationalities. I am not speaking about the fact that any even slightly educated Russian person is capable of understanding the content of a Ukrainian conversation. With the presence of such, and in such numbers, conscientious censors there is no need of sending letters to Erivan, Riga or Tashkent. But this is where the very wisdom of imperial training is to be found — to make a religious man blaspheme, a Jew — to bless himself, an ex-SS man — to sing the "Buchenwald Alarm", a national patriot — to write letters in the language of the oppressor.

CONFRONTATION OF FORCES, IN SPORTS AS WELL

And there is a second feature, far removed from politics, or perhaps — not so remote after all.

In 1972, when I was leaving prison, camp sport was almost at a standstill. Three or four sports enthusiasts sluggishly threw the ball back and forth in a deserted basketball court. Nobody makes iceskating rinks in the winter, although neither ball-playing nor iceskating are prohibited, and it seems that the number of young people has increased.

In the beginning, way back in the 60s, I found a rather stormy sports life. National teams were organized, matches were held, amateur trophies and prizes were collected (basically the goodies from parcels). Each team had its fans and the whole camp awaited the Sunday games. And the spectacles were quite interesting. The shortage of food was made up by the enthusiasm of youth, physical weakening — by technique. Some teams had players who earlier were ornaments of regional and republican clubs. In the field, prisoners often forgot their situation, the ecstasy of play, the noise on the "stands" returning them to their recent youth, full of energy. Behind the judge tables, there sat judges at times of republican and at times even of international rank.

In basketball basic opponents were two teams — the Lithuanian and the Russian. Lithuanians depended on their perseverance and their jumpers. On the Russian team there played two experienced masters in sport.

And in soccer, among the numerous teams general attention was gained by the struggle of two major teams — the club "Druzhba", made up of players of various nationalities, which had outstanding "soloists in its make-up, and the Ukrainian on which there played only one master. But still, after two or three years of almost equal struggle Ukrainians began to squeeze out more

winning points, otherwise it would not be worth writing about it right here.

In the "Druzhba" club much depended on the mood. On its left wing there played Anatoliy Nakashidze⁹⁾, an elegant and ambitious Georgian, an ex-professional dancer. The center of attack was Volodymyr Benkovych, a former seaman on the tanker "Tuapse". He carried out classic solo breakthroughs, demonstrated a mighty power play, while his middle attacker, the former sports trainer, the one-handed Estonian Ujbo, from a distance of 30-35 meters "hit" the goal without an error with direct cannon-like blows. The goal keeper of that team, a German-language teacher, managed to catch the seemingly hopeless balls.

The Ukrainian team played evenly and defended itself calmly. An uncomplicated, clear-cut pass, a well coordinated line of attack, without soloists and, it would seem, without luster. But at one time it so happened that in the middle of the game somebody at "Druzhba" glanced back at someone, somebody got nervous, somebody reprimanded another one, and the team began to disintegrate before our eyes. In the last minute, the former sailor and the former dancer began to lose the ball for some reason, the powerful Estonian let the ball slip past the goal and the former criminal nicknamed "Kin" (horse) with not much technique, but capable of racing around the entire field for 90 minutes with diabolical speed, rushed around the field in vain ... But the Ukrainians continued to at-

⁹⁾ A dancer in the Georgian Song and Dance Ensemble, who during its appearance in Scotland in 1963, asked for political asylum in Edinburgh. After his return to the USSR in October 1968 he was sentenced to 10 years of camps.

tack the goal just as evenly and unemotionally, and the elegant, delicate Vilya from the right, and the square, strong to indestructibility Yarema from the left sent ball after ball to the goal of the coryphees. Without brilliance, but clearly and confidently.

The Ukrainians had only one master, a single player who hardly ever made a mistake, the only one who did not play for the "audience". I do not recall his last name. The whole camp called him simply Myron. It is hard for an athlete to restrain himself from a burst of forgivable ambition.. All knew that he can run no worse than "Kin", shoot almost as good as Ujbo, spin "Vienneese lace" no worse than Nakashidze. And still, all through the game he found himself at the rear, in the modest post of central defender, not even reaping the laurels of the happy and bold bombardiers. He directed his team calmly and reservedly. Not a slightest reprimand to the player who commit-

ted an error, a reserved nod of praise to the happy one, while he, himself, was constantly doing the work which was noticeable only to the experienced eye. It was on purpose that not one of the players on his team said "I", only "we", it was on purpose that when the Chekists forbade Lithuanians to wear a uniform with their national emblem (a silhouette of a militant wolf) and Ukrainians — the blue and yellow colors — out of all the multicolored sports forms Myron picked the most unpretentious one — gray-green.

He was a true gentleman in sports and his team conducted itself like gentlemen even after the game.

As a matter of fact, side by side with Myron at the right defense flank, the Ukrainian goal was defended, also modestly but stubbornly and painstakingly by my old friend, today one of those most despised by the Chekists, the author of the book "My Testimony". Anatoliy Marchenko.¹⁰⁾

"LET UKRAINIANS ABROAD KNOW ABOUT YET ANOTHER MARTYR..."

A complete knot of Soviet calculations was untangled by Volodymyr Bukovskiy.¹¹⁾ Two years in prison, five years of camp and five years of exile — this is the sentence which the Bolsheviks meted out to a man who dared to look behind the curtains of their sinister "juridical" and "medical" spectacles.

Aside from Zinoviyy Krasivskiy, it is

also possible to include Yosyp Mykhaylovych Terelya in a long list of those "punished by insanity". A young man, he was born in the days when in his native Transcarpathian region the final shots from the last bunkers were already silenced. As other boys, he was educated in the Soviet school, and as with others, attempts were made with him to mold him into a "normal" So-

¹⁰⁾ A worker born in 1938. For his attempted escape to Iran, he was sentenced on October 29, 1960, to 6 years of strict regime camps. He was released on October 29, 1966. In July 1968 he was sentenced to 1(?) year for writing a book published in the *samvydav*, while in August 1968 he was sentenced to an additional 2 years in camps. He was released on July 29, 1971.

¹¹⁾ A Russian poet born in 1942. In 1963-64, he was confined to a mental home.

From September 1965 until July 1966 he was again incarcerated in an insane asylum. On January 26, 1967 he was sentenced to a 3-year term in strict regime camps for "slandering the Soviet regime". On March 29, 1971, he was sent to a mental home for the third time. After this he was coonfined, as sane, to the Lefertiv prison. In January 1972 hi was sentenced to 2 years in prison, 5 years in a mental home and 5 years in exile.

viet man. His father lived a complicated and contradictory life, suffering, either entering or leaving the Communist Party and starving first in Germany, then in Soviet concentration camps, all this time undergoing a spiritual conflict between Communist ideology and Ukrainian nationalism. Something like this does not pass without an effect. He took up drinking and turned the life of his wife and three little children into hell. But in his eldest son, Yosyp, there arose an uncontrolled desire to continue this, in his eyes, heroic, and romantic struggle which only recently was drenched in blood by the Bolsheviks. In proportion to his boyish strength, he attempted to organize a youth group, to set up a secret forest base, to procure weapons. The Chekists tried to reason with him, to intimidate him with arrests and searches, but it was hard to frighten the youth who grew up in the family whose entire older generation was executed: some — by the Germans, others — by the Russians, the third — by the Hungarians. Finally he was arrested and sent to camp "for pilfering arms". And there began for Josyp a continuous road of escapes and chases, persuasion and beatings.

I met Yosyp in camp section 19 in Mordovia. Black-haired, thin, quick as mercury, he went about the zone leaning on a stick and literally radiating hatred to his jailers, hatred to his enemies and to those whom he erroneously held for enemies... I had the opportunity to be with him in difficult and dangerous situations, and although he did not manifest adequate cold-bloodedness everywhere, his courage and resoluteness were always beyond doubt. We found our way to Vladimir prison together, but only after two years did we find ourselves in the same cell for an extended period of time. I was aware of his unbalanced character, his totally irreconcilable anti-Semitism. All remembered quite well our infuriating arguments which led to

mutual insults in the questions of politics and the history of our peoples, and, indeed, nobody (the two of us included) expected anything good from our life together. I braced myself for a difficult life, full of malice, insults and even conflicts, which Yosip already had with others... And suddenly everything turned out the opposite: for three months a Jewish Zionist, a Jewish Social Democrat, Valeriy Ronkin¹²), and a Ukrainian nationalist from Svalyava, Yosyp Terelya lived as brothers in a small triple cell. Yosyp turned out to be a good and not a stupid young man. He liked and knew quite well countless interesting matters, beginning with old Transcarpathian legends and tales, which he narrated with striking skill, artistry and humour, and up to botanics and economics, in which he wished to become an expert. He moved us with his profound knowledge of Ukrainian, in particular, Transcarpathian history. He knew and quoted countless Ukrainian prosaists and poets, who through the fault of Russian assimilators remained outside the field of vision even of the professional Ukrainian philologists. Yosyp wrote verse. He wrote much and quickly. Even I, not quite familiar with the Ukrainian language, could notice sins and mistakes in the technique of rhyming, but still, a passionate longing, persuasiveness and courage which echoed in his poetry, involuntarily forced one to except his convictions and to overlook his mistakes. He had sufficiently sound, at times paradoxical, but always interesting views and evaluation of past and actual historic upheavals. He ably found motives, roots and springs which clarify the zigzags of leaders, heroes and traitors in the history of Ukraine and Russia. Even disagreeing with him on many issues, it was possible to under-

¹²) Valeriy Ronkin, an engineer, member of the leadership of the "Union of Communards", sentenced on June 12, 1965, to 7 years of strict regime camps and 3 years of exile.

stand the logic of his "unhealthy" objectivity and "healthy" lack of objectivity...

At the time of the general search, when a search was conducted in all cells and secret hiding places for Kravivskyi's poems, Terelya's poems were also confiscated everywhere. Together

with Zinoviiv he was doomed to an insane asylum. The Chekists were just as sick and tired of fighting with the quiet wisdom of Zinoviiv as with the tireless longing of Yosyp...

Let Ukrainians abroad know about yet another tortured son of their long-suffering homeland.

"THOSE PUNISHED BY INSANITY"

Aside from those "inflicted by insanity" there were in our camps and prisons also people "punished by insanity."

In the books of Marchenko and the diary of Kezunetsov mention was made of such unfortunate people driven to insanity by the inhuman regime as the Estonian Nurmsaar or the Russian criminal nicknamed "Adenauer". I will still have to write about Mykola Tarasov who became an ominous stinking specter of the Vladimir prison. The sad lot has also fallen on me to write about yet another Ukrainian prisoner.

He was called Mykola Tanashchuk. I am not acquainted with his pre-camp past. After his first sentence he fled from camp, attempted to make a breakthrough abroad, was caught and again placed behind barbed wire. He tried to escape again. And not simply to escape but to run a "jerk", that is to flee boldly, before the very eyes of the guards, under fire, with an instant chase... His companion disappointed him; the chase failed to develop; it was impossible to decentralize the fire. The fugitive was literally buried under rounds of automatic fire, sustained several wounds and one bullet tore his arm to pieces leaving him maimed for life. Nevertheless, the NKVD men made him work as of old and regularly sent him to a harsh prison "for unfulfillment of the norm". Obviously, the real reason was different. This was a calm, even-tempered man, behind whose escapes and shots at close range... At the time we found ourselves in a large cell on starvation "severe" regime, a-

mong people gone wild, exhausted by undernourishment and cold who constantly clashed in arguments and at times even fights, as all people who have nowhere to hide their anger and despair anymore. Mykola knew where to hide them... and he suppressed them. He was the most calm, friendly and sensitive among us. He never raised his voice, treated cell quarrels with pain and a bit of disgust, and constantly attempted to find reconciliatory, as it seemed to him, Christian arguments. He read books quietly, sat next to me, and although he was a man of low education, he always surprised me with unusually accurate, often unexpected analysis of what he had read. And at night, at daybreak he fervently prayed to God, prayed quietly and persistently for peace and repose of the remembered souls, begged God to grant peace and happiness to his only elder sister, the last dear soul which remained to him after the storms and deaths of the second world war and thousands of other Ukrainian tragedies.

One day, deeply shaken, he told us: "Boys, my heart aches. I had a bad dream. Something must have happened to my sister. I have a feeling that I have lost her."

Our fears were justified when a mournful telegram arrived several days later. Mykola withdrew into himself and became more quiet still. From that time on, with pain and regret we began to notice that from our good, wise and sincere friend something wanes and gets lost every month, that new,

ever more ill-boding signs are appearing...

He was losing his mind. This man, who had endured and suffered so much, who it would seem was already immune, disappeared as a personality before our very eyes. I shall not describe the totally strange, frightening and faulty marasmus into which he fell more and more, how he gradually became a burden to his surroundings. In every insane asylum these abnormalities and nightmares have become everyday occurrences, every psychiatrist would no doubt exhibit a minimal de-

gree of mercy which the Soviet government permits to him. But it did not permit it... He remained in prison with hunger rations, in a small, smoke-filled cell, evoking on one hand sympathy and squimish pity from his surroundings, and on the other hand — malicious joy and sadistic torturing of Paliys in uniforms and white coats. I do not know where is this man now: behind the opaque glass of an insane asylum, or had God called him to Himself, for in that case Ukraine has lost another son, another person "punished by insanity".

"YOU'VE TALKED, NOW LISTEN!"

But there were also amusing incidents. The organizers of the Russian Social Christian movement were brought to prison. Each of them was a personality, and the history of the fate of each of them, their rise and fall, deserve separate chapters or even a special book. It is a well-known fact that this was an organization of imperialistic hue oriented upon the darkest side of Dostoyevsky-type ideology with the orientation upon the most complicated side of Berdyayev's philosophy. This is also a controversial subject, but this is no place to evaluate it. The point in question is simply that prisoners of that group — almost each one of them completed higher education in humanities — began to believe in the uniqueness of their group and still prior to coming behind bars firmly considered it their duty and right as intellectuals to teach, enlighten and familiarize everyone with their one-thousand-and-one "genuine faith and truth".

As yet unused to seeing himself from the side, a man wearing a torn pea jacket, heavy, ungraceful shoes, unshaven face and closely shaved head, entered the cell with the gait of a prophet, the bearer of truth, the priest of morality. And, indeed, the shaggy ragamuffins wearing tattered pea jackets, clumsy shoes, unshaven faces and bald

shaved heads and in addition emaciated, covered with pale greenish skin, must have appeared to him as a lost and dark congregation, which he, as a true intellectual and leader, can and should enlighten. In addition to the external appearance, the infrequent and laconic questions sounded in Ukrainian, which even to this day when it is painfully accepted as a language by many Russian intellectuals, then as a language of the peasants, a dancing language. All sorts of Tarapunkas without kith or kin have long since taught to accept Ukrainianisms as the mutilation of "the great, mighty, free..."

And, indeed, the tone of a dignitary descending to the common people, of a fatherland guardian, of a grumbling mentor immediately became dominant in the monologue of the novice. Having forgotten that he is not in the pulpit and in a circle of like-minded people, he related extensively and in detail why other nations are obliged to wait respectfully until a Russian man, having ceased to commit sin, convincing himself of the grandeur of his task, will finally raise the Christian banner, discarded by other nations, and will become an example, a leader, an attracting force, and a luminary for the entire world. He advocated the messianism and the "chosen people" status

of the Russian people (not the Slavs, not Christians, not even the Orthodox, but of the Great Russians), and only an auxiliary (of course, honorary enough), only secondary role of other nations in this unfailing means to universal happiness and general brotherhood. All should consider it an honour to march in this entourage, in which of course there is no place for Jews, while Ukrainians should remember that all too often they cast off their breeching and took up the sword...

He spoke long and well. And then one of the ragamuffins in a torn pea jacket, heavy shoes and closely shaved head smiled quietly and exclaimed not too loudly:

— "But all this is nonsense!"

The prophet acted as if he stumbled while running fast. Not only the categoricalness with which his eloquence was taken note of, but also the "peasant" pronunciation of the obstinate one shook the lecturer as a fragmentation grenade... The angry philippics addressed to "mercenaries from times immemorial" and "traitors" began to

re-echo to a large degree Russian editorials and solemn formulation of tribunes...

— "Stop, that's enough!" — he was interrupted, again in a "barbaric" jargon — "you've had your say, now listen!"

And the **Kulturträger** had to listen to a reply in the purest Russian language which glittered with quotations and counterquotations from Russian philosophers and literary titans, intermingled with ringing Latin maxims, elegant Gallicisms, an excellent knowledge of the Bible, the Russian history in general, and that of the Russian Black Hundred movement in particular, history which the opponent knew no worse than the dissertant...

I have not mentioned this ill-starred person by name because his fate, his personal courage, his long-term sentence and his chivalrous conduct both in court and in prison in no way deserve ridicule. He was simply unlucky — he stumbled upon one of the most brilliant and convinced Ukrainian intellectuals — upon Horyn.

A CAMP CELEBRATION

There was a celebration in camp. It began with a strange sense of worry and fussing by the authorities. The officers, pale and sleepy, with clumsily buckled pistol holsters, ran from office to office, from zone to zone. The "free" craftsmen and bookkeepers with "serious" faces disappeared somewhere one by one. A double guard was posted on the towers. And in a day's time a joyful rumour made the rounds:

"They escaped, and escaped with 'ends'." This meant they escaped without leaving any traces behind. Two Ukrainians have fled, two political prisoners from camp No. 2, and all were seized by a feeling of gloating triumph when the embittered Chekists, unshaven, soiled by the mud of the Moldovian bogs, bitten by swarms of swamp mosquitoes, returned from their

unsuccessful raids. Even the rattlers and denunciators, the informers and flatterers went about as triumphant and friendly as on Easter Day. After all, their masters were not their friends either, and a bad lackey often rejoiced at his master's misfortune.

Oliynyk¹³⁾ and Semenyuk¹⁴⁾ had escaped. They fled in an exceptionally daring manner, in broad daylight, across walls and arcs of fire, through

¹³⁾ Antin Oliynyk, long-term prisoner, participated in a hunger strike on April 5, 10, 1970. Shot.

¹⁴⁾ Roman Semenyuk, sentenced to 25 years for membership in the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). In 1965 he received an additional 3 years.

hostile Mordovia, saturated by informers and surveillance apparatus and soaked by our blood. They fled, while the telephones wheezed behind them; radio stations choked; rockets were fired, first — regiments, then — divisions, later military and frontier districts were put on alert. For three months, without catching enough sleep, without eating their fill, clanging locks and caterpillars of tanks, seizing innocent people, cursing, they (the authorities) searched for two fugitive prisoners, from sea to sea along all the borders of the gigantic prison — Russia. The Chekists roamed about the camp, sniffing, watching, searching for clues, deciphering every word in our triumphing from which it could be guessed where and to whom could Oliynyk and Semenyuk go for money, for bread or for ammunition. Captain Harashchenko, a KGB agent from "No. 7", was well aware of my inclinations and badly concealed aspirations. He came up to me saying: "Well, don't be afraid, if you were in No. 2, would you go with your friends?"

— "Of course" — I replied, although this was boasting more than anything else since I had not known "Mriya" at all, while I have met Roman much later. But at that time, all were bursting with wild joy. So it is possible! It is possible to flee. So, boldness and inventiveness can overcome any barriers, perhaps even boundaries...

It is true that in three months' time, after a long journey, in the midst of Russian and Ukrainian beggars, among neglected and deserted cemeteries and ancient churches after visits to museums and lectureships, where in their native Ukrainian, the lecturers lied to their Ukrainian listeners, after visits to former heroes who fearfully peeked at the door, to novices who were ready to follow in their footsteps this very minute, after countless raids and (as I heard) an attempt to break through the border, they committed a blunder, as old as the prison itself. They were

caught in the apartment of their family.

I have not sworn allegiance to the Ukrainian cause, and it is impossible for me to determine the degree of someone's guilt, but when Oliynyk was executed by shooting while Roman was forced to issue a statement about the impossibility of escape (he in no way renounced his Ukrainian ideas) many friends turned away from him. Later he did much to justify himself and to blot out his momentary weakness, but we were not able to finish playing the last act of that tragedy. The reason for this was the nationalist distrust within a group of various gallant and daring individuals, who nevertheless did not suffer the thought that an "alien" nationalist can be sincere till the end, as far as taking a mortal risk with another "alien" nationalist. At the beginning Roman and I were friends. I liked his energetic businesslike manner, his more than once proven courage, his firmness after so many years of gloomy imprisonment. And still we quarreled because of a misunderstanding and sat in one cell for almost a year without talking to each other.

It so happened that in prison I impaired relations with two people whom I respected. With others I either did not quarrel or was not on friendly terms. But the fight with Yakiv Berg Khaymovych¹⁵⁾, an "iron Jew", and with Roman Semenyuk disturbs me to this day. Yakiv still has a chance to appear at the Lod Airport; Roman's situation is more complicated. He always talked with respect about Canada, Australia, the United States, about those countries which accepted so many Ukrainian emigrants and refugees, permitting them to live and work without any discrimination, which in no respect tried to infringe on their national treat-

¹⁵⁾ Yakiv Berg, locksmith, without any party affiliation. Imprisoned in 1968 for anti-Soviet propaganda and sentenced to 7 years.

tures, did not attempt to deprive them of their language nor of their religion. It will not be easy for Roman to reach these places. Roman studied English in prison with determination and industriousness of a ploughman. Perhaps it will be of some use to him since his life will be harder in his Ukrainian fatherland, if they permit him to live there at all. Once Maryna Tsvetayeva called Mayakovskiy the "favorite enemy". May you have freedom and happiness, my favorite enemies!

WONDERFUL MEN

In 1969 I happened to find myself in a small cell where "severe" regime reigned with persistent hungry boredom. It was a familiar picture. Someone sat around and in a nasal voice pestered his cell-mate, urging that he tell him the way, the method and the formulation of a petition on the basis of which he, having been transferred illegally from camp to prison, requests an immediate return to the zone. He talked about articles and paragraphs, while in his eyes there shone that same longing for the stinking and meager, but from here no longer so hungry camp dining room . . . Another one composed petition No. 200, requesting a re-examination of his sentence and then begged me at length to translate this petition to French (as if, no matter how strange this might seem, the petition composed with the help of the dictionary of grandiloquent French idioms, would assume effectiveness.) Someone began each day with an experiment, either eating all the bread at once, then on the second day dividing it into three unequal portions. And then to twenty equal portions, constantly trying to find a recipe against nightly starving anger.

Only one young man had not succumbed at all to these petty prison psychoses under whose influence almost all had fallen. He did not raise his voice; his reaction was calm where

others either choked with boundless joy or frenzied fury. He replied to queries, often annoying ones, without haste, thoughtfully and sharp-wittedly. He read carefully and with taste his English and my French books (to this day I regret that at some stage I lost his gift, the short stories by Merime in the original with his sharp-witted remarks in the margin.) He reacted calmly, with a bit of irony, to the cell scandals calling them "the third kitchen world communal war".

(Older prisoners note that in the embittered and non-gentlemanly cell quarrels of solid, deep-voiced and restrained men of yesterday, there suddenly begin to emerge notes of scatter-brained and impure small-town cooks who shout for the whole street to hear all the secrets of the confidants of yesterday intimately entrusted to them, which were heard through the key-hole.)

This young man was different. It was possible to have a quarrel with him, definite and irreversible, but never, in any quarrel did he employ the prohibited "unsportsman-like" manner. And still another thing gave him the right to be a gentleman, — it was impossible to reproach him on anything: in his background there was neither a stormy political past nor a gun-powder battalion odyssey, while his prison present was beyond reproach.

He was surprisingly wonderful. Neither starvation rations, nor the chilly autumn drafts could force him to bristle up and to bend. A sportsman and a soldier, he preserved from his campaigns and the restrictions of the Survivor School only that which deserved preservation. He preserved the inner balance, physical hardening, concentration and accuracy (the "gallantry of kings") and the beautiful English language. He left behind the walls of the caserne the coarse caserne boorish humour, the unjustified cast boastfulness, the narrow-mindedness of a sergeant and the most important, the great Rus-

sian militaristic ideology. Half-jokingly, half-seriously, Roman Semenyuk maintained that the Russians purposely gather such boys into military schools in order to "improve their breed" which is obviously degenerating.

One had to see how this young man conducted himself, how prison garb turned beautiful on his figure, how he turned his head upon being called, and the prison officer who had just left the barber wearing a brand new uniform, suddenly noticed how clumsy, uncouth and ill-mannered he was in comparison with this hungry youth. When unshaven his head shaved bald, he was led through the corridors, female wardens, librarians, "visitors", nurses, who have long since lost the right and the capability to be called women because of their savage, sadistic cruelty and heartlessness, suddenly began to bustle in confusion and to search in their coat pockets for the long since useless mirrors... Quite a few apocryphal stories with the subject matter of "Fidelio" were connected with his invincibility, but he only smiled and did not brag about anything...

And Oleksa Murzhenko¹⁶⁾ would have passed as a pleasant and good memory if suddenly at the end of 1969 news would not have fallen upon us in our Vladimir cells that he too falls under the "airplane" case together with Kuznetsov¹⁷⁾, Dymshyts¹⁸⁾ and the Zalmansons...

Naturally, alike in character and temperament, in intellectual development and knowledge, similarly irreconcilable with baseness and open to goodness — Edward Kuznetsov and Oleksa Murzhenko, old cellmates as well, could not help but find each other.

And then I realized myself, and am aware of it now, that having left prison and failing to receive permission to emigrate, if I intended to cross the Soviet border, then in a search for a companion I would inevitably turn to Riga for Kuznetsov and to Lozova for Alik Murzhenko...

Quite a few trials, the "Jewish" ones included, take place in the Soviet Union. There is no need to conceal the fact that not only the strong, but also weak, pitiful people find themselves on the defendants' bench. I find it bitter and insulting to hear and read how they curse Israel and their friends of yesterday, how they repent and beg for mercy. And it is no less bitter or insulting that in my country (Israel) together with the names of Kuznetsov and the Zalmansons, names worthy of respect and imitation, also these pitiful people are bemoaned and glorified. At the same time, aside from a small circle of prison friends, I have hardly ever come across good words in the direction of Alik Murzhenko...

I hope that by my brief account I shall fulfill my debt, at least partially, toward an individual whom I did not know very well but whom I shall never forget, whose life and deeds I shall respect and relate to my children.

It is hard to write about a man to whom I have said farewell only recent-

¹⁶⁾ Oleksiy Murzhenko, born in 1942, a cadet of the Suvorov Military School; in July 1962 received 6 years of camp for anti-Soviet propaganda and participation in anti-Soviet organizations; released in June 1968; on June 15, 1970, imprisoned again and sentenced to 14 years of camps with special regime.

¹⁷⁾ Edward Kuznetsov, born in 1941, a student, imprisoned for the periodical "Phoenix 1961". On October 6, 1961, sentenced to 7 years of strict regime concentration camp; released on October 6, 1968. Imprisoned as an Anglo-Russian translator, he received the death sentence for treason on December 31, 1970. The sentence was commuted to 15 years of special regime camps.

¹⁸⁾ Mark Dymshyts, born in 1927, an engineer, sentenced to death for treason in June 1970. In December 1970, the sentence was commuted to 15 years strict regime camps.

ly and with whom I recently spent long months while waiting for freedom. But it is necessary to write much, in detail, with gratitude. It is all the more difficult, since he wrote about his road long ago and his book was read by tens of thousands of people.

When Anatoliy Marchenko and I were together in Zone 7 in Mordovia, nothing in him gave evidence of a future author of such an important and "explosive" book. Unusual modesty, an unwillingness and inability to project his own "I", the absence of the smallest traces of conceit, boasting and any kind of pretensions, including the literary ones. He did not succumb, was not prone to any camp sins and psychoses. It was these qualities which attracted me to him; some inborn purity and honesty, some quiet but firm habit of shunning any conversation which had an element of conflict, conspiracy or hostility. He never admonished anybody, even the novices. He listened more, often kept still and even if he contradicted something, then briefly and sensibly. In these years Marchenko was forced to work at particularly difficult jobs in spite of his impaired hearing. But I do not recall an instance where he would manifest a weakness or exhaustion even once, even in a small circle of friends. And there was plenty to complain about and nobody would have thought ill of him.

Later I was transferred to Vladimir and for the long seven years, until my release, we had not seen each other. But friend had not forgotten friend. Several months after he received his freedom he sent me from Moscow the first package with French books. Naturally, the jailers had not delivered the parcel to me, but I had seen it, confirmed by my signature that I had "received" it, and this was enough for me . . . Later I received postcards and letters; then they stopped giving them to me, and later still there was nothing more to give — I learned that Marchenko was arrested again.

Novices who came from freedom told about the first copies of his book, first of the *samvydav* variety, and then — published abroad in a book form. I was pleased that in his book he mentioned and wrote about his friends, including us.

Why am I mentioning in this sketch a man whose creative and public fate is well known? This is why. In camp there exists a strange, not readily understood habit in people, which is later possible to explain, who in everything else are neither liars nor dreamers. Those who were deprived of everything — both the past and the present and the future, who were degraded to the last degree which only a human being can think up for another human being, a desire often emerged and reinforced itself to "become" that he was a post-graduate student, a senior lieutenant talked about his service as major, a candidate of science who had no opportunity to defend his doctoral dissertation, talked about a banquet after its defense . . . This did not detract from their good qualities, if they had any, nor did it add to the bad ones. For this very reason, in companies and groups of this type there often reigned tense alertness and morbid self-esteem. This phenomenon was not a very good one, for in the said groups really interesting and meaningful conversations and disputes have taken place. Yet the modest, "different in colour" Marchenko was somehow forgotten to be invited to the "fashionable social affairs" and coffee drinking by the bonfires. But he too was not very interested in the disputes about the interpretation of the young and the late Fichte or about the more complicated turns of Roman poetry from the times of its decline. Later I realized that both he and they made a mistake. I convinced myself with what dignity could Anatoliy Tykhonovych Marchenko conduct himself in the literary and intellectual salons of any level, how intelligent, serious and timely were his questions and remarks, how he imme-

diately won respect for himself from the most refined representatives of any literary or intellectual elite.

But then it so happened that the camp circles in which many original intellectuals and unusual characters trafficked and expressed themselves remained outside the framework of the book. Naturally, some who remembered the entire panorama of that time were astonished why a whole chapter was devoted to Anatoliy Burov, a man without a good reputation in the zone, while such really interesting people as poet Sokolov, mathematician Rafalovich or the above-mentioned Edyk Kuznetsov were not mentioned.

And thus conversations arose among the Soviet liberals about the literary inferiority, falseness and even insincerity of some places in his book. With a full authority of a political prisoner with 10 years of active "service" I declare that I am ready to defend every page of Marchenko's book "My Testimony" as truthful and probable. When mention is made of those who were among us but who for some reason have not noticed or have not considered important the hardships of their surroundings — then their endurance should be praised, while let God be their judge . . . Many people fail to understand how it is possible to be hungry and to play football, to exhaust oneself to unconsciousness at work and at night to engage in intellectual endeavours, to tear away a pea jacket frozen to the floor in the night and simultaneously to create poetry, sing songs and debate about Spinoza. It is possible! Human will and intellect permit an escape from madness and masochism. Weak-willed people lose their human face where others subdue an animal in themselves in the course of many years. For some this strength suffices till the end of their prison term, while others not as a result of today's hunger, of acute hunger which started only yesterday, but from regular, daily, exhausting starvation whose beginning

has been obliterated from memory but whose end is still beyond the foreseeable future — cut their veins, split open their stomachs, attack friends and wardens in a state of hysteria, tattoo their faces with anti-Soviet slogans. Not hunger, but the despair of starvation, lawlessness, degradation which has no end — this is the ever-present and horrible reality of Soviet camps, and this is why Marchenko's book is true from beginning to end.

At present I am writing a book in which the chapter on Ukrainians will be a must. The materials of this outline will also be included in it. If it will be as truthful and convincing as Marchenko's book, and will find as many readers, I shall consider my mission as accomplished.

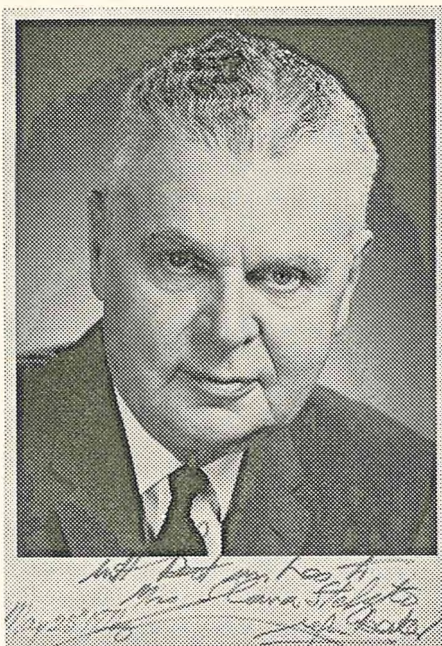
When I was released from prison, Marchenko and I lived in Tarus. He wanted to lodge me in his apartment but the Chekists prohibited this. Nevertheless, we met daily, all the more so since we went to driving school together.

When I was granted permission to emigrate to Israel and I needed money, my countless friends with their generous and much advertised promises suddenly became bustling, people who were rushing somewhere . . . Yet, Marchenko upon learning how much money I needed left for Moscow. Coming back, he gave me the necessary sum. I asked him to thank the generous people who helped us to take advantage of such a happy occasion. This was, perhaps, the only and the last chance to leave Russia without shooting at the border, without prison and almost certain death. He smiled quietly and promised to pass my thanks along to our saviours. And only later, when he was far away from my grateful embraces, did I learn that in reality there were no secret, noble Harun-al-Rashids (a caliph from the Arabian Nights). He gave me his personal savings and evaded my thanks.

Hon. John G. Diefenbaker (Canada)

"Protest, Protest, Protest . . ."

(Excerpts from the address of the Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada and currently member of the Canadian Parliament, delivered at the rally in Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto, Ont., Sunday November 4, 1973, held in conjunction with the Second World Congress of Free Ukrainians.)



I am honored to have the opportunity of speaking to those present who represent the legions of freedom loving Ukrainians of all over the world.

I spoke to the First World Congress in November of 1967 and was given the Shevchenko Freedom Award which will always be among my most treasured possessions.

Ukrainians of Canadian origin have made tremendous contributions to Canada in war and peace. When the first immigrants came, they went mainly into agriculture. In the intervening years, as elsewhere in the Free World, there has been widespread participation by them or their descendents in business life, in public life, in education, in the professions and in the arts.

In recognition of that contribution, when Prime Minister, I appointed the Hon. Michael Starr to Her Majesty's Privy Council of Canada, the first and only Canadian of Ukrainian origin to be appointed. Among others appointed, I named the Hon. Paul Yuzyk and the late Hon. John Hnatyshyn to the Senate of Canada.

While born and raised in Ontario and living the first three years of this century in East Toronto, with my parents and late brother we went to the prairies. Then it was that immigrants from many nations were sweeping into Western Canada. It was there that I formed an affection for the Ukrainian immigrants, their love of freedom; and still in memory hear, as I did then in the stillness of the evening, their songs of liberty and freedom and their recitations epitomized in the immortal poetry of Taras Shevchenko.

I am in complete agreement with the objectives of this Congress and your and my abhorrence of the tyranny against freedom of speech that is now being waged in the USSR and in Ukraine, the Baltic States and other captive nations. However, I am glad that it is realized by this world organisation that there can be no possible justification for advocating, or appearing to advocate, war in order to free captive nations.

I have repeatedly spoken out against the Soviet harassment of its intellectual dissidents, but I have found that it is a subject that is being shoved under the carpet by the Foreign Offices of the western democracies. The campaign of denunciation and destruction of intel-

lectuals has been intensified in the last two or three years. Today it is epitomized in the stands of the physicist, Andrei Sakharov, the father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, and the great novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn, both of whom have spoken out, calling for intellectual freedom and human rights for their country. The western media have singled them out for attention. But what of the plight of Ukrainian dissenters, Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, V. Chornovil, Ivan Dzyuba and Alla Horska and hundreds of others.

In the last three years intellectuals have been persecuted, arrested, incarcerated in Siberian concentration camps or have become "psychiatric prisoners" committed to indeterminate sentences in insane asylums where, to use the words of one who has suffered, Valentyn Moroz, in a letter, "This is a place where terror reigns supreme. Every effort is made to kill a man's human feelings."

Leaders like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, having such towering reputations, cannot be imprisoned or sent to special Soviet mental hospitals because of the Kremlin's fear of an aroused reaction from increasing numbers of the people of the USSR.

While there has been a trend in the last couple of years towards detente between the USSR and the western world, what has happened in the Middle East in the last few weeks reveals in starkly frightening terms that the objectives of the USSR to dominate the world are unchanged.

There is hope that change will take place if world public opinion asserts itself. Indeed, within the USSR there is evidence of an intellectual fermentation expressing itself. So strong has been the undercurrent of criticism in all levels of society and potential inroads of western ideas in the thinking of Party members and the technical intelligentsia, that the Kremlin has launched a counter-offensive.

Apparently the agreement arrived at between Nixon and Brezhnev meant, in the view of the Kremlin while anticipating thereunder to get favors from the United States, still considers itself free to exploit Soviet interference elsewhere in the world. Otherwise why, in the last 31/2 years, have the armed forces of the USSR been increased by one million men to nearly 31/2 million. While the United States has reduced its armed forces by more than a million, to around 2.2 million?

Canada, the United States and other Western countries should speak out in the United Nations against the tyrannical repressions reminiscent of the Stalin days. They have not done so.

Canada has not spoken out at the UN since September, 1960, when as Prime Minister, I called on Chairman Khrushchev who was present, to practice the anti-colonialism that he preached.

The double-tongued hypocrisy of the USSR is condemning other nations for colonialism, while at the same time denying Ukraine, the Baltic States and other nations under its domination the right to self-determination, should be constantly condemned.

Why should Soviet colonialism not receive the attention of the United Nations to the extent that is given to injustice in other parts of the world?

Some there are that say to raise such questions would cause trouble in the UN. I ask a simple question . . . Is there to be a double standard in the UN whereby the USSR and its satellites may express their views freely in condemnation of practices, while at the same time freedom-loving nations are to be denied the same right and be muzzled?

I believe that if the African and Asian blocs in the UN would express themselves and speak against the tyranny of colonialism in the USSR as they do against injustice in other parts of the world, the USSR would be forced to change its course . . .

The Strategic Nuclear Balance

(Part Two)

US Unilateral Disarmament

Now, let us talk about the other side of the strategic nuclear balance: the United States. From the beginning of the nuclear age in 1945 until 1967, the United States had clear nuclear superiority. We developed the atombomb, and we had more of everything connected with it. Our superiority was built on the weapons ordered under the Eisenhower Administration: our Minuteman missiles, our Polaris submarines, and our B-52 bombers. President Eisenhower adopted and carried out a policy of being **prepared** to deal with any emergency. His philosophy was well summarized in the quotation which has been inscribed on the keel of the aircraft carrier which bears his name:

"Until war is eliminated from international relations, unpreparedness for it is well nigh as criminal as war itself."

The power that America had at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis was the power built up under their Eisenhower Administration.

Whereas after the Cuban Missile Crisis the Soviets began to build nuclear weapons of mass destruction at a crash wartime rate, the civilian officials in control of US military defense turned in exactly the opposite direction. When they went to the brink of nuclear war in October 1962, they became scared. To use an American colloquialism, they "pressed the panic button".

These officials secretly abandoned the Eisenhower policy of nuclear superiority and started America on a course of unilateral nuclear disarmament. In the face of the rapidly-expanding Soviet nuclear arsenal, these US

officials set about deliberately to weaken the United States and to place our reliance on treaties with the USSR, instead of on US military strength.

The architect of this policy was a New York investment banker named Paul Nitze. He had spelled it out on April 29, 1960, at the Asilomar National Strategy Seminar, a distinguished gathering of some 500 scholars and strategy experts. He said that, in a poker game with several players, the most dangerous hand is "not the worst hand, but the second-best hand. With the second-best hand, one is tempted to follow up the betting, but if one does, one gets clobbered."

Nitze applied his poker analogy to US nuclear strategy, and came up with his sensational proposal that the United States should get out of the "nuclear betting" by giving up all efforts to achieve "a true Class A nuclear capability", and by scrapping the components of the class A capability which we then possessed.

His speech might have been dismissed as the wild eccentricity of a man who knew nothing of Communist history or military strategy, but, unfortunately, he was appointed to the Defense Department in 1961. He subsequently rose to be Secretary of the Navy, and finally Deputy Secretary of Defense (the number-two position in the Pentagon). Nitze's theories were fully implemented by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, who was the top official in our Defense Department from 1961 to 1968.

In pursuit of the Nitze theories, Secretary McNamara scrapped all the American nuclear weapons which he could get by with. He scrapped three-fourths of our multi-megaton missiles

(the Atlas and Titan I). He hired electricians and demolition men to dig them up out of their silos and destroy them. He scrapped three-fourths of our strategic bombers, leaving many of these to rot in the sun near Tucson, Arizona. He scrapped our intermediate range missiles (the Jupiter and Thor), and abandoned our advanced missile and bomber bases in Europe, Turkey and North Africa. He scrapped our largest weapon: the 24-megaton bomb.

McNamara refused to build the second 1,000 Minuteman missiles which had been in the plans under the Eisenhower Administration, and refused to build any multi-megaton missiles at all. He refused to build the B-1 bomber or any advanced strategic bomber. He refused to build any space weapons, mobile missiles, an anti-missile system, or a civil defense system.

McNamara cancelled production of the wonderful new weapons which had been developed by American genius and were ready to go into production. The most notable example of this was the Skybolt, a marvelous aircraft missile which could go nearly 1,000 miles from the plane that released it, and would enable bombers to hit Russian cities without ever flying over Soviet territory. The cancellation of the Skybolt was a blow to England as well as America, because the British Conservative Party leaders had staked their future nuclear defenses on it. Other new systems he cancelled or aborted were Pluto, Dynasoar and Orion.

Each time that McNamara scrapped a weapon, he would claim it was "obsolete". But he never replaced it with anything else. People with common sense do not abandon their old automobile or appliance until they have a new one to take its place.

Instead of relying on US military strength, we were told that the "cold war was over" and we could rely on treaties instead, particularly the Moscow Test Ban Treaty of 1963. Accord-

ing to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, this Treaty froze the Soviet superiority over the United States "in the high-yield (tens of megatons) technology, in weapons-effect knowledge derived from high-yield explosives, and in the yield/weight ratios of high-yield devices". (Testimony given to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Sept. 15, 1963.) Senator Margaret Chase Smith, one of the most senior members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, wrote last year:

"The American people still have not been told the whole story about how the treaty worked to the Russians' tremendous advantage and to our own vast detriment. . . . In reality, it was a disaster for the American people and a great victory for the Russians who, with their superior nuclear technology, were soon embarked on a military buildup that has no parallel."

During all those years, McNamara kept stating that the United States was four times stronger than the Russians. The year 1967 was the year when the Soviets achieved parity with the United States in megatonnage up with him. He became a political liability and President Lyndon Johnson "kicked him upstairs" into a highly remunerative and prestigious job as president of the World Bank. Shortly after he went out of the Defense Department, a reporter for the **Boston Globe** asked him one day how he managed to reduce America's defenses so sharply. Caught off guard, McNamara replied frankly: "I defiled Congress, crept as close to the edge of the law as possible and got away with it because of some damn good lawyers in the Pentagon." Since then, he has never given another newspaper interview.

There were other reasons, of course to explain how McNamara was able to dismantle the fantastic power which America had at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis. One major reason was the high level of the US military budget.

The average American voter believed that, if we were spending 50 percent of our national budget on defense, we certainly must have enough weapons to retain our superiority. Americans did not realize that that money was all being spent on conventional weapons, mostly for Vietnam, and **not** on strategic nuclear weapons needed to stay ahead of the Russians.

By 1968, McNamara and his clique were thoroughly discredited with the American public. Richard Nixon, campaigning for the presidency, warned in a radio network broadcast on October 19, 1968 that "short-sighted defense policies" had dissipated the strategic advantage left by the Eisenhower Administration, and that the Soviet Union had "very nearly achieved its goal of superiority in strategic nuclear power".

On October 24, 1968, Nixon charged in another nationwide radio speech that, since 1961, when McNamara took over the Defense Department, a "gravely serious security gap" had developed that could grow to a "survival gap". Nixon said that, if elected, he intended to "restore our objective of clearcut military superiority" and "do away with wishful thinking either as to the capability or the intent of potential enemies".

"Military superiority" had always been the explicit and implicit policy of the Republican Party. The official Platforms adopted at every Republican National Convention were never vague or evasive on this point; they always specifically defined and pledged a policy of "superiority", believing that **this** was the key to peace and freedom. The Republican policy was most aptly stated long ago by Republican President Theodore Roosevelt: "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

Immediately after he was elected, President Nixon appointed Dr. Henry Kissinger as his principal adviser. Kissinger has swelled his power within the Administration until he effectively

controls foreign policy, military policy, and intelligence including the CIA.

Within weeks of his appointment, Kissinger beat a retreat from "nuclear superiority" and coined the word "sufficiency" to replace it. The whole world knows, and Soviet Russia clearly knew at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis, what "superiority" means. No one knows what sufficiency means, but it is now clear that it is **not** sufficient to defend America, or American interests, or American allies, and that it does **not** mean equality or near-equality.

Under Kissinger, the United States has done nothing — absolutely nothing — to regain our lost nuclear superiority. We have remained in a strategic weapons freeze for the last six years. We have not built one single additional intercontinental ballistic missile, one single additional Polaris-type submarine, one single new strategic bomber, or one single space weapon since 1967. The Nixon Administration even opposed spending funds to improve the guidance and extend the range of our present missiles because the Russians might think it "provocative".

The excuse for this missile freeze was that we were showing our "good faith" during the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, conducted for 2 1/2 years at Helsinki and Vienna. Of course, as everyone knows now, the Russians took advantage of those years to widen their margin of nuclear superiority, while the United States remained in a self-imposed missile freeze.

Soviet nuclear superiority is clearly established by the SALT Agreements which President Nixon signed in Moscow with fanfare and formality in May 1972. These Agreements proclaim to all the world that the Russians are Number One in military power and that the United States is a poor second.

The SALT Agreements were sold to the American people on the argument they would "stop the spiraling arms race". This is completely false. These

one-sided Agreements **freeze** the United States, but give the Soviet Russians written authorization to **continue** their nuclear building program for the next five years. The only thing that SALT stops the Russians from doing is digging more missile holes; but they have already dug 100 new missile holes, and SALT gives them full authority to go ahead and fill them with giant ICBMs: either SS-9s, or even their Super SS-9s which are estimated to be up to 50 megatons in explosive power. Since the United States did not have the foresight to dig any more holes during the 2 1/2 years of the SALT Talks, we are forbidden to build any more ICBMs.

The SALT Agreement authorizes Moscow to continue building their new missile-firing submarines until they reach 62, while the United States is frozen at 44, as no more are planned under the Kissinger policy. SALT authorizes the Russians to continue building submarine-launched ballistic missile launchers up to at least 950, while America is limited to a maximum of 710.

President Nixon told Congress that Brezhnev told him in Moscow that he (Brezhnev) is "going forward" with every type of weapon not specifically prohibited under SALT. SALT does nothing to restrain the Russians from continuing to build other strategic systems, such as mobile ICBMs, missile reload capability, new strategic bombers, and space weapons, all of which the Russians are building and we are not.

The defensive part of the SALT Agreements is even more disastrous. In it, the United States gave up its right to defend our citizens against enemy missiles. Every individual, and every nation, **should** have the inalienable right of self-defense. Yet, in SALT, our Government signed away our right to defend ourselves against Soviet Russians, or even Red Chinese, missiles. The United States is truly, as General Arthur Trudeau said, "the world's greatest nuclear nudist colony". The SALT Treaty even specifically forbids Ameri-

ca to give any antimissile defenses to our allies.

The SALT advocates claim that this Treaty is mutual. It is about as "mutual" as a jewelry store making an agreement with the jewel thieves' syndicate that neither side will have a burglar alarm. Such an agreement protects only the side which indulges in burglary.

Disarmament Propaganda

For the first time in our lives, we are living in a world in which America does not have military superiority over potential aggressors. The big majority of Americans do not realize that this has happened. They are decent patriotic, law-abiding, generous, and trusting. They do not believe that the Communists are evil enough to use the weapons they have built, nor that US officials are duplicitous enough to have deliberately misspent our defense funds and left us a poor second to the Soviets.

The American people have been badly victimized by very clever propaganda disseminated by the groups promoting unilateral American nuclear disarmament. A psychological warfare campaign has been carried on for years through such diverse channels as the universities, the churches, the movies, political pressure groups, scientific groups, and the press.

Take, for example the tremendous psychological effect of the movies in promoting nuclear disarmament. The book and movie **On the Beach** sold the scientifically-false claim that, in case of nuclear war, fallout would kill the entire world in a matter of two months; and that, therefore, nuclear war was "unthinkable". The movies **Fail-Safe** and **Dr. Strangelove** sold the myth of alleged danger of accidental (rather than deliberate) nuclear war. The book and movie **Seven Days in May** peddled the lie that the real threat is from a coup engineered by the US military. The movie **The Russians Are Coming**

discounted the threat from Soviet nuclear submarines by leading its audiences to believe that Soviet subs are loaded with — not missiles but — handsome, Good-Samaritan-type Russian sailors whose only objective is to help little American boys in distress.

On the intellectual level, the unilateral disarmament advocates have used a more sophisticated attack, but one which is just as false. They have peddled three fatal fallacies to deceive the American people.

The first fatal fallacy is "overkill". We are told that the United States already has enough weapons to kill every Russian several times over, so why do we need to build any more?

It simply is not true that we can kill every Russian once — let alone several times — **unless** you assume that the United States will strike first and launch a surprise attack on the Soviet Union. Such an assumption is completely irrational. Therefore, the relevant statistic is not how many missiles we have in a peacetime inventory, but how many we would have left **after** a surprise attack on our country. The answer to that question is: not enough to do any significant damage to the Soviet Union.

The decisive factor anyway is, not how many Russians we think we can kill in a retaliatory strike, but how many Russians the **Kremlin** thinks we can kill. The Soviet civil defense handbook, which has been widely circulated inside the Soviet Union, estimates that the United States, in a nuclear exchange could kill only six percent of the Russian people. Six percent is certainly no overkill, in any language.

It is important to remember that the Russians are not only capable of killing our people, but also of killing our weapons. The 300 giant Soviet SS-9 missiles were built specifically to knock out our underground Minuteman missiles. The United States, on the other hand, has **no** weapons which are capable of killing Soviet weapons. It would be suicidal for us to launch any of our

missiles at the Russian **people**, knowing that we could not destroy the Soviet **weapons** which could then fire back and kill the majority of our population.

When I conducted a series of television interviews in 1972 with top authorities in this field, I asked Dr. Edward Teller, the great authority on nuclear weapons, the question: "If the Soviets launch a surprise nuclear attack against the United States, what would be the result?" He replied:

"The question is when. Right now they could do terrible damage. In a few years, if present trends continue, it is practically certain that it will be the end of the United States. The United States will not exist — not as a state, not as a power, not as an idea."

"I think that more than 50 percent of our people would be killed. I believe that the Russians could so behave that there would be very few casualties in Russia because we would not have forces enough left to retaliate. They have excellent defenses: air defenses, missile defenses, civil defenses. It is possible that, in a few years, we shall be at the mercy of the Soviet Union, unless present trends change."

The second fatal fallacy that the unilateral disarmament advocates have put over on the American people is the claim that the United States has "warhead superiority" over the Soviets. President Nixon's Blue Ribbon Defense Panel Supplemental Statement released March 12, 1971 severely criticised what it called the "numbers game, namely, the mere counting of warheads without analysis of megatonnage" and other factors. This is because Soviet warheads are so much more powerful than ours. The newest Soviet warhead, the SS-9, is 500 times more powerful than our newest warhead, the Poseidon MIRV. The SS-9 is 25 megatons in explosive power; the Poseidon MIRV is 50 kilotons. To equate these two missiles is dishonestly to conceal a Soviet advantage of 24,950,000 tons of explo-

sive power. The Blue Ribbon Statement concluded:

"This simplistic type of comparison creates the illusion of abundant security, if not US overkill capability. It would be difficult to conceive of a better way to mislead the public than to present — without precise definition or analysis — comparative figures of this kind. Those who present such distortions contribute to the confusion rather than enlightenment of our people."

The third fatal fallacy is to say that we don't need to worry about Soviet superiority because the United States has an advantage in MIRVs, or multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles. Our MIRV program is not our strength, but our weakness. We adopted our MIRV program **in extremis** as a counter measure to preserve some credibility that **some** of our Minuteman or Poseidon missiles would get through Soviet ABMs. Since America has **no** deployed ABMs, the Russians have no need to run a MIRV race. They can just hit our undefended country with their un-MIRVed weapons carrying the full megatonnage.

If the Russians choose to run a MIRV race, they can overpower us 20 times over. When we MIRV our 4-megaton Poseidon, we split it into ten 50-kiloton warheads, making a total of 1/2 megaton for the missile. The Soviets can MIRV their 25-megaton SS-9 into 10 one-megaton warheads, making a total of 10 megatons per SS-9.

The Price of Freedom

Is the situation of the Free World hopeless in the face of the present and still-growing Soviet nuclear superiority? Of course not. The great productive American economy which successfully fought a two-front war in World War II, and then put a man on the moon, can certainly stay ahead of the Soviet Union — if it has the national will, the national determination, and the national priorities.

One of the great tools we have on our side at the present time is **food**. American agriculture is the crowning achievement of the American free economic system. Other countries in the free world may be able to undersell the United States in manufactured goods, even in automobiles and other goods which traditionally have been American specialties. But the American farmer, who feeds himself and 58 other people on a high-protein diet, is still the most efficient producer in the world.

Soviet agriculture, on the otherhand, is an annual disaster. On May 4, **Pravda** announced that all able-bodied persons may be recruited for farm work this year to help bring in the harvest and prevent losses.

The chief reason Brezhnev came to America was to secure continuing shipments of American food to feed the Russian people. Last year the Russians persuaded the United States Government to "sell" it a billion dollar's worth of grain — half on credit and half at bargain prices cheaper than Americans pay for their own grain — in order to bail the Russians out of their worst farm disaster in a century.

American agricultural abundance combined with Soviet agricultural failures give the Americans a magnificent opportunity to use their food as a tool in behalf of peace and freedom throughout the world by exacting a price for the sale of their food. The Americans could require the Russians to remove their troops from Eastern Europe, or require the Russians to permit the free emigration of Jews, Christians, and Moslems, or require the Russians to permit freedom of religion.

It would be an act of tragic folly if America continues to give its food to the Soviets on credit, thus enabling them to put their cash into weapons to conquer the world. Food should be used as a tool to promote security and to extend peace and freedom throughout the world.

It is vitally necessary that we rebuild our military strength with whatever weapons are necessary to protect our people against any potential aggressor. I have interviewed the leading experts on weapons and nuclear strategy in America and England — scholars, scientists, journalists, businessmen, Congressmen, and military men — and they all come to the same conclusion expressed in the President's Blue Ribbon Defense Panel Supplemental Statement:

"Being second rate in the nuclear age ... multiplies the chances — not of peace — but of nuclear war... The road to peace has never been through appeasement, unilateral disarmament or negotiation from weakness. The entire recorded history of mankind is precisely to the contrary. Among the great nations, only the strong survive."

Unfortunately, the great majority of Americans don't realize that, in nuclear striking power, their country today is second rate. The task of rebuilding superiority requires tremendous public pressure from every direction.

The late Prime Minister Winston Churchill gave us this solemn advice:

"Sometimes in the past we have committed the folly of throwing away our arms. Under the mercy of Providence, and at great cost and sacrifice, we have been able to recreate them when the need arose. But if we abandon our nuclear deterrent, there will be no second chance. To abandon it now would be to abandon it forever."

"A trial will be held, and everything will start all over again: new protests and signatures, new material for the press and radio of the entire world. The interest in what Moroz has written will be added to the fire which you want to extinguish."

Valentyn Moroz, 1970
(In Lieu of the Final Speech)

Unfortunately, America has abandoned a large part of its nuclear deterrent. Let's quit kidding ourselves about the stakes we are playing with. The **only** hope for the continued freedom of America and of what is left of the Free World, or for the liberation of the Captive Nations in the USSR and in satellite States, is American nuclear power, or what has been called the American nuclear umbrella. The best formula for peace is still that given us by the Father of our Country, George Washington, who said:

"If we desire to secure peace... it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

The freedom of Western Europe does not depend on the 350,000 American troops stationed there, nor upon the soldiers other countries may raise. The continued freedom of Taiwan and Japan does not depend on the US Seventh Fleet or other US military personnel stationed in the Pacific. It is not super-Americanism on my part, but a simple statement of the facts of life in the nuclear age, when I tell you that nothing in the world can defend freedom against the Soviet nuclear arsenal except the nuclear power of the United States of America.

I am sorry that it is my painful duty to tell you the unpleasant truth about the **lack** of a strategic nuclear **balance**. It doesn't make any difference how many conferences you go to, or how much studying you do about Communism, or how logical and persuasive are your arguments and your diplomats. There is only one course of action that will determine whether we live as free men or die as slaves. I urge you to beg, to plead, to demand, to pray that US Government leaders will come to their senses in time, and use America's magnificent resources to rebuild the military/nuclear forces necessary to defend freedom against Communist tyranny.

(Speech delivered at the British Conference in London, 29th of August, 1973)

An Exemplary Yugoslav Penitentiary Institution on the 25th Anniversary of a Massacre in the Prison of Lepoglava

The French newspaper "Le Monde", on August 18th, 1973, published the following notice: "Congress of International Society of Criminology, which takes place every five years, is being organized this year in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) from 17th to 22nd September. The subject of the discussion is to be — "Great Tendencies of Contemporary Criminology". During the time of this Congress the delegates will visit some Yugoslav penitentiaries that pass as exemplary." Although: "Victims as a class in Western societies are invariably either ludicrous or contemptible under the best circumstances" (R. Baker, Int. Herald, Aug. 19, 1973).

We would like to present to the ISC a report duly signed by a Participant of an incident in the illustrious Croat penitentiary where, 300 years ago, was founded the first Croat university.

"We were in the hands of Yugoslav justice for more than three years when this incident happened on July 5th, 1948, in the prison of Lepoglava, on which occasion nine Croats lost their lives. I feel very much obliged to them for my report.

We were 93 political prisoners isolated for a month from the other six thousand inmates living in this famous institution. Each morning we received the so-called "black coffee" which, in reality, consisted only of hot water and some particles of coffee that made the water look brown but without a grain of sugar.

With small hammers, we were forced to break up a great boulder into pieces no larger than a cube of sugar. Each person had to break up the same amount of stones and with these fill 16 carriages. Each day without a word,

we sat down to do our daily job. Most of us were Croat intellectuals who were not used to physical work. Our young and tender hands became covered with blisters and blood covered the stones and earth where we worked. There were no bandages and nobody cared that our blisters were bleeding and becoming bloody wounds. Our blood flowed until the bleeding stopped by itself.

We were not permitted to speak to each other and so had the appearance of being living mummies. The only sound that was heard was that of our hammers in our wounded hands breaking the rocks. Our guard was constantly persecuting us. For the smallest transgression which he did not like we were reported to his superiors and condemned to solitary confinement, for a 14 day "vacation", where there was only a bed of bricks and no cover. The guards hated us with an enmity of ferocious beasts.

On the day of July 5th, 1948 at 9 o'clock a.m., our guard Kutuz who was on duty, disappeared suddenly. Although it seemed strange, we continued working as though he was present.

The prison was surrounded by high walls with bunkers just over head. We heard some shots fired as though a signal for a planned crime. When the shooting started, I, being an old soldier, shouted, "Lie down brothers, they are aiming at us!" Most of them obeyed, except those lacking experience, then the shooting became heavier. We were all, by this time, lying down behind one of the larger piles of stones. A student by the name of Jani cried out with his last breath that he was

shot. Somebody else was shouting out to keep flat to the ground or all will perish.

Just overhead was a bunker that had a machine gun inside but, thank God, through some fortunate accident, the gun got stuck after its first shot, or hardly a person among us would have stayed alive. One can still hear the voice of our comrade Matijevic as he said, ("I am dying in good faith on my working place.")? He was a former inmate of the concentration camp Jasenovac. As a member of the Croat peasant party, he was liquidated by the new Croat "liberators". A certain Bogdanovic, unknown to me at the time, was also mortally wounded. The fourth victim was the district chief Djukic, the fifth, a former school teacher from Dubrovnik, Boris Krasovec. The blood was running like a fountain from the wound in his leg and he lost a great deal of blood. The sixth victim was a college student Puhalo, 18 years old. None of the former Croat soldiers were wounded, even though there were more than 20 of us. Those who perished were innocent people who never participated in the war against Tito's partisans. They shot at us like at wild game for two and a half hours.

At 2.15 we heard the commando say, "Stand up, bandits!" We were petrified. As we looked around we expected our death at any moment. As we obeyed the order and stood up, we saw that we were surrounded by the militia, some were ready to shoot, some armed with clubs. The second commando gave the order to line up at the wall. Again we were expecting death for it was impossible to help ourselves. Then the "officers" from Kistanje began crushing in the corpses of our dead brothers and shouting, "Damn them all, only a few died!" and the butchers started to club us also. They took off our clothes, looking for arms, but they found nothing. Another group arrived with clubs. With our faces turned to the wall of the prison, we were clubbed by

one group while the other stood behind us with their guns ready to shoot making it impossible to defend ourselves in any way.

We were later given a new order to walk towards the new building. The wounded could no longer walk for their wounds were numb. I helped a young student, by the name of Puhalo, to walk for which I was clubbed on my back and legs as were the others who helped the wounded. This entire incident was watched by the Archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Aloysius Stepinac, who was also imprisoned at the time and observed the incident through his cell window.

When we arrived on the former premises of an old church, now a toilet room and the place of martyrdom, we were again attacked. Our stomachs and legs were crushed with their boots. People were falling to the ground like grass under a scythe. One of them came at me shouting, that I helped a bandit, as he beat me with his fists.

When finally the militia left us alone, there was a lethal silence as we observed the slaughter house scene, all of us bloody, mutilated and depressed. That night, Sepic, the well known butcher of the Croat priests, was sent to our room as our new guard. He walked around smoking, laughing and enjoying our tragic state. Such a heartless, malicious person could only be from the region of Sinj, where this misfit was born.

Nobody accepted the dinner that night, which consisted of hot water in which were some cooked worms. Everyone had lost their appetite. The floor in our room was covered with the blood of the wounded. Those who were sent to be treated, never returned. A friend later told me that they paid the medical fee with their lives. The smart ones, although wounded, did not seek medical treatment and stayed alive for they had discovered this method of treatment during the war.

Our institution was called "The Penitentiary Correction Home", an impressive expression befitting the "modern" trend of Yugoslav criminology. This has been only one incident among hundreds of similar incidents, that are planned in advance, by the juridically educated director of this "modern" pe-

nitentiary, Spirec, who may be present during the Congress in Belgrade in September, 1973.

The boys of Kistanje wanted to show as "officers", their new found affection for the red star, which they discovered in the last days of the war.

Signed with name and address.

Jan Palach's Grave Destroyed

Jan Palach, the 21-year old philosophy student who sacrificed his life for his native land by self-immolation on January 20, 1969 as a sign of protest against the Russian invasion of CSSR, was buried at the Prague Olshany cemetery. His grave became a Mecca of a sort for Czech, Slovak and other patriots, particularly the young people, who visited it regularly placing candles and wreaths and vowing to serve and to sacrifice themselves for their native land as had been done by the hero Jan Palach.

The Russian occupants and their Czech stooges who are in authority in CSSR constantly attempted to hinder visitors to Palach's grave. All police hindrances and persecutions were unsuccessful. On the contrary, they attracted greater numbers of patriots wishing to pay homage to the greatest sacrifice which can be brought by a human being.

Then the Communist misanthropes resolved to destroy the grave of Jan Palach, a great hero of the Czech nation. In a sneaky way at night they took the remains of the deceased and transported them to an unknown destination. On October 22, 1973, a dead woman, Maria Jedliczkova, was buried on Jan Palach's grave site.

The visitors who came to visit Palach's grave found the grave of Jedliczkova, whom they did not know. The cemetery officials refused to give them any kind of explanations, stating that they had nothing to do with it and cannot explain where Palach's remains were taken and concealed.

This great profanity was perpetrated by the Czech janissaries either upon the orders of, or together with, the Russian invaders who occupied the Czech and Slovak republics depriving these nations of liberty.

In Ukraine, too, the grave of Ukrainian hero Vasyl Makukh, former prisoner of the Stalinist concentration camps who burned himself with a cry "Long live free Ukraine!" on November 5, 1968 at the Khreshchatyk in Kyiv as a sign of protest against the subjugation and Russification of Ukraine, calls on and reminds his compatriots of their duty to their native land in the struggle with the Russian aggressors.

Teacher Mykola Beryslavsky, born in 1924, is another great Ukrainian hero, who wished to sacrifice himself on February 2, 1970 in Kyiv in front of the University through self-immolation as a sign of protest against Ukraine's subjugation. He was saved and the Russian occupation court sentenced him to 2 1/2 years in a strict regime concentration camp.

"Let people know only one thing: I am being retained together with insane people and my life is like hell! They are trying to make me mad just like those who are thrown into my ward. They are assassins and cannibals. I do not have any air to breathe!"

**Valentyn Moroz
Vladimir Prison, 1973**

An International Crime

February 16, 1974

Sir:

The Estonian World Council, representing the majority of Estonian organizations in the free world, requests your cooperation in calling attention to an international crime which has remained unsolved for over three decades.

On or about July 30, 1940, the President of the free and independent Republic of Estonia, Konstantin Päts, was arrested in his home by Soviet Russian forces who had invaded Estonia. According to available information, he was then deported to Soviet Russia where his fate has remained unknown to this day.

Konstantin Päts was born in Estonia on February 23, 1874, and it must be presumed that he has died in Russian captivity. — The 100th anniversary of his birth will be commemorated by all Estonians in the free world, and on this occasion they appeal to world public opinion to bring pressure upon the Soviet Russian Government to reveal the fate of the last President of Estonia.

Sincerely yours,

*Alfred J. Anderson
President*

Estonian World Council

What Happened to Estonian President Päts?

During the year 1974 Estonians over the whole world are commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Konstantin Päts, founding father of independent Estonia and the last President of the Republic.

Konstantin Päts was born in Estonia on February 23, 1874. He received his education at the Greek-Orthodox seminary in Riga, took his examination at the High School of Pärnu, and graduated from the Law School of Tartu University in 1898.

Declining an offer to prepare for a professor's chair at the University, he devoted himself to public life. Becoming a lawyer in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, he started there, in 1901, the newspaper Teataja which led the po-

litical campaign for more rights for Estonians under the Czarist Russian regime.

It was a personal victory for Päts when at the elections to the City Council of Tallinn in 1904, the Estonians for the first time gained a majority. He himself became deputy mayor of the capital.

A short, but blooming period in the City's development came to an abrupt end in 1905; the year of the revolutionary movement in the Russian Empire. K. Päts now started a vigorous campaign, organizing memoranda to be sent to the Minister of Home Affairs with demands for free elections of Estonian representatives; assurances for citizens' freedom; unification of Estonian speak-

ing provinces into one political entity; more rights for the Estonian language, etc.

These demands during such a critical period resulted in an arrest warrant for Päts by the Russian authorities. Konstantin Päts, together with some of his political friends, had to flee abroad, being sentenced to death in his absence. He settled at first as a refugee in Switzerland.

In 1906, Päts moved to Finland in order to be nearer his home country. Under a false name he maintained frequent contacts with Estonia. Still underground, from 1908 to 1910, he lived near St. Petersburg editing the Estonian language paper in the Russian capital.

In 1910, Päts surrendered to the judicial authorities, and as some of the more severe accusations against him had in the meantime been dropped, he was sentenced to nine months imprisonment.

From 1911 to 1916, Päts continued to edit his paper in Tallinn. After the abdication of the Czar in February 1917, he founded the League of Estonian Organizations.

In July 1917 an all-Estonian National Congress met in Tallinn with K. Päts as its chairman. He also organized a gathering of representatives for all Estonian soldiers and officers forming a Supreme Committee of Estonian Servicemen with Päts as its leader, thereby laying the basis for a future Estonian army.

In the fall of 1917, the Estonian National Council (Diet) was created, which appointed an Executive Committee (Provisional Government) with Konstantin Päts as its head.

K. Päts was arrested again during a period of Bolshevik rule in Estonia. At a secret meeting of the National Council a special Committee of three men, including K. Päts was elected and given the powers to proclaim the independent

Republic of Estonia. On February 24, 1918, the Republic was proclaimed and Konstantin Päts became Prime Minister of the first Provisional Government.

But now German forces occupied the country and the Germans tried to arrange the incorporation of Estonia into Germany. Päts was organizing an energetic protest against these attempts, was arrested by the Germans and sent to a prison camp in Poland.

After the German defeat in November, 1918, he returned to Estonia. A new Government was established with Konstantin Päts as Prime and Defense Minister. Only a week later the Red Army attacked Estonia, which was the beginning of the Estonian War of Liberation. During this critical period Päts played the most decisive role for the future of an independent Estonia.

After the favorable end of the war, Konstantin Päts was continuously active in strengthening the young Republic. He was several times head of government and speaker of parliament. His conservative Farmers Party became the strongest political power in Estonia.

In the beginning of the 1930's, influenced by authoritarian trends in many countries of Europe a movement spread also in Estonia promoting a new constitution with strong executive power, which constitution also was adopted by the voters. Seeing the danger for democracy, K. Päts with authorization of Parliament halted in 1934 this development and using exceptional powers given to him by the new constitution, he led the nation to a third constitution, which came into force in 1938. Konstantin Päts was then elected President of the Republic.

The prosperous life of a free country was interrupted in 1940 by the forcible incorporation of Estonia by Russian armies into the Soviet Union. Konstantin Päts was deported from his country. His fate in Soviet Russian captivity has remained unknown.

Lviv University Under KGB Terror

Persecution of Ukrainian cultural leaders and students continues unabated in Ukraine. In recent time the Lviv Ivan Franko University was particularly pressured by Moscow. Over 30 students were expelled from the university on charges of "anti-Soviet" activity, "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and publication and dissemination of leaflets which sharply criticized the Bolshevik regime. On the basis of a provocative denunciation of a KGB spy, it was alleged that the said group of students produced the underground periodical **Progress**. Some students were arrested; others were expelled from the university after a KGB hearing. Among others the following Ukrainian students were mentioned by name: philology students **Valentyna Kornychuk, Halyna Yaramych, Vasyl Hanushchak, Volodymyr Yavorskyi, Bohdan Rokyttskyi, Volodymyr Udovychenko**; students in the departments of history and journalism **Ivan Svarnyk, Leonid Filonov, Volodymyr Kozovyk, Mariyan Dolnevskyi, Ihor Petryna**.

Everybody is aware of the fact that strong pressure is applied against nationally-conscious Ukrainian students who dare to defend the rights of the Ukrainian people, in particular those who oppose intensive Russification in Ukrainian schools. The occupation regime in Ukraine follows a policy along the lines of so-called "fusion of nations", that is of forced Russification, and for this reason Russians and other nationals are sent to Ukrainian schools, while there is no room for Ukrainians there. People who do not know Ukrainian were assigned as instructors to Ukrainian schools while Ukrainians are assigned to Russian schools. This arouses great indignation among Ukrainians who clearly see Moscow's intentions. Those who protest are persecuted by the Russians together with turncoats. Many professors

and instructors of schools of higher learning were dismissed from work or transferred to other posts. The purge was carried out by a special party committee under the leadership of a well-known janissary and traitor of the Ukrainian people, Valentyn Malanchuk, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for ideology.

Previously in Ukraine the question of ideology and struggle against so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" was handled by a special committee from Moscow.

Recently a purge was conducted among professors and students. Besides the discharge of people mentioned earlier, the following were victims of the recent Russian purge: **M. Oleksyuk**, a Lviv University professor; **Iryna Huzar**, Ph. D., born in 1905, assistant professor, author of textbooks for the study of German and a lecturer in German grammar at Lviv University since 1940; **Yosyf Kobiv**, born in 1910, candidate of philology, assistant professor at Lviv State University since 1945; chairman of the department of Latin, editor of the non-periodical collections "Questions of Classical Philology", translator and author of many works, dismissed from work on charges of heading a chess players' club in Lviv during the Hitlerite occupation; **Oleksander Huts**, lecturer in the physics department, dismissed from work on the pretext of being acquainted with V. Chornovil, M. Osadchyi and others; **Lyubomyra Popadyuk**, lecturer of German, was fired under the same pretext as O. Huts. Her son Zoryan was arrested in 1972. **Teoklyst Pachovskyi**, born in 1907, literary critic, candidate of philology, assistant professor at Lviv State University, author of numerous works on the ground that his father was a priest. **Hanna Lastovetska**, born in 1923, candidate of philosophy, lecturer

of Polish in the department of Slavic philology since 1954, author of numerous works, including some from the history of Czech language. **Khudash**, assistant professor, lecturer in psychology.

Yevhen Ivantsiv, former director of the Lviv branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR Library was driven to his grave. Prior to his death he was dismissed from work. In his place, Kaspus was appointed the library's director. He is known for his servility to the Russian occupation regime. The wife of KGB General Poluden, chief of the Lviv region, was made Kaspus' assistant. The Lviv Academy of Sciences Library, which houses many valuable ancient books and manuscripts which Russia tried to rob for many years, finds itself in the custody of Russian henchmen. The Ukrainian community is greatly disturbed by the state of the library because all know what type of men are KGB General Poluden and his deputy Baykal who rendered services to Moscow and in 1973 became KGB chief for the Ivano-Frankivsk region. The rector of Lviv University, Prof. Maksymovych, who faithfully serves Moscow for fear of losing his position, is also despised by the Ukrainian community. At no time has he defended his lecturers or students whom the KGB ordered expelled without any guilt on their part. Maksymovych made a career and became rector of the university thanks to his wife, Maria Kich who served in the Kovpak guerrilla detachment during the war. She is now a deputy to the Supreme Soviet and maintains business contacts to the KGB — primarily along the lines of struggle against so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism".

This is the source of V. Malanchuk's "friendly" contacts to traitors. Malanchuk now heads a commission of KGB "scholars" of the type of "Stenchuk" (an unknown name) which, under the supervision of the KGB from Moscow,

is currently working on the book for Ivan Dzyuba (which should bear the title "Dzyuba versus 'Dzyuba'" or "There is No Third Alternative") intended to refute and condemn Ivan Dzyuba's Book "Internationalism or Russification?". The Russian janissary V. Malanchuk, a hater of everything Ukrainian attacks Ukrainian patriots at every opportunity, breathing hatred to nationalists (Bandera followers). It is said that he is seeking revenge for the death of his father who was punished for treason in 1947 by a Ukrainian popular court. He has many innocent victims upon his conscience, Ukrainian patriots, including the recently expelled and arrested students of Lviv University and the Ukrainian professors who were fired from work. This was his infamous accomplishment, in conjunction with the KGB. Also, upon the orders of these "experts", in addition to the secret network of KGB spies, who are recruited mainly among non-Ukrainians, additional guardianship by professors or lecturers was introduced at universities. Together with the Komsomol they are to take care of the "educational" level of students.

The entire reinforced Communist "system of education" under the supervision of the KGB and the party, which persecutes, arrests and dismisses students and lecturers from universities, paints a picture of reality in which students and research workers of subjugated Ukraine must live.

"If, by placing me behind bars, you are counting on creating a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then it is absurd. Understand at last: there will never be a vacuum again."

Valentyn Moroz, 1970
(In Lieu of the Final Speech)

Mykhaylo Dyak in a Perm Concentration Camp

Young Ukrainian Mykhaylo Dyak (born in 1935) is serving his term of punishment in one of the Russian concentration camps in Perm in the Urals. Formerly residing in Ivano-Frankivsk, he was a senior lieutenant of the militia.

Together with others he was arrested by the KGB in March 1967. That summer he was sentenced by the Russian occupation court in Ukraine to 5 years of security prison, 8 years of concentration camp of severe regime and 5 years of exile. Mykhaylo Dyak, senior lieutenant of the militia, who occupied a position of authority, was accused of belonging to an underground nationalist organization, the "Ukrainian National Front" (UNF), which as a continuation of the revolutionary OUN attempted to separate Ukraine from the USSR and to establish a "bourgeois order". The main charge against Dyak made by the organs of the KGB and the court was that he, a person to whom the Soviet government had entrusted a leading position in the militia, was not only an ordinary helper, but a leader of the revolutionary, conspiratorial organization, the UNF. Although as a militia officer M. Dyak was permitted to carry arms, it was added to the indictment that he was in possession of weapons which could have been directed against "Soviet people".

The primary charge was levelled against Dyak for belonging to the leading cell of the UNF and for being chiefly responsible for dissemination of liberation literature of the UPA which

was found in the Dovbush Cave in the Carpathian forests near Yaremche. These leaflets and the illegal periodical, **Fatherland and Freedom**, which was allegedly published by the UNF, called on the Ukrainian people to fight with Russian aggressors for the establishment of the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

Cruel interrogations lasted for many days and nights and were attended by special KGB investigators from Kyiv and Moscow. The former militia officer, M. Dyak, was groundlessly accused by them, forcing him not only to admit his guilt but also to repent. Their purpose was to prove to the Ukrainian public, which commented broadly on the case of Dyak and his associates from the UNF, that as a militiaman he was allegedly secretly sent by the KGB to uncover the underground organization.

But the enemy made a mistake in this case. Ukrainian patriot Mykhaylo Dyak endured with dignity and honesty, befitting to a Ukrainian individual, all the psychological and physical tortures of the KGB and faced the court which deprived him of the best 18 years of his life. After sentencing M. Dyak served his 5 year prison term in the famous Vladimir prison. Later, exhausted and with undermined health, he was transferred to the Mordovian camp, Potma, and from there to a newly established strict regime concentration camp for political prisoners at Perm.

The young Ukrainian patriot, together with his fellow inmates, in captivity to which Ukraine's enemies have driven the fighters for its statehood, is destined to follow his difficult road of slavery. He did not hesitate in choosing it although he knew that he will be severely punished for this by the enemy. The service to one's subjugated country is stronger than all sufferings and tortures.

Save us unnecessary expenses!
Send in your subscription for
ABN Correspondence
immediately!

Convict Dmytro Kvetsko

Dmytro Kvetsko, young Ukrainian historian and publicist, is confined to a Russian concentration camp in Potma, Mordovia. He was brought to the concentration camp from the Vladimir prison, known for its cruel, inhuman, medieval regime, in an undermined state of health. Recently, Kvetsko's health deteriorated even further, so that his fellow inmates who suffer together with him fear for his fate. The Russian camp authorities pay no attention to the state of health of the Ukrainian prisoner whom they force to work hard since he is on their list of the most dangerous prisoners.

Dmytro Kvetsko, born in 1935 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, history teacher and publicist, graduated from the Department of History of the Lviv University, was arrested by the organs of the KGB in early 1967 and sentenced in that same year for his membership in the Ukrainian National Front (UNF) to 5 years of security prison, 10 years of strict regime concentration camp and 5 years of exile. The Russian occupation regime indicted Kvetsko as one of the founders of the UNF and charged him with being the chief ideologist of the UNF. During long and inhuman KGB and court interrogations, at which Kvetsko refused to give any kind of testimony, he and other members of the UNF were accused of continuing the nationalist activity of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and of the fact that their ideology and program are in no way different from those of the OUN.

In 1965/67 the Ukrainian National Front not only published the periodical **Fatherland and Freedom** (16 issues are said to have appeared) which reprinted **samvydav** materials and articles of the National Executive of the OUN, but the UNF also disseminated among the population by the thousands leaflets found in the Carpathian forests,

which were published by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

At the Bolshevik trial Kvetsko was strongly accused also because he was a former political prisoner of the Stalinist concentration camps. He and his associates who were tried for sympathizing with the UNF (Zynoviy Krasivskyi, Mykhaiilo Dyak, Hryhoriy Prokopovich, Yaroslav Lesiv, Ivan Hubka, Myron Melyn, Vasyl Kulynyn) were accused of committing the "national crime" and were therefore tried on the basis of the following articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR: 56 (high treason), 55 and 62. All of them received high terms of harsh imprisonment.

Unbroken in spirit, although with undermined health, and harshly persecuted by the enemy, Dmytro Kvetsko is now most concerned and worried by the fate of his aging mother. In her old age she remained alone, deprived of the care of her only son, who was driven by fierce enemies into harsh captivity for many years only because he stood up in defense of the sacred rights of his subjugated Ukrainian nation.

Three Years of Military Service in the USSR

The Soviet Ministry of Defense has already informed the new draftees that beginning with January 1, 1974 military service will be extended from two to three years. As the formal reason, a highly advanced motorization and technology of the armed forces which requires a longer time to master the training program, was given. This extension will considerably increase the size of the Soviet Army, which at present numbers 3,425,000 soldiers.

Terror Continues to Rage

News from Ukraine brings new data on the situation of Ukrainian political prisoners and on Russian national persecution and harsh social exploitation of the Ukrainian people.

The Russian Bolshevik terrorist machine, the KGB, received greater authority from the party leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which gave it an opportunity to use terror and uncontrolled violence toward the population. All legal enactments which should allegedly protect the rights of individuals — which are so often referred to by deceptive Russian propaganda in its struggle against so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" — are constantly being disregarded. And since one can put even such people who speak Ukrainian in the category of "bourgeois nationalism" it is not amazing that in recent time a number of innocent Ukrainian citizens in Kyiv and Lviv have fallen under the "control" of the KGB, i. e. they are being persecuted in various ways. The main charge against them, for instance, is the fact that they have taken part in mass Shevchenko demonstrations.

Many university students of Kyiv and Lviv, even those who were in their last year of studies and were getting ready for final examinations, were drafted into the army and sent to the Far North and East of the Russian empire. A number of research workers were dismissed from work or demoted in their position due to their Ukrainianism. Thus, in Kyiv, for instance, **Leonid Makhnivets**, a researcher of literature of the 16th-18th centuries, author of works on Skovoroda, was dismissed from work at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. Also **V. Krekoten**, a researcher of literature of the 16th-18th centuries, and **Oleksa Myshanych**, a researcher of the Ukrainian literature of the Transcarpathian region, were transferred to a lower position. A

purge was conducted in Lviv and among others, **Maria Val'o**, a specialist in baroque literature, was dismissed from work. She was a research worker in the Institute of Social Studies. **Lyuba Maksymiv**, **Hryhoriy Nudha** and **Yaroslav Dzyra** were also discharged from work at the Institute.

Many Ukrainian nationally conscious students were expelled from school, while others were deprived of their scholarships, thus depriving them of their livelihood. At party and Komsomol meetings there is much shouting about the advance of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", which together with "Zionists, Maoists" and "capitalists" wants to topple the Soviet Union. At the universities of Ukraine the network of KGB informers, who are mostly recruited from the Russian and non-Ukrainian elements, has been reinforced. The KGB lets other nationals attack the Ukrainian students, because allegedly Ukrainians make study difficult for them since they demand that instructions be given in Ukrainian which they do not understand. In this respect, at universities where there is a division as to the lecturing in Ukrainian or in Russian, two openly opposing fronts have been created.

In Dnipropetrovsk, a general strike of workers broke out in the Petrov plant in June, 1973. A worker who for many years did hard labor at the plant threw himself into a boiler of melted iron and burned before the eyes of all the workers. He did this as a sign of protest against the severe discrimination against the Ukrainian workers. The worker, a nationally conscious Ukrainian, for ten years requested a larger apartment for his numerous family, but he was constantly refused, while the Russians who come from Russia for employment receive such apartments immediately. Psychologically driven to an end — all petitions and

protests were not taken into consideration — he chose a horrible death. This greatly disturbed the workers and as a sign of protest they activated all sirens at the plant and discontinued work. The KGB immediately surrounded the plant and ordered the strikers to resume work, otherwise the workers will be arrested for rebellion against the state. Also it was forbidden to participate en masse at the funeral of the unfortunate worker — a victim of the inhuman Russian system.

Discouraging news has also been received about further horrible persecution of the arrested, or already convicted, Ukrainian cultural leaders. Ukrainian political prisoners — we informed our readers about the harsh fate of some of them — are further confined under inhuman conditions. The Russians, who deceive the naive public of the West with their "humanism", cruelly, sometimes worse than the German Nazis, mistreat, torture, both psychologically and physically, finish off people, who had the courage to tell them the truth to their face. With the help of various renegades they attempt to crush those who stand in the way of their imperialistic goals. The infamous concentration camps in cold Mordovia and Perm, and the Vladimir prison with its medieval regime, horrify Ukrainian political prisoners with their inhuman treatment. As of late, food rations which nonetheless were on the level of starvation, were decreased there, production norms were raised, making them hard to achieve, the prisoners are permanently mistreated and sent to camp prisons. Sick prisoners must live almost totally without medical care and the most indispensable medicine. With cruel treatment and hunger the prison wardens try to break the will of sick people, making them repent. This was done with the ailing **Ivan Dzyuba**. **Ivan Svitlychnyi** is being tortured so that he "repents" and denounces himself and his associates. Poetess **Iryna Stasiv Ka-**

lynets, wife of well-known poet **Ihor Kalynets** who is confined to a concentration camp, has become seriously ill in prison. Their daughter, left behind, is growing up without her parents. The ailing **Iryna Kalynets** is confined to a strict regime prison. All delivery of food and medicine is prohibited. Thus they are trying to force her to sign a "statement of repentance". **Valentyn Moroz**, who in the course of his imprisonment was severely wounded by criminals sent to his cell by the KGB, is also in a serious condition at the Vladimir prison.

Ailing at the Perm concentration camp is **Zynoviy Antonyuk**, a philologist, who was arrested in Kyiv in January 1972. During a search, the **samvydav** materials were confiscated from him. Ailing in prison, without medical care, are **Danylo Shumuk** and **Mykhaylo Osadchyi**. **Yevhen Pryshlyak** is in an unenviable state of health at the Perm concentration camp since 1972. Sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment for belonging to the OUN, he is considered a second category invalid. After the death of dissident **Yuriy Galanskov** in the Mordovian camps, together with 23 other prisoners, **Pryshlyak** signed a letter of condolences to his family.

Mykola Bondar, severely exhausted after a hunger strike which lasted 34 days as a sign of protest against the arbitrary rule and terror of the KGB, is also to be found in the Perm concentration camp. **Mykola Bondar**, born in 1939, was a lecturer in philosophy at the Uzhhorod University. He was dismissed from the university for criticizing excessive celebration of Lenin's anniversary. Since 1969 he worked in the mine in Cherkasy. He was later arrested and sentenced on May 12, 1971, in Kyiv for "slandering the Soviet regime. on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to seven years' imprisonment.

The 70-year-old Ukrainian Catholic priest, **Father Roman Bakhtalovskiy**,

who had been sentenced to three years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile, was transported in a sick state to the Krasnoyar region to serve his harsh term of exile in his old age.

The life of long-term prisoner **Yuriy Shukhevych** is under a question mark.

At the time of his renewed imprisonment by the Russian henchmen, Yuriy Shukhevych became seriously ill with intestinal ulcer. His state of health is very serious. Treatment demands not only a quiet, nervously non-exhausting life, but dietetic food and appropriate medication are also absolutely neces-

sary. All this is lacking in the harsh prison.

Ukrainian political prisoners, languishing in Russian captivity, who suffer in defense of Ukraine's rights in spite of the cruel, inhuman persecutions, carry their heavy cross with dignity, honesty and perseverance, conscious of the fact their sufferings will not be in vain. They firmly believe that they are not only swaying the conscience of their slumbering countrymen, but also that they will finally move the conscience of the entire world and will open its eyes as to what does Russian Communism represent.

Ivan Svitlychnyi in the Perm Concentration Camp

The Ukrainian cultural leader, publicist and literary critic **Ivan Svitlychnyi**, who was sentenced by the Russian occupation regime in March 1973, to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile, is now in the Perm concentration camp of the Chusov district. In November he was transferred from the KGB internal prison, on Korolenko Street in Kyiv, in which **Ivan Dzyuba** was also held at the time. In the course of the investigation and following his conviction, the special organs of the KGB attempted, with the help of refined methods of violence, to break **Ivan Svitlychnyi** and to force him to issue a statement of repentance. Taking advantage of his ill health (he has a chronic circulatory ailment) they also exerted moral pressure on him through the persecution of his family. The last months prior to his transfer to the concentration camp were very difficult, almost unbearable. At that time the KGB, using horrible psychological and physical violence, forced the ailing **Ivan Dzyuba** to make a statement of repentance. **Ivan Svitlychnyi** endured difficult, horrible and refined methods of pressure of KGB specialists in exacting confessions. He had not become a repenting victim of the KGB. Extremely exhausted, with

undermined health, he was transported to the Russian Perm concentration camp, to which he was banished by the Russian imperialists for his defense of the rights of the Ukrainian nation. In the Perm concentration camp there languish many Ukrainian political prisoners: **Ivan Kandyba**, **Ihor Kalynets**, **Yevhen Pryshlyak**, **Dmytro Verkholyak**, **Mykhaylo Dyak** and many others. Recently, some political prisoners from the Potma concentration camp, in particular from the 5th camp station, were transferred to this camp. They were accused of participating in an insurrection in the second half of 1970. The 5th camp station of the Potma concentration camp was divided into two parts: in one foreigners were confined, in the other prisoners from the USSR. In the foreigners' zone there languished many naive people who believed in Bolshevik propaganda and returned to the USSR, or foreigners who had asked for political asylum in the USSR. Many of them ended their life in that camp, waiting for their release, as for instance, **Stoun**, who came to Riga from the USA with his family, died in 1965. **Alex Chynses**, an American Communist who let himself be deceived, the Greek Communists **Katro-**

cious and Elevtorius, Shakher-Zade from Iran and many others.

The provoked insurrection in Potma in 1970, which was a protest against gross lawlessness, terror, famine and torture, cost over 50 prisoners their life. The insurrection was crushed by the police units of the MVD and KGB who mercilessly gunned down prisoners who refused to surrender.

Only the arrival of the deputy minister of MVD Kuznetsov and the minister of internal affairs of Mordovia Orlov and a number of high functiona-

ries of the KGB contributed to change. It was possible to "calm down" prisoners by the introduction of new regulations and the recall of those previously responsible for law and order in camp.

Recently, also many prisoners from the Baltic states, in particular Lithuania, and political prisoners from Ukraine, primarily students many of whom were arrested again, mostly for defending the Ukrainian language in the universities of Ukraine, were brought to the Perm concentration camp.

Eight Years of Concentration Camp for the Native Language

The newspaper *Leninska molod*, organ of the Lviv regional committee of the Komsomol of August 23, 1973, which was recently received from Ukraine, published a "court report" which tells of the fate of a 22-year-old Ukrainian youth, sentenced by the visiting criminal assize of the regional court to "eight years' imprisonment in a correctional labor institution of intensified regime". The regional court "found him guilty of crimes stipulated by Articles 101, Section 1, and 206, Section 2", that is of "malicious hooliganism". What did this "malicious hooliganism" consist of and why did the visiting assize of the Lviv regional court convict this youth in the town of Mykolayiv to such a long term of imprisonment? Below we are reprinting excerpts from materials published by the Soviet newspaper of Lviv, for the data cited in the article speak for themselves and throw a considerable amount of light on Soviet reality.

The affair began with the fact that "vigilante" P. I. Horak intervened in a fight of two young boys in the village of Rudnyky, Mykolayiv district. In a letter to the newspaper Horak states that he attempted to stop the fight:

"Boys, why are you fighting, break up

the fight!" Then the one who was punching his friend raised himself, came up to me and said in brutal language: "Look, that Russian speaks to me in Russian! — and unexpectedly punched me in the face. I grabbed him by the shoulder, asked why he had hit me, informed him, that I am a vigilante (voluntary auxiliary police force made up of Komsomol members) and suggested that we go to the militia. Then the lad instantly threw me over the hip unto the stones scattered about in the yard. I felt a severe pain in my right side and lost consciousness for a moment. I am here for a week now... the hooligan was caught. His name is **Stepan Sporadnyk**. He is a young boy, born in 1951, a Komsomol member. Today he works at the industrial-technical corporation, Electron."

Further down in the letter Horak expresses his views on why Stepan Sporadnyk "hates the 'Russians' so much", although, as he maintains, these "Russians" have brought prosperity and freedom to Ukraine. Horak further states that he does not feel hatred toward sporadnyk but he writes "I am angry at the evil which he carries in himself and which is called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism".

Having cited the full text of Horak's letter, the Soviet paper gives a rather extensive report about the course of the court proceedings at which the prosecutor informed (the court) that the defendant fell upon the plaintiff "with hostile, dirty language... only because he addressed you in Russian", adding that "malicious, hostile shouts prior to the assault on citizen Horak are empty belchings of little notions of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". Addressing himself to the defendant the prosecutor said the following:

"Our enemies have attempted and are attempting to drive a wedge between the fraternal Ukrainian and Russian peoples, in particular in the question of language, and you are humming in a malicious nationalistic voice. Your acts are a relapse of nationalism in the form of hooliganism."

The newspaper's correspondent informs that S. Sporadnyk attempted to refute the assertions of the prosecutor, but "facts are a stubborn thing, and witnesses one after the other confirmed the defendant's repulsive conduct toward P. I. Horak, his malicious, hostile hissing, the basis of which are the

petty theories of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. It is a fixed fact that the phrase: If I had a knife, I would cut all Russians to pieces! appertains to this 'upright' and 'active' youth."

Obviously, in such a situation and with such accusations, the fate of the Ukrainian youth who actively dared to oppose Ukraine's Russification was sealed. "In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" the court found him guilty and sentenced him to **eight years' hard labor** in concentration camps.

Leninska molod gives the following loquacious commentary: "The incident which occurred in the village of Rudnyky goes beyond the limits of relations between two people. That evening in Rudnyky there collided in this unusual manner not two compatriots but two conceptions of the world: the Communist — and the stale and mouldy ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. **The sailor, an internationalist**, putting aside personal insults and complaints, raised in his letter before the Komsomol members of the region sharp and justified questions which require a profound analysis and an accurate scientific solution."

"Ponder over this unusual story: "Sporadnyk had not hit the captain of the motor ship 'Komsomolets', P. I. Horak — he raised his hand against our temple — against our sacred friendship with the great Russian people. And although how pitiful the attempt of a pigmymoron may seem — we should nevertheless draw conclusions on principle from this story. This is proved by the story of the Rudnyky renegade."

One must agree with the conclusions of the special correspondent of **Leninska molod**: the Rudnyky story is unusually significant and suggests much to reflect upon. Primarily it is important as a glaring manifestation of resistance of the Ukrainian youngest generation to the Soviet policy of Russification.

"Thus I repeat, too: one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion approaching insanity. His present existence comprises a frightful mixture of hungry life in jail and the miserable existence in a room of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have no national or social distinguishing features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and morally tortured day by day.

Remember this!"

Israel, October 1973

Anatoly Radygin

Two Preachers Convicted

In Lviv there was a trial of electric welder **Bohdan Petrovich Stepa** and construction glass-cutter **Kornylo Maksymovych Vasylyk**.

Both skilled workers, aside from working hard to earn a living, for three years, unnoticed by the KGB and its spies, found time to be preachers among members and sympathizers of one religious sect. What were they accused of?

Organizing "illegal meetings" in apartments of their "adherents", they "violated" Soviet laws, had a "missionary" influence upon children and young people and attempted to "recruit" them for their sect. "Insulting remarks about civic organizations and local government organs" were a great crime, for allegedly the party "aristocracy", even at the lowest level, is "infallible". A further "offence" were "provocative statements about the quickly approaching end of the world". How can this be? Russia is sharpening its insatiable imperialistic teeth, and some "provocateurs" are preaching an end of the world.

It was also a provocation "to tell the underaged Soviet citizens about the last judgement, hell and punishment" in store for the infidels. Prayer, to which the defendants "forced" the members of the sect, was a particular crime. In a report about this trial, pub-

lished in Ukraine, it is said that "at the time when the defendants performed religious rites, they forced members of the congregation to pray ardently for an extended period of time, and this caused a mass psychosis and hallucinatory conduct. "The court ascertained that "prayer caused nervous tension and ruined health."

For this reason both preachers were sentenced not only for "transgressing applicable laws and for anti-social activity", but especially for "corporal and moral crippling of people". In the official report about this trial the degree of punishment was not given, but no doubt it must have been great, for it is known that just for "anti-social activity" the court can declare a person "mentally ill".

Reading the indictment carefully one is particularly struck by the accusation that "prayer caused moral and corporal crippling". Every devout Christian knows that, to the contrary, fervent prayer reassures, cheers up, lifts the spirit, gives hope and moral strength even in the most difficult situations.

The trial of these two preachers cannot be taken lightly. To the contrary, it must be taken as a warning, for using similar arguments, the Soviet courts could proclaim all group prayer a "dangerous crime".

Russia's Victim Mykola Kots

Mykola Hryhorovych Kots, a young Ukrainian born in 1930, belongs to the countless, innocent Ukrainian patriots who have fallen victim to the imperialist Bolshevik regime. He was a teacher at the agricultural technical school in Ternopil.

The Russian KGB organs arrested Mykola Kots at the end of 1967 and the occupation court sentenced him in the spring of 1968 on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the

Ukr. SSSR to 7 years of severe regime camps and 5 years of exile.

The young teacher was charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". He was accused of revising Symonenko's poem "To the Kurd Brother", substituting Ukrainians everywhere in place of Kurds and of circulating 70 copies of the poem.

At a long KGB investigation lasting several months Kots failed to admit his guilt. Various means of persuasion and

evidence which the KGB tried to fabricate did not help. The main thing for the Russian henchmen was to convict somebody for Symonenko's poem which was circulating in large numbers. The lot has fallen on the nationally conscious young Ukrainian teacher who spoke Ukrainian at all times.

Mykola Kots was arrested, convicted and after his conviction deported to a concentration camp in cold Mordovia, Potma. Here the Ukrainian teacher was destined to live the hard life of a convict and to do hard physical labor for

years under harsh climatic conditions and in a constant state of starvation. From Potma Kots was transferred to a similar strict regime concentration camp in Perm, where he languishes to this day as the victim of the Russian misanthropic regime. Only his strong faith in God and Ukraine, in the great truth of eternal principles to serve and suffer for his nation give strength to the convicts to endure and to carry their heavy cross of slavery. They had to undergo all these sufferings in defense of their own nation.

Mixed Marriages — A Means of Russification

The Russian authorities are convinced that in the creation of so-called "Soviet people" mixed marriages can be a helpful method. Therefore, as of late the party favors and in various ways supports such marriages in the awareness that in such mixed relationships the national factor ceases to act and the national differences are obliterated. For example, in the last census in the USSR it was revealed that for every 1000 families there are 100 mixed marriages. This is in general, for in some republics this percentage is much higher, namely: Ukraine 150 for every 1000, Lithuania 158, Moldavia 135, Kazakhstan 244. In Kyiv where in 1972 10,102 marriages were registered, 4000 of them were mixed marriages. The greatest percentage of mixed marriages were recorded in so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan and in Siberia, where in recent time entire cities are being constructed. For this purpose there exist special statistics bureaus which study the distribution of the population in the USSR. It is upon their directives that from time to time whole transports of Ukrainian youth are allegedly "voluntarily" dispatched from Ukraine to Kazakhstan or other distant "republics".

The Soviet Army plays a large role in the process of Russification of the subjugated nations. Young draftees in-

to the army are sent without fail beyond the borders of their countries in order to get Russified. After discharge from the army as well, the party constantly takes steps to prevent these young people from returning to their native lands, urging them to remain in foreign territories where they are forced to speak Russian.

It is not necessary to speak about the Russian imperialistic spirit in the Soviet Army of the old tsarist type, for it is well known to all.

A warning Against the Communist Secret Services

The Swiss Ministry of Internal Affairs is disturbed at the fact that many people visiting Communist countries fall an easy prey to the Communist secret services. It issued a circular letter in which it warns its citizens against the danger of political harassment. The circular explains that the following are the goals of the Communist secret services:

— gaining information about the research of the West, in particular research conducted with respect to atomic energy rocket technology, aeronautics, electronics and modern branches of industry;

— obtaining data on the types and numerical state, equipment, place of

stationing and methods of training of Western troops;

— obtaining information in the sphere of international relations of Western countries, especially in the political, military and economic fields;

— finding out "the weak spots" in certain individuals or groups in the population which could be utilized in the future for the purpose of espionage or propaganda;

— acquiring official documents such

as passports, identity cards, official permits and so forth with the aim of their falsification for their own agents who are constantly infiltrating the Western world.

The Communist secret services are guided by the principle that each person can give "interesting" information or at least can have access to "interesting" information some day. Therefore, each individual is equally important to them.

IMPRISONED UKRAINIAN WOMEN PETITION THE UNITED NATIONS

Ukrainian cultural leaders, Stefa Shabatura, Nina Karavanska and Iryna Kalynets, interned in the Mordovian concentration camps wrote to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, on May 10, 1973. The full text of the letter is published below.

To the Secretary General of the United Nations

P e t i t i o n

Stefa Shabatura, born in 1938, sentenced to 5 years of camps and 3 years of exile, an artist from Lviv.

Nina Strokata-Karavanska, born in 1925, sentenced to 4 years of camps, a research worker from Odessa.

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, born in 1940, sentenced to 6 years of camps and 3 years of exile, a poetess from Lviv.

January 12, 1972 marked the beginning of a new wave of repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. We have been persecuted and confined to prisons only because we, as Ukrainians, advocate the preservation and development of the Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine. All arrests conducted in Ukraine in that year constituted a violation of the Human Rights Declaration by the Soviet government.

We are defenseless before the inequitable Soviet courts. We were sentenced illegally and at present are interned in the Soviet political concentration camp No. 3 in the Dubrovlag in Mordovia. We do not agree with any counts of the indictment brought against us. We do not ask for any favors, only for a really just and open trial with a mandatory participation of a United Nations representative.

Stefa Shabatura

Nina Strokata-Karavanska

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets

NEW PUBLICATIONS

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.

OUR ALTERNATIVE

ABN and EFC Conferences

Brussels, November 12th - 15th, 1970

Speeches, reports and messages.

In English and French.

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by Slava Stetsko, M. A.

Foreword by Ivan Matteo Lombardo

GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

Prof. Vasyl Plyushch

Order from: Press Bureau of ABN, 8 München 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

National Independence, Freedom And Justice For All



7th Conference Of the World Anti-Communist League,
April 8 - 11, 1974, Washington, D. C.

CONTENTS:	Brezhnev's Terror on the Rise	3
	World Anti-Communist League Holds its 7th Conference in Washington	5
	<i>Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine)</i>	
	National Liberation Struggle in the Russian Empire	13
	Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine	
	Defend Valentyn Moroz	22
	<i>Prof. Stefan Possony (USA)</i>	
	Toward a Free World Strategy Against Communist Despotism	29
	European Freedom Council	
	Aide Memoire	34
	Hunger Strike of Women to Protest	
	Torture of Prisoners	38
	<i>L. Zourabichvili (Georgia)</i>	
	The Recent Events in Georgia	43
	WACL Resolutions	45

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.

Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A.
 Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice
to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only
with indication of source (ABN-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No. 30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN),
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon: 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.
Verantw. Redakteur Frau Slava Stetko.
Erscheinungsort München.
Druck: Dr. J. Herp, München.

Liberation Struggle Is Not to Be Crushed

A detente between Soviet Russia and the West, begun in 1972, and hand in hand with it, a more acute oppression inside the empire, continue to this day. The intensification and perfection of terror as means of domination over the subjugated nations is an obvious proof of Moscow's deception by means of "peaceful" overtures toward the West.. Both the former and the latter are a preparation for the next major international conflict in an appropriate time. It is an attempt to secure the rear for itself and to lull the vigilance of Western society. In order to keep the empire alive under conditions of a permanent economic crisis, ever increasing attitudes of dissatisfaction of the population for reasons of social inequity, and in particular the demands of the subjugated nations with respect to their rights to national statehood, it is necessary again to turn the attention of the population away from all the painful domestic problems by some external crisis. The war in the Middle East was planned within this framework. Essentially, its aim was to produce an economic crisis in the industrial countries, which after all was achieved to a large extent. The next step in this direction can be a continuation of efforts to at least bring about an economic breakdown of weaker countries (e. g. Great Britain) or to take control of the government in one of the Western countries (Europe, South America), a reinforcement of war in Asia and so forth. Behind this smoke screen, having given its adversaries from the freshly baked 'detente' enough work to keep them busy, Moscow, unpunished, is making short work of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations and of other manifestations of discontent of the oppressed nations.

Having taken away the remnants of meager constitutional rights which the "national republics" of the USSR enjoyed at least on paper, the imperial center headed by Brezhnev has taken the road of accelerated Russification of the subjugated nations with the aim of creating an artificial "Soviet", in reality Russian people. As part of this plan, a new constitution of the USSR is also being drafted, which formally is to level off national differences, relegating the subjugated nations to the provinces of the empire, as had been the case in tsarist times. Within that framework a purge was started and is continuing among the party cadres in the "national republics", particularly in Ukraine, where a new type of completely russified aparatchiks of provincial scale are being implanted. In Ukraine the majority of regional secretaries and their associates, part of the members of the Shelest Central Committee, hundreds of once prominent university professors, editors of newspapers and magazines, managers of publishing houses and so forth were removed. In every branch of academic, cultural, literary and other life mass purges are being conducted with

the aim of removing and intimidating the national elements. Only as part of this plan and for these reasons were neo-Stalinist methods applied to nationally-conscious individuals from among the subjugated nations, who stood up in defense of the rights of their nations. The harsh sentences, often more cruel than under Stalin, meted out to Ukrainian cultural leaders in the past two years, in no way correspond to their "guilt". (For similar "faults" the Russians are either not punished at all or their sentences are disproportionately shorter.) This is a clear proof of unequal treatment of Russians, as the ruling nation, on the one hand, and all the others, as subjugated, on the other hand. This is an attempt by the Russian chauvinists to destroy at the very root everything having a national character. This is not an ideological or a social struggle; this is an evident conflict of the imperialist Russian nation with the subjugated nations. Even Sakharov in an interview with a **Sunday Times** correspondent confirmed that there are two measures of punishment — one for Solzhenitsyn, and another one for Yurko Shukhevych and Valentyn Moroz for allegedly the same "crimes" (memoirs about their experiences in concentration camps). Yet he, as a Russian with imperialistic views, did not say clearly where this difference lies, having approached this problem only from a "humane" point of view. But the subjugated nations, in particular Ukraine, understand this in a different way.

First of all, the recent years began with the growth of national consciousness among the subjugated nations, especially among the Ukrainian people. The movement initiated by the so-called men of the sixties, which grew on the basis of struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the 1940s and 1950s, had not ceased with the liquidation of well-known underground publications and with the arrest of almost all those who consciously came to the surface and openly rose in defense of the rights of the Ukrainian people. This new national movement spread too broadly and became too deeply rooted to be crushed even by cruel repressions. After experimenting for several years with the open form of struggle, the Ukrainian resistance movement again went deeper into the underground, but its present activity rests on a considerably stronger base. The chauvinistic policy of Russian imperialists, which today is obvious to every Ukrainian, has opened the eyes of many to the true state of affairs, has completely exposed the deception of the so-called friendship of peoples and other prevalent Bolshevik slogans. From eyewitness reports and Soviet publications one can clearly see a gap between the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples. The national road is taken by the Ukrainian city — by both the intelligentsia and the workers. The Ukrainian village is becoming active again. "Today they cannot even close a church without being punished" states an eyewitness without a dose of sarcasm.

Ukrainian students and lecturers of educational establishments defend their rights. For this they are usually persecuted (the much publicized case at Lviv University). The defense of the Pochaiv Monastery and a church in Zhytomyr was covered by the world press. A struggle for the soul of Ukrainian children in kindergartens (the case in Cherkasy where over 300 Ukrainian children were poisoned by food in a Ukrainian kindergarten). A protest by workers in Kyiv. The hanging of Ukrainian national flags, the inscriptions on walls, the dissemination of leaflets. Open anti-Russian displays as reaction to the evil deeds of the Russian colonialists in Ukraine. All these are individual incidents, known to us, which occurred last year in Ukraine. Of course, they are only fragments. Nevertheless, from these individual fragments it can be seen in what direction a further development of resistance and struggle is going. One very interesting act is worth nothing. In analyzing the conduct of injured persons (the arrested and the sentenced) and their families, as well as those who spent many years in prisons and concentration camps and who are now in freedom, we can notice an admirable peace and steadiness, a preservation of human and national dignity, optimism in life, energy for further work and struggle. They are the spiritual and moral giants, of whom there are many among the Ukrainian people today. They are the ones who have already become the catalysts of the national forces. Today, there are very few convinced Communists among the Ukrainian people. (As a matter of fact, there are none among other nations subjugated in the USSR either.) An average contemporary Ukrainian, although passive in action, feels that he is being degraded, that he has been robbed of something, that he is not a full valued human being. The raging of Russian chauvinism, evident to such a degree in the last several years, fosters the reawakening of national sentiments of every honest man. In the situation of complete bankruptcy of so-called Marxism-Leninism, the naked Russian chauvinism does not and will not have any chance of enduring the pressure of decentralizing forces, in spite of the fact that it hides under an artificial cover of "Soviet" man and "Soviet" fatherland. **V. O. M.**

Brezhnev's Terror on the Rise

Innocent Ukrainians are not only arrested, tried and persecuted in Kyiv and Lviv. The wave of Russian terror is passing across almost all Ukrainian territories. Today, there hardly exists any locality where Ukrainians would not be charged with or persecuted for Ukrainian nationalism. Recently information was received from Ukraine about new convictions of five young U-

krainians. In August 1973 the Russian Bolshevik court in Ivano-Frankivsk sentenced the following young men, natives of the Kolomya region, to four or more years of harsh imprisonment: **Dmytro Hrynkiv, Ivan Shovkovyi, Dmytro Demydiv, Roman Chupey and Mykola Motruk.**

The young Ukrainians were arrested by the KGB in March 1973 on charges

of activity of so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and of acting to the detriment of "Soviet society" by sharply opposing "the Communist Party's policy of friendship of peoples of the USSR".

The defendants, young Ukrainian patriots, conducted themselves with dignity and honesty at the trial. They denied and rejected as groundless all accusations of the KGB and the court. They did not consider themselves guilty because to defend the rights of the Ukrainian people in the face of lawlessness, brutal violence, dictatorship and forced Russification which is tantamount to the extermination of the Ukrainian nation, to protest in defense of the Ukrainian political leaders illegally imprisoned by the Russian government is not a crime but a duty of every honest Ukrainian. How can a Ukrainian individual look on passively when Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, Iryna Senyk and a number of other innocently convicted Ukrainians are languishing in Russian concentration camps only because they spoke out in defense of their nation.

The Bolshevik court in Ivano-Frankivsk, just as all the occupational courts in Ukraine, never pay attention to the words and defense of the defendants. They are a tool of punishment of the Russian KGB and the Party, designed to finish Ukrainian patriots who had the personal courage to stand up in defense of their nation. The greatest paradox at that trial which deeply offended the Ukrainian public was the fact that the Bolshevik "bourgeoisie", the ruling class of Russian parasites over the Ukrainian people, tried the sons of poor Ukrainian workers — who in the course of three occupations, the Polish, the German and the present Russian one, belonged to the most exploited, the poorest stratum of our nation — for "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism".

The illegal conviction of the young Ukrainians evoked great indignation not only among the inhabitants of the Ivano-Frankivsk region, but it was echoed widely across the entire Western Ukraine which is subjected to a particularly sharp control of the Russian KGB and the Communist Party. The citizens of Western Ukraine, in particular the youth, are accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", of the fact that the active "Bandera era" has been revived, which in "covert" and "overt" forms hinders the construction of socialism, opposes Brezhnev's policy of "merging of nations" and aims at the "toppling of the Communist regime in Ukraine". The greatest threat from the side of the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", the Bolsheviks maintain, is the fact that the nationalists "have infected with the bacillus of hatred toward the Russian people" not only Western but all of Ukraine, and also had a negative influence upon "the friendship with other peoples which make up the socialist family of nations of the USSR".

Also, in recent time the Bolshevik propaganda machine has begun to exploit the statement of repentance forced by the KGB from Ivan Dzyba. This Bolshevik statement of repentance made absolutely no impression upon the population, although the Russian political instructors tried to present it in the most treacherous way. On the contrary, they hurt themselves by it. The people in Ukraine are well aware of the Bolshevik methods and know the value of this type of statements. The statement, extorted from Ivan Dzyuba in prison by KGB terror, with the help of chemical and psychological means, has no significance at all.

Even if Dzyuba, suffering from tuberculosis, being "in freedom" were forced under KGB terror to break down and renounce his patriotic convictions, to condemn his work "Internationalism or Russification?", this too would not be effective, for the Ukrainian people

themselves know very well the facts of Russification about which he wrote in his work. Of course, many Ukrainians regret that Dzyuba lacked the strength to endure to the end and had not become the banner of struggle against Russian imperialism as many Ukrainians would have wished, in particular Valentyn Moroz.

Dzyuba's works have won a place for themselves in the common front of liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against Moscow, primarily among those who, deceived by Communist propaganda, acknowledged the Marxist Communist theory and were deceptively harnessed to the Russian

wagon. Through his work "Internationalism or Russification?" Dzyuba opened the eyes of those who supported these ruinous, false positions and pointed out the direction taken by Moscow. He had the courage to tell the truth to himself and his confused associates as to what does Russian Communism represent. Although the Russians forced him to "repent" and he had to give up his place to others, his work "Internationalism or Russification?", written at the price of his personal tormented life, remained a work in which the deceptive mask was torn down from the Russian Communist, imperialist and chauvinist Moloch.

World Anti-Communist League Holds its 7th Conference in Washington

Washington D. C. — Over 360 delegates and observers from 69 free and captive nations participated in a four-day conference of world anti-Communists from April 8-11, 1974, at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington D. C. They were joined by over 100 Americans in what is considered to be the largest and the most important anti-Communist international gathering ever convened in the United States, according to Gen. Thomas A. Lane (Ret.), immediate past President of the American Council for World Freedom (AC-WF), host organization for the 7th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL).

The principal foreign speakers were Prof. Raimondo Guerrero of the University of Guadalajara, Mexico, outgoing President of WACL; the Hon. Ku Chenk-Kang of the Republic of China; the Hon. Sergio Onofre Jarpa, Senator from Chile; the Hon. Nathan Ross, member of the Supreme Court of Liberia; the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN); and Gen. Anastasio Somoza Dabayle of Nicaragua.

During the Conference two panel discussions were held dealing with important world issues. One, held on April 9, 1974, and entitled, "The Human Cost of Communism", was moderated by Ukrainian Congress Committee (UCCA) President Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, and included the following panelists: Dr. Mario Lazo, former member of the Havana Bar Association (Cuba); Dr. Han Lihwu, Director, Institute of International Relations (Republic of China); Anatole Radygin, ten-year inmate of Russian concentration camps; and Avraham Shifrin, who also spent ten years in Russian concentration camps.

The second panel, "Will the Free World and the Communist World Converge?" was moderated by Prof. Stefan T. Possony, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, Calif., and included the following panelists: Mme. Suzanne Labin, President of the "Union pour la Liberté" (France); Mr. Hoang Van Chi, author of **From Colonialism to Communism** (Vietnam), and Prof. James Dornan, Chairman, Political Science Department, Catholic University, Washington D. C.

Speakers from United States included Gen. Thomas A. Lane, outgoing ACWF President; Mr. Fred Schlafly, incoming ACWR President; Mr. Bruce Herschensohn, Deputy Special Assistant to President Nixon; Adm. John M. McCain (USN-Ret.) former Commander-in-Chief, Pacific; US Representative Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.), Chairman, House Committee on Internal Security, and William F. Buckley, Jr., author, TV commentator and editor of the "National Review".

There were also two White House tours, the laying of a wreath at the Lincoln Memorial, and two receptions for WACL delegates and observers. The first reception, hosted by three members of the American press: John Chamberlain, King Features Syndicate columnist, Robert Hurleigh, Mutual Broadcasting System columnist and Washington Bureau Chief of the "Des Moines Register and Star" and Pulitzer Prize winning columnist Clark Mullenhoff — was held at the National Press Club. The other reception was given by three members of the US Congress: Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), and Reps. Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis) and Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.) at the Senate Caucus Room.

Presentation of "Freedom Fighter Award" at "Freedom Rally"

One of the highlights of the 7th WACL Conference was the presentation of the Freedom Awards to Valentyn Moroz of Ukraine, Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, exiled Russian Nobel Prize winning novelist; the presentation took place at the WACL "Freedom Rally" on Wednesday evening, April 10, 1974, at the Shoreham Hotel. The inscription on the award read: "For his outstanding and internationally recognized contribution to the cause of freedom and justice the World Anti-Communist League presents its FREEDOM

FIGHTER AWARD to (Name) at the Seventh Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, Washington D. C., April 8-11, 1974. Several times throughout the conference proceedings, the Chairman of the Conference, Gen. Thomas A. Lee (USA Ret'd) appealed to the delegates to sign petitions in support of releasing incarcerated Ukrainian scholar Valentyn Moroz.

On April 11, 1974, the "Voice of America" carried a report on the presentation of the "Freedom Fighters Awards" to Moroz, Cardinal Mindszenty and Solzhenitsyn in its 34-language services beamed to the world.

At the Plenary Session the representatives of Africa and the subjugated Nations gave their reports on WACL Organization activities in their respective regions. The ABN report was delivered by ABN Chairman in the US, Dr. Ivan Dotcheff. Immediately preceding the WACL Conference on April 6-7 the WACL Youth Conference was convened. In this conference 21 young Ukrainians from the USA, Canada and Great Britain participated. Before the Conference, the WACL Executive Board met and at this meeting Ukraine was recognized as a full voting member. The delegations from Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Croatia and the League for the Liberation of Ukraine enjoyed associate member rights. The ABN representatives consisted of ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, members Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Dr. Ivan Dotcheff (Bulgaria), Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan) and Mr. Levan Zourabichvili (Georgia).

At the end of the Conference, Mr. Levan Zourabichvili (Georgia) conveyed the sincere thanks of the subjugated nations' representatives to the entire Conference for their great support in the cause of the subjugated nations. Throughout the Conference proceedings, ABN delegates distributed informative literature.

WACL Stands For Universal Freedom

JOINT COMMUNIQUE of the VIIth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League

At the Seventh Conference of the World Anti-Communist League convened on April 8-11, 1974, in Washington, D. C., Capital of the United States of America, we delegates and participants representing nations and international anti-Communist organizations, jointly reviewed the world situation and mapped out anti-Communist strategies and guidelines to champion throughout the world the cause of peace based on freedom and justice for all mankind.

The current objective of WACL's struggle is to strengthen the determination of the free peoples and promote their solidarity in opposing elements detrimental to mankind — Communist thinking, slavery system, and totalitarianism, — for the preservation of freedom, democracy and peace in the entire world. Through seven years of joint efforts, the WACL has made extensive and firm contributions to heightening free peoples' vigilance, promoting the solidarity of freedom forces, and providing assistance to the enslaved peoples' struggle against Communism. The WACL has thus shaped and enhanced the main current of this age for the preservation of freedom and democracy.

Careful examination of the present confrontation between the forces of freedom and those of Communism results in the following unanimous observations:

— The present confused international situation is mainly due to two major factors: Communist military aggression and its united front stratagem for expansion, combined with the free nations' mistaken policy of appeasement and negotiation. The WACL has been consistently of the view that confrontation of freedom forces against Communist forces is fundamental and can never be removed through negotiation. Facts have proven that talks with the Communists have without exception met with failure.

— The Russian and Chinese Communists still share the unchanging common goal of world communization and the enslavement of mankind. This has not changed despite the contradictory views and confrontations between the two regimes, and irrespective of their internal power struggles. Although the Russian and Chinese Communists are still continuing their diplomacy of smiles, their expansionist moves and attempts to create disorder in the world have never ceased.

— In the fluctuating struggle between freedom forces and Communist forces, more people have now awakened to the need to protect freedom and justice and, because of the continuous growth of strength for

freedom, the tide of appeasement is being checked and turned back. With the surge for freedom gathering momentum across the world, Communist totalitarianism is now beginning to disintegrate from within. As history has repeatedly testified, tyranny is destined to perish and freedom shall ultimately be victorious.

In view of these facts, we of the 7th WACL Conference now call for the further growth of the new anti-Communist situation and for the accomplishment of the great mission to bring peace with freedom and justice for all, as follows:

1. **Freedom is indivisible and cannot coexist with slavery.** A world that is half free and half slave is intolerable and is charged with unavoidable dangers for man's society. The WACL Conference, therefore, solemnly declares that efforts to reach peace should be guided by the principle of freedom. Peace must be built upon freedom and justice for all.

2. **The whole human race must be free from slavery:** The Iron Curtain that curtails man's freedom should be torn down. Against the terrorist means of suppression perpetrated by the Russian and Chinese Communists, the free world should raise its indignant voice of reproach. The Chinese Communists should also be condemned for their current campaign of criticism against Confucius and of praises for Shin Huang-ti, despot of the China Dynasty. Encouragement and support must be given to the anti-Maoist and anti-Communist actions on the Chinese mainland and to the national independence campaigns of all peoples behind the Soviet Iron Curtain as well as to the rising tide of liberal thinking in all the satellite countries. Political asylum and other effective assistance should be afforded to all those fleeing the Iron Curtain for freedom.

The WACL Conference supports the actions of the European Freedom Council and associated organisations which demand from Western Governments that they make clear to the USSR at the European Security Conference that they;

a) Condemn Russian colonialism as being inimical to European security and world peace;

b) Demand the right of every nation within the USSR and satellite states to re-establish in freedom their national independence with their own government, social and political system, culture and religion;

c) Protest against all manifestations of russification and obliteration of national identities;

d) Give notice that failing immediate and satisfactory Russian response to these demands, Western Governments should officially recognise national liberation movements within the Soviet empire (in the same way that the Russians support various movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America) which seek to remove the Russian colonialist yoke and re-establish democracy and national independence.

Only a policy of liberation of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism can and will guarantee a just and lasting peace in the world. Therefore, the 7th WACL Conference expresses its solidarity with and invariably supports the liberation struggle of Ukraine, Hungary, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Latvia, North Caucasus, Czechia, Rumania, Slovakia, Croatia, Poland, Albania, Cuba, and other subjugated nations for their national independence and human rights, the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea, and the liberation of mainland China from Communism .

The 7th WACL Conference sharply denounces and protests against mass imprisonment and harsh sentences meted out to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states, especially last years in Ukraine, against Russification and barbarous internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics (e. g. poets: Z. Krasivskyj, O. Terela, General H. Hryhorenko) and prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime (e. g. Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, Sviatoslav Karavanskyj, Iryna Senyk, Iryna Kalynets, Nadia Shumuk), demands the placing of this matter on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for discussion and decision, and appeals to the patriotic, humanitarian and religious circles of the whole world to stage mass actions for the liquidation of concentration camps and the release of political and religious prisoners, who exceed two million in the USSR concentration camps alone.



Ukrainian delegates at the WACL Conference: In the center Gen. Thomas A. Lane, Dr. Walter H. Judd, Mr. & Mrs. Yaroslav Stetsko, Congressman Richard H. Ichord, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Dr. R. Malashuk and Dr. I. Dotcheff.

The WACL Conference notes that it was the Soviet Leaders who clamoured for a European Security Conference, yet it is they, with their illegal and immoral occupation of formerly free nations, who pose the real threat to stability and true peace in Europe. The time has come to arraign Russia in World Courts for the crime of colonialism, of which she has not only accused others for more than half a century, but remains herself almost the sole example today. Russian double standards have been tolerated for far too long, and even excused, in international forums.

After nearly 30 years the Kremlin has finally ratified the UN Declaration of Human Rights, merely to utilise it to subdue dissidents who are increasingly demanding their constitutional rights. There is in the USSR a total derogation of even those human rights which are supposedly protected by the Soviet Constitutions, and the Russians employ the UN Charter to suppress any opposition whatever to their dictatorship, which opposition they classify as "a threat to state security". No economic aid should be given to any state consistently violating human rights.

3. Results of Communist aggressions should never be accepted as fait accompli. Such aggressions are continuing without letup in such areas as South East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Europe and Africa. Free nations should discard their wishful thinking about negotiations and détente with the Communists. Also to be cast aside are neutralism, isolationism and policies of non-alignment. Similarly to be abandoned are secret diplomacy and power politics that contravene International morality and sacrifice the rights and interests of small nations. Also to be regarded as harmful is the so-called balance of power politics among big powers, which the Chinese Communists, for example, are, in their own words, using to aggravate "the contradictions" within the camp of free nations! The Chinese Communists have stated that "It is for making the people of the United States a major target of ours that we invited Nixon to China".

4. Free nations should establish an alliance of universal brotherhood for the preservation of freedom, justice and peace. Strong and mutual measures of military defense should be enforced against Communist threats and nuclear blackmail. The USSR is aiming to achieve military superiority in all advanced weapons in order to vanquish and conquer the Free World. Thus they cannot be neutralized by SALT-type arms control agreements, none of which has ever worked. Freedom can be preserved only if the Free World regains military superiority over the Communist camp.

The policy of anti-anti-Communism, which advocates weakening Western military strength in the face of the Soviet threat, weakening the ideological struggle against Communist tyranny, and profiting from the low wages paid to Soviet workers by the Communist slave-masters,

will result in the ultimate destruction of civilization and the creation of a world Communist barbarian regime.

The Communists often speak of "relaxation of tensions". This may be translated as "relaxation of our guard". Detente is a policy of meeting the "barbarians" at the gates and selling them the battering arms to knock down the walls.

As regards economy, free and developed nations should step up co-operation with free and developing nations for the acceleration of the free world's overall economic growth rates. Steps should be taken for the further formation and implementation of increasingly effective global strategies for the free world to cope with the confused and contradictory Communist bloc.

5. With regard to the present struggles of free peoples against the Communists: the WACL Conference expresses deep respect and support to the Republic of Vietnam and the Khmer Republic for their heroic anti-Communist fighting, to the Republic of China for its strong and unswerving struggle, to the Republic of Korea, the Kingdom of Thailand and the Republic of the Philippines for their strengthened preventive measures against the Communists; to the Chileans for overthrowing the Marxist government of Salvador Allende, to the people of Cuba for their fight against the tyranny of the Communist Castro, to the Latin Americans in general for their positive escalation of anti-Communist strength, to the Japanese people and Diet Members for their powerful anti-Communist activities, and to those people in Europe and Africa who are striving hard for stronger anti-Communist determination and actions. Sincere respect goes to those Senators and Congressmen of the United States who have issued stern warnings against Communist aggressors and free world appeasers, and to the American youth for its gallant sacrifices in Korea and Southeast Asia in anti-Communist wars to defend freedom and justice. The WACL Conference requests the United States to further manifest its moral courage and traditional national spirit as it leads the forces of freedom to a brilliant accomplishment of the historic mission against the Communists.

The WACL believes that the time has come for the dissolution of the United Nations since this body has not been able to establish international peace and justice all over the world, but rather has fomented Communist slavery and colonization in all parts of the globe. The United Nations is not united. It is time to replace it with a new association of peoples truly united in the belief that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should govern all men's lives.

6. This WACL Conference declares that the absurdity of referring to Russia as a Superpower becomes evident in the face of the proven fact that it is the Free World which currently holds the Communist empire to-

gether. The Free World is thus subsidizing tyranny and its own eventual downfall. Numerous researches have incontrovertibly established that there is no such thing as Soviet technology. Almost all — perhaps 90-95% — comes directly from the United States and her allies. In effect, the NATO countries and the United States have built, and continue to maintain, the USSR and its industrial and military capabilities. This has been achieved through trade and the sale of plant, equipment and technical assistance. Without these crutches Soviet Russia would still have no more than an agrarian economy. This particularly applies to computer technology which should be totally embargoed from supply to Communist countries.

This Conference, therefore, condemns the continuance of such trade and aid and believes that without this assistance the artificially created and maintained Soviet empire would collapse from within through its own failures.

Russia's status, therefore, as a Superpower is entirely fraudulent. Similarly, Red China is a paper tiger. Communist power is growing only because the free world makes it grow.

The population of the Communist system increases the risk that it will use war as a solution to its internal problems.

The WACL conferences are deeply indebted to the American Council for World Freedom for its meticulous preparations for a successful conference. Last but not least, heartfelt thanks are due to the US Government and Congress, and the American people for their gracious hospitality.

The 7th WACL Conference solemnly declares that anti-Communist struggle for the defense of freedom, justice and peace is the common sacred mission of all the people, irrespective of race, locality, nationality, religious creed or occupation. All the freedom-loving nations and peoples of the world should, therefore, strive for unity and cooperation and exert the greatest combined efforts for the attainment of this holy mission.

IN DEFENSE OF VALENTYN MOROZ

Danish writer Henning Jensen, a member of the Danish Parliament, appealed to the International Red Cross to intervene and demand the release of Valentyn Moroz.

On May 5, 1974, the 3252 branch of Trade Unions-United Steel Workers of

America, passed a resolution in defense of Valentyn Moroz. The text of the resolution signed by branch President Mr. Bill Campbell was forwarded to the International Red Cross and copies of this resolution were sent to American Government authorities.

National Liberation Struggle in the Russian Empire

Common to all of us here today is the endeavour to find some way out of the critical situation in which not only the subjugated nations in the Russian empire have found themselves, but also the free nations of the world. It has been said that humanity is confronted with the possibility of being destroyed by thermo-nuclear war. But does such a danger really exist? Is there really no other way out than by capitulation before tyrants through appeasement and detente at the cost of hundreds of millions of subjugated people and dozens of enslaved nations in the Russian empire?

Does there not really exist another superpower, one that has gone unnoticed but one which plays a decisive role in the developments that are irrevocably coming upon us? This superpower possesses an element that is more important than material and technological achievement; namely, it possesses the spiritual element. And such a spiritual superpower is that of the subjugated peoples and nations in the Russian empire and under the Communist yoke who desire freedom and justice and who are ready to sacrifice everything material, even their own lives, in order to reach that goal. It is this reality, this real factor of world politics which will decide the future of mankind.

Thus we raise today as the central political problem of our time the rights of nations, and the struggle for national liberation, because the human rights of individuals have never been realized unless the preconditions of national independence have been realized. We support the movement for human rights, but the ideas of this movement will not be attained in the nationally subjugated countries in the Russian empire until

they themselves can institute such ideas in their own sovereign states. Thus, liberation nationalism, as opposed to imperialism, has become the symbol and banner of our age.

"Without nationalism there is no progress", write the freedom fighters in our native lands.

And the Russian dissident writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in his long letter to the Soviet Leaders, asks them to abandon Communism as an alien, unworkable political philosophy, dismantle the USSR, and focus on developing Russia proper as a separate state. "Nationalism", he writes, "was declared by your ideology as already dead in 1848. But is it possible to find today a greater power in the world than nationalism?"

And a young Ukrainian underground author writes: "The national idea exists and will continue to exist. The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind. A dedication to it leads into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs."

The late Vasyl Symonenko, a Ukrainian poet, probably killed by the KGB 10 years ago at the age of 29., wrote: "My nation exists. My nation will always exist. No one can destroy my nation."

A young Estonian prisoner in Moldavia proudly says, "Do you know that Estonia is 1000 years old? Once, there were only 60 Estonians there, yet Estonia has survived."

And Ali Khashahulhov, a North Caucasian sentenced as a young boy for anti-Russian activities, says, "If I knew that my language would die tomorrow, I would die today".

These words are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of Soviet Communism: The entire class theory, Marxism,

Sovietism, with its theory of the traditionless "Soviet" people, the world proletariat, the withering away of nations, the class struggle — all these are just so much useless baggage.

And these ideas have been rejected by the youth in these countries. The young people have revived, have renewed themselves and gained new life from the great idea of nationalism: "A nation", writes one dissident, "is a temple, whose desecration constitutes the greatest of crimes . . . Denationalization is deheroization . . . de-Christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, mass resettlements from village to city". All these constitute a destruction unprecedented in the history of a nation, a destruction "whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed".

And these words summarize the position of the young generation in these countries as far as its program and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in traditional national spirituality and these roots determine the quality and substance of freedom toward which the young fighters of the subjugated nations aspire. The national struggle is not being waged on the basis of philosophical materialism, but on its very opposite. In describing to you the ideals of these young people, I am not using my own words, but quoting those of the representatives of the young generation: what they write and what they speak. For some of them I am not even able to use their names because a few have still managed to escape arrest.

This is what the young generation believes and teaches: "God has created man . . . When there is no God, there are no people . . . The basis of morality is the idea of God and the immortality of the soul . . . Spiritual life is the only genuine life . . . and the Church, the bearer of the spirit, must be preserved . . ." The young generation has rejected Marxist materialism; it has seen that only ethics motivated by religion has a

lasting foundation. It is not by chance that one underground author in Ukraine writes: "We shall build the holy cathedral, send our spirit to heaven, and it will stand for centuries . . . How much did our ancestors have to sacrifice while inculcating in their children human ideas, beliefs, and the selfless love of truth and respect for the God of their ancestors . . ."

"It is impossible", writes another young writer, "to imagine traditional cultural treasures outside the Church . . . A struggle against the church means a struggle against culture . . . How many times was the nation saved only by the Church?"

In the face of these and many similar revelations of the views of the young generation in the subjugated nations, are not the Sovietologists of most Western research institutions continually declaring their bankruptcy with their false and outmoded theses about the so-called "new" Communists and the so-called "Soviet" man?

In their literary, historical, philosophical and sociological works the young persecuted authors uphold the traditions of their nations and their own separate way of life.

One author writes, "The past is our greatest treasure, a spiritual shield, a highly tested experience. An individual who has only the present is like a tree without roots."

Another author asserts, "Our nation did not follow the 'older Brother': It chose a difficult, thorny spiritual path — but its own path."

"Spiritual slavery", says yet another author, "is the greatest national calamity; prosperity makes a man neither great nor happy. What does it all matter in comparison with freedom, with the life for which you strive, with the right to think! Wealth is to be found within ourselves, and not in money, property, or deeds. Conscience is the worst torturer."

And contradicting the thesis about the so-called Soviet fatherland, a

spokesman for the young generation firmly declares: "One can choose one's friends and one's wife, but not one's fatherland... A human being has but one mother, or none at all."

After 40 years, these nations still hate the collective system which suppresses men's Ego, individualism and creative initiative, and transforms people into a flock, a "small cog", as one writer puts it. One of the young poets, presently in prison, writes: "And the soil became a torment for Ukraine..."

Valentyn Moroz, defender of national principles, traditionalism, and the religious foundations of culture, opposes the town of Kosmach, one of the oldest centers of Ukrainian culture, to Babylon: that is, the organic, natural, and national concept of world organization to that of the fusing of nations concept. Megalopolis, he writes, effaces individuality and kills freedom.

And Latvian Knut Skuenis writes: "Art is created by those who have a free mind."

Yet truth does not triumph by itself. It triumphs when its carriers are ready to sacrifice their lives for it.

As Ivan Dzyuba said: "There are epochs when decisive battles are fought in the sphere of social morality, public conduct, when even the elementary human dignity resisting brutal terror can become a revolutionary force. Our age also belongs to such epochs..."

Valentyn Moroz continues: "It is possible to have great spiritual treasures, but they simply will not be noticed if they are not taken up by a heroically INFATUATED person and melted down in the furnace of his heroic infatuation..."

When Ivan Dzyuba issued a statement of repentance, Valentyn Moroz declared to the court, "Well, we shall fight. Just now when one has signed a statement of repentance, just now it is necessary for someone to give an EXAMPLE OF FIRMNESS... The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind bars is not easy for



ABN Delegation at the VII WACL Conference (from right to left): Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), Mr. Levan Zourabichvili (Georgia), Dr. Ivan Dotcheff (Bulgaria), Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan).

anyone. But not to respect oneself — this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

As can be seen from the facts, the subjugated nations do possess those who believe in the idea of national liberation; they have the necessary apostles and carriers of such ideas. Events in the subjugated nations bear out the belief in nationalism as an unconquerable force and as an explosive, dynamic idea: A host of striking facts amply show this:

For example, on November 5, 1968, Vasyl Makukh, the father of two children, a fighter in the UPA and the OUN, long term prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself alive in Kyiv with the exclamation, "Long live free Ukraine!"

On January 20, 1969, the Czech student Jan Palach immolated himself in Prague while shouting, "It is better to die in flames than to live under the Russian colonial yoke."

On February 10, 1969, Ukrainian patriot Mykola Beryslavsky, 55 and the father of three children, attempted self-immolation as a protest against Russification, an attempt for which he was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment.

On May 14, 1972, Lithuanian nationalist, student Roman Kalanta, immolated himself in Kaunas, Lithuania, with the exclamation, "Long live independent Lithuania".

The national idea is embodied in such concrete action, in direct struggle of the subjugated people in their native lands and even in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger strike in Potma in March 1972, in which Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish and other political prisoners participated; in street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; in armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; and

in armed clashes recently in Erivan, Armenia.

In June 1971, a revolt broke out among the Kabardinians in the North Caucasus in the city of Nalchyk. In December 1972, in Derbenti in Dagestan, in the Nord Caucasus, armed kolkhoz workers forced the KGB to release the head of the kolkhoz, who had given meat to starving peasants. In June 1971, in Tyraspol, Moldavian students demonstrated for two days for secession of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania. In 1972 disturbances between Jews and the KGB resulted in several deaths in Nalchyk.

In Estonia there appeared the renowned letter of the representatives of Estonian intellectuals defending the right of the Estonian people to independence, and threatening that the time would come when the tanks will not be marching on Prague and Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

In Turkestan on May 1969, Uzbeks shouting, "Russians get out of Uzbekistan", revolted in concentration camps. These disturbances spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The famous struggle of the Crimean Tartars, defended by Ukrainian general Hryhorenko, is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups SHAND (In the Name of the Fatherland) and PAROS (Torch) fought in 1969 and 1970 for the independence and unity of Armenia, publishing periodicals and leaflets. Its members included students and workers.

Mass protests against Russification and religious persecution recently took place in Kaunas, Lithuania, as well. In Byelorussia the writer Bykov strongly protested the Russification of that country, and Byelorussian youth raised its voice in protest. An underground organization was founded by the Latvians in 1962, called the Baltic Federation; its aim was to fight for the independence of the Baltic Nations and to counteract the Russian occupants jointly.

In Bulgaria, Rumania national resistance is constantly growing. In Hungary there were new student disturbances in 1973. In Poland a revolt by workers in 1971 was responsible for the toppling of Gomulka.

Is it possible to stop the disintegration of world empires for any conceivable reason whatsoever at the frontiers of the totalitarian, antireligious Russian empire? The fundamental contradictions of the empire and the system are realized and felt by the subjugated nations every day; their people are no longer illiterate but, on the contrary, everyone is educated and all the more so as these captive nations, such as Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Armenia and others, are in possession of ancient, over a thousand year old cultures. Does the constant Soviet and Communist propaganda not remind even an elementary school pupil in Byelorussia, for example, or Azerbaijan, in Estonia or Latvia, of the complete contradiction between windy Communist rhetoric and reality?

It is no wonder that the official ideology has failed to stem the tide of nationalist forces: A recent Jewish emigrant from the USSR writes: "One of the major questions facing us is the national question. The national forces are breaking the Communist empire apart."

Even Brezhnev denounces so-called "local patriotism" and relates it to "nationalism" in the economic sphere. The party secretaries of Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Uzbekistan, Armenia and other pseudo-republics are all removed from their posts because they had not been successful in fighting nationalism.

It must be stated that the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are popular movements in which an active part is taken not only by students and intellectuals, but also by workers and collective farmers.

According to Andrei Amalrik out of the 134 signatures appearing under one

Kyiv protest letter in defense of political prisoners, 25 % were those of workers from the Kyiv factories.

The so-called samizdat underground publishing organs from the subjugated countries are also proof of this. The **Ukrainian Herald**, the **Exodus**, dealing with Jewish affairs, the **Lithuanian Herald** and similar publications in Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan and Latvia are all represented by popular movements.

There are disturbances among the peasant youth, as confirmed by the Soviet press, while revolutionary attitudes become rampant among former political prisoners. In the Chernihiv region collective farmers refused to give up their private plots of land, winning an increase in their size. In some state farms of the Kazakh Republic the workers systematically reduced their time of work. In some Ukrainian regions the miners forced the management to increase their wages. In Dniprodzerzhinsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning with 1956 and up to 1974 there have been countless such examples. What is the heart of the matter?

The decisive factor, it must be emphasized, is that various social strata within the subjugated nations have joined in the struggle. The new slogan is not "land and freedom" but "sovereign rule, land and freedom".

Here it must be emphasized that mere political self-determination is not appropriate as a plan of mobilization for the subjugated peoples. The only rallying cry is national independence and complete separation from Russia. There is no other alternative. The disintegration of the empire and the reestablishment of independent national democratic states is the paramount goal.

The greatest achievement of our liberation struggle and a guarantee of our victory is the fact that the struggle for the soul of the subjugated nations was taken up by the young generation which was born mostly of parents al-

ready grown up under the Bolshevik occupation. For this reason it will be impossible to crush national aspirations. For, as a rule, the revolution of soldiers is preceded by the revolution of poets and creators of spiritual values.

But some will still ask: "Is revolution really possible?"

In the thermonuclear and ideological age the most timely revolutionary concept is the liberation, insurgent concept which will destroy the empire and the system from within. In the fall of 1970, for example, manoeuvres of MVD forces took place near Moscow under the slogan of "Suppression of uprisings in concentration camps..."

The uprisings in concentration camps of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Byelorussian and other political prisoners in 1953-59, the disturbances and revolutionary upheavals in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechia and Slovakia, the nationwide insurrection in Ukraine from 1942 to 1953, the guerrilla warfare in Lithuania, all these have established the fact that revolutionary struggle is possible, even in the totalitarian Russian imperialistic system, while the courageous acts of Croatian nationalists have exposed the weakness of Yugoslavia as an artificial, forced, colonial structure in Europe.

Simultaneous and co-ordinated revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated peoples are the surest road to liberation. The occupational regime will be powerless when confronted with them, for it will not be able to use nuclear arms, this being self-destructive. Moreover, the administrative machinery itself is infiltrated by anti-imperial and anti-Communist elements. The Soviet army is composed not only of Russians, but also of soldiers from the subjugated countries; while the satellite armies, as shown by the Hungarian Revolution, the disturbances in Poland, and the events in Czechia and Slovakia, will not take a stand against their own re-

belling compatriots, but, to the contrary, will themselves rise against the occupant. Moreover, the soldiers of the Soviet Army which is based on universal, compulsory military service, are tightly bound to their nations, living by the same ideals as their parents and countrymen.

It is not an isolated incident that 4 years ago, on August 31, 1970, in a military court of the Baltic Military District, there ended a trial of an underground organization inside the Red Army which had its branches in Poland, Azerbaijan and other places.

The resonance of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will be heard in the Armed Forces. Neither the KGB nor the Party are able to protect it against this, since the soldiers of the Soviet Army are an inseparable part of the nations from which they come. It was not a chance occurrence that in the first half of 1973 over 10,000 young Ukrainians of military age were thrown into punitive detachments along the Sino-Soviet border.

The Russian usurpers are trying to counteract the liberation nationalism of the captive nations in various ways: By throwing hundreds of thousands of patriots and cultural workers into prisons and insane asylums, by using chemical and medical means to break down a man's will power, by assassinating fighters for national independence, by applying national and cultural genocide and Rassification, by imposing a phantom-like concept of a so-called Soviet people, by mass deportations, and by artificially creating a new, unified system of economic geography in the empire.

Yet the spiritual and moral revolution is a fact; the preconditions for a political and military revolution exist.

And here it must be stressed that there is one noticeable basic difference between dissidents and fighters for national rights, between reformists and nationalists. The former strive to re-

pair the existing empire and system, the latter wish to topple it by re-establishing independent national states. For this reason many of the former belong to the so-called third Russian emigration, while the latter are either executed or languish in concentration camps for 15, 20 and some even for 35 years, as for example, Ukrainian nationalist Oleksa Bilskiy, imprisoned since the age of 19, now in Potma, and becoming blind while in prison.

If our concept of liberation is not a palace revolt but a general revolt of nations, then the guidelines for their mobilization must be transmitted openly. A description of mass armed action in Novocherkask, Nalchyk, or Tiflis broadcast over the radio constitutes a guideline for analogous actions in Dnipropetrovsk, Tashkent or Kaunas, and vice-versa. In such actions new leaders emerge. Underground organizations provide an alternative authority to that of the occupant. Such authority is also created by leaders of spirit and action who have come to the fore openly. This results in the occupant's attempts to force statements of repentance and to discredit the underground as a foreign agency in order to do away with SYMBOLS with ALTERNATIVE leadership, with the ALTERNATIVE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS' SOVEREIGN RULE.

There is no path to liberation other than the simultaneous national liberation revolutions of nations subjugated in the USSR, and guerrilla strategy is the only realistic one. Nuclear bombs cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, for this is tantamount to the occupational power's committing suicide. The greater the growth of classical military technology, the greater becomes the significance of armed people, of so-called "primitive" method of warfare. On the heels of the general call for further developments of conventional arms, there will come a time when voices will be raised in support of uprisings inside the empire of tyrants, as a way of avoiding a nuclear war.

In the nuclear age, ideological, psychological and political warfare is becoming more intensive. In military technology and strategy this is reflected by guerrilla warfare. Both Moscow and Peking are aware of this. This awareness, however, is still lacking among the official circles of the West.

And, unfortunately, not only does the West not appreciate the military potential of the captive nations in the Russian empire; it still to a large extent fails to notice the plight of these nations and the struggles of their freedom fighters:



**Yaroslav Stetsko delivering his speech
at the WACL Conference.**



**Askold Skalsky
at the conference rostrum.**

Thus, an appeal from Ukraine, smuggled to the West, appeared in **"The Daily Telegraph"** on August 16, 1973. The appeal names 24 Ukrainian writers, artists, intellectuals, scholars, and religious leaders who have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for their opposition to the Soviet system and domination of Ukraine from Moscow. The appeal also states that the governments of the USA and other capitalist countries are also jointly responsible for the use of terroristic measures against the freedom fighters in Ukraine, and in other Soviet republics because at exactly the time of massive reprisals by the KGB, these governments were making agreements with Russia without any demands for the realization of national and human rights.

The appeal concludes with a demand for the immediate banning of the use of chemical and psychiatric treatment of political prisoners and the liberation of all political and religious prisoners. It is signed by the "Ukrainian National Liberation Front".

In addition to this, I would also like to express our bitter disappointment. Only a few people in the West raise their voices in defense of nations and human rights and for the freedom of religion and cultural creativity of members of subjugated nations, of Ukraine or Latvia or Lithuania or others. Neither the press, nor politicians, nor governments, nor the Vatican, nor the churches, humanitarians or judiciary institutions do this — they all remain silent, and do not accuse, for example, the draconic sentence of Moscow against one of the most famous cultural leaders of Ukraine, Valentyn Moroz, who is sentenced to 14-years of severe regime. No one from the Western publishers publishes the works of Valentyn Moroz or Yevhen Sverstyuk or Ihor Kalynets or Vasyl Stus, which are of great artistic value. But on the other hand they publish only the works of Russian dissidents. The reason for this is that the authors from Ukraine

stand not only for human rights, but also for the rights of nations.

It is a kind of "decline of the West" if it defends the representatives from the ruling Russian nation and not from the subjugated nations. Thus, among other things, I am seriously afraid that such ignorance about Ukraine and other subjugated nations may bring some representatives of these nations in the free world to desperate acts which the West will be responsible for. The West is indifferent to the lot of hundreds of millions of oppressed people and dozens of subjugated nations. It does not heed our warning.

And yet at this very time urgent action is needed in defense of those persecuted in the USSR.

In news just received from Ukraine we have learned, for example, about a new Moscow-Bolshevik crime: Sviatoslav Karavanskyi is a writer and literary critic, sentenced to 25-years of concentration camps, released in 1960, but again arrested in 1965 to serve the rest of his sentence. In 1970 his term was prolonged for another 5 years of imprisonment. Karavanskyi is at present serving his unlawful imprisonment in a political concentration camp of particularly severe regime. In this camp prisoners are almost literally buried alive, for they constantly live and work under lock and key without any fresh air, because they are never taken out for exercise. In this camp prisoners are forced to work long hours in glass-grinding workshops from which dangerous dust unceasingly penetrates the lungs of the undernourished prisoner and seriously threatens his life. This threat is also increased by the fact that the glass-grinding workshops are situated in the same buildings adjacent to the prisoners' living quarters. The cells, polluted by this poisonous dust, are also a hazard to human life. The dust is everywhere: in the air, on the beds, in the clothes, and in the food.

Another report from behind the Iron Curtain states that three prominent U-

krainian women, Stephanie Shabatura, Nina Strokata, and Iryna Kalynets, imprisoned in Mordovian prisons, have appealed to General Secretary of the UN, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, by letter dated May 10, 1973, in which they protest the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation and demand for themselves an open trial in the presence of a UN representative.

During his last months in prison, Anatoly Radygin, whose memoirs are entitled **Episodes From Mordovian Concentration Camps**, repeatedly asked Valentyn Moroz what message he could deliver to the free world. Racked with pain, Moroz grimaced and repeated insistently: "Let them know only one thing: I am being kept with insane people and my life is like hell. They are trying to make me mad just like those who are thrown into my ward. They are assassins and cannibals! I do not have any air to breathe."

Radygin then adds the following. "Thus I repeat too: One of the most honest and talented Ukrainian writers is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion approaching insanity. His present existence comprises a frightful mixture of hungry life in jail and the miserable existence in a room of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have completely lost their human look and have no national or social distinguishing features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and mentally tortured day by day."

"Remember this", are the words with which the author concludes this passage.

And so in conclusion, and in view of these alarming reports, we ask this conference:

To severely condemn and, together with us, urge the liquidation of all concentration camps throughout the Soviet Russian empire.

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 of 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 believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes.

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 a return of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as for those nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

Without national culture there is no world culture.

If the free nations of the world do not want to be subjected to KGB guns and see the law of the jungle prevail, they must fight for humanity and for a morality based on religious principles.

We ask you, therefore, to join us in the protest against Russian and Communist crimes, and for the defense of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

Defend Valentyn Moroz!

Late in January 1974, news reached the West that Ukrainian political prisoner Valentyn Moroz was in a critical state of health following a campaign of abuse and harassment by Soviet Russian secret police and prison authorities. It is feared that Moroz' life may be in jeopardy if present treatment continues.

Moroz, a 37-year old historian is currently serving a 14-years sentence for his writings which criticize the absence of fundamental human and national rights in the USSR. He is considered to be one of the most outspoken members of the Ukrainian liberation movement, which is particularly opposed to the 'Russification of all aspects of Ukrainian life. Upon completion of his sentence in prison and hard-labour camps, Moroz still faces five years of exile in Siberia.

According to the information, Moroz is currently held in Vladimir prison, a high-security institution north-east of Moscow, and is subjected to daily interrogations by officers of the KGB, barred from seeing visitors, unable to receive food-parcels (which are vital to sustain the prisoners) and not allowed to sleep regularly. The KGB is applying these tactics in order to obtain a confession and renunciation of Moroz views.

A recent political prisoner, Anatoly Radygin — a Soviet Jew who spent ten years in prison prior to emigrating to Israel last year, has also told of Moroz' ordeal. Radygin tells of seeing Moroz before he was released. According to him, Moroz was confined to a block for the mentally insane and subjected to attacks by the inmates. He also tells of almost daily interrogations and beatings by special 'pacification squads'. "Russian gendarmes have seen to it that this man with the thin face and intelligent eyes will never again resemble his former portrait".

Moroz is known to be suffering from liver ailments since 1971, at which time it was reported that toxic chemicals were being added to his rations. In November 1972, Amnesty International reported that Moroz had been stabbed four times by prison inmates, and, gravely wounded, was transported to a prison hospital in Kyiv. He was pressured there to testify against other Ukrainian freedom fighters who had been arrested in a wave of mass-arrests in January 1972. His refusal to co-operate resulted in his return to Vladimir prison and in the intensified repressions against him.

Moroz, on whose behalf Ukrainian Canadians have appealed and protested in recent years, is well known to Canadian authorities. It was his case that precipitated Prime Minister Trudeau's remark of not wanting to defend 'nationalist lawbreakers' during his visit to the USSR in 1971. After a public furor, Trudeau apologized to the Ukrainian community and subsequently brought Moroz' case to the attention of Soviet

Premier Kosygin during his visit to Canada in the same year. Kosygin at that time stated that he was not aware of Moroz, but that he would look into the case. Nothing was done further, however, until Mitchell Sharp's visit to the Soviet Union last November, when representations on behalf of Moroz were made again. It is not known whether Sharp brought Moroz' case up, but he was rebuked by Soviet External Affairs Minister Gromyko when he raised the general question of human rights in the Soviet Union. Gromyko warned Sharp not to interfere in the 'internal affairs' of the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian Canadians who have been attempting to draw public attention to the plight of Moroz for many years are very distressed by the recent news and will intensify their efforts of securing just and humane treatment for Moroz and obtain his release. We appeal to the information media, our elected representatives, our academic and religious institutions, international relief organizations and the public in general to raise their voice in defense of Moroz and in defense of all Ukrainian political prisoners. They cannot defend themselves. Only world public opinion can save Moroz!

February, 1974

Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine

V A L E N T Y N M O R O Z

Valentyn Moroz was born on April 15th, 1936 in the village Kholoniv in Western Ukraine. The son of peasant parents, he studied history at the University of Lviv, and following his graduation in 1958 became a teacher of history and geography at a secondary school. In 1964-65 he lectured modern history at the pedagogical institutes of Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk, and wrote his doctoral thesis on the struggle of Western Ukrainians against the Polish regime between the two World Wars.

First Arrest

Moroz was unable to defend his thesis, for in September 1965 he was arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" for possessing and reading foreign and "samizdat" (samvydaw — in Ukrainian) publications. In January 1966 he was tried in Volyn regional court in Lutsk, in what was to be the first "open" trial of the post Stalin era in Ukraine. The show-trial, however, had little educational value as witnesses spoke openly in defense of Moroz, and Moroz refused to plead guilty. His sentence however, had been predetermined: 4 years of imprisonment in hard labour camps.

During his imprisonment in camps No. 1 (Sosnivka) and No. 11 (Yavas) in Mordovia, Moroz protested the illegality of his trial and the conduct of the prison authorities. As a result, he served only several months as a regular prisoner and was mostly confined to strict regime barracks.

Report from the Beria Reserve

In April 1967, Moroz wrote an essay titled **Report from the Beria Reserve**, a powerful and penetrating critique of the totalitarian Soviet system in which the secret police (KGB) constitutes a state "within a state", which suppresses individuality, stifles creativity and exercises thought-control. The essay, based on Moroz' experience as well as on that of his camp-mates, was smuggled out of camp and widely circulated in Ukraine. A journalist, V. Chornovil, distributed the **Report** to deputies of the Supreme Soviet. In autumn 1967, Moroz was transferred to a KGB prison in Kyiv in order to testify at the trial of Chornovil who was arrested for describing the illegality of the trials of Ukrainian intellectuals during 1965-66 in the book known as the **Chornovil Papers**. In Kyiv, Moroz was also investigated for his authorship of the **Report**. Moroz boycotted the investigation and due to lack of evidence the case was dropped. He was subsequently transferred to the Vladimir high-security prison (north-east of Moscow) from where he was released on September 1, 1969.

Short-lived freedom

Upon his release, Moroz could not obtain employment due to his "record" and poor physical condition. Unable to support his wife Raisa and their son, he depended on his friends for assistance. However, he continued to conduct independent research into Ukrainian history and literature and campaigned vigorously against the systematic "Russification" of Ukraine, advocating an intensification of the Ukrainian cultural "revival" which began in the early sixties. During this period, Moroz wrote three essays: **A Chronicle of Resistance** which deals with the deliberate destruction of Ukrainian cultural heritage by advocates of "Russification" and the loss of one's own national consciousness. In the polemical essay **Amidst the Snows**, Moroz criticises prominent Ukrainians who had given in to official pressure and repudiated their views. This essay produced lively and sometimes sharp polemics among Ukrainian intellectual circles.

As these essays were widely circulated in samizdat (samvydaw) form, Moroz was continuously harassed by the KGB, threatened with arrest and his residence was frequently searched. In the course of the searches, his personal effects and books were confiscated.

Second Arrest

After nine months of "freedom", Moroz was again arrested by the KGB in June 1970. In connection with the arrest, the KGB conducted widespread interrogations and searches in Western Ukraine and news of Moroz' arrest gave rise to loud protests by prominent Ukrainian intellectuals. Despite the protests Moroz, after a five-month investigation, was brought to trial on November 17, 1970 on alleged charges of "anti-Soviet propa-

ganda and agitation". Because the pre-trial investigation could not conclusively establish anti-Soviet activity, the KGB renewed the examination of Moroz' **Report from the Beria Reserve**, even though that investigation had been legally discontinued in 1968.

Because the trial was closed and, therefore, illegal, Moroz and all witnesses, among them I. Dzyuba, V. Chornovil and B. Antonenko-Davydovych refused to testify. Despite protests by Moroz' lawyer V. Kogan (who conducted the celebrated Sinyavsky case in 1966) and by friends and acquaintances outside the court-room, the trial was continued. Moroz was judged to be an "especially dangerous recivist" and sentenced to nine years confinement (six years in prison and three years in hard-labour camps) and five years exile. The unprecedented harshness of the sentence was met with widespread protests in Ukraine and abroad, but it was clear that Moroz' case was only the predecessor of a mass wave of arrests and repression ushered in by the new KGB chief for Ukraine, Fedorchuk. Following a Party Central Committee resolution in December 1971, stating that the circulation of samizdat (samvydaw) literature had to be stopped at all costs, the KGB arrested well over 300 Ukrainians. Among the arrested were prominent also those who had protested the sentence. Most were subsequently sentenced to lengthy prison terms and exile.

In spring 1971, Moroz' wife Raisa was dismissed from her job as lecturer at the Ivano-Frankivsk Medical Institute. In 1972, she was evicted from her apartment and ordered to move into a one-room flat. She has written numerous appeals to Soviet authorities, but did not receive any replies.

Abused in Vladimir Prison

In November 1971, Moroz was reported to be critically ill due to blood and liver disorders and was therefore moved to the prison hospital of Vladimir. In July 1972, Moroz was stabbed four times by the prison inmates, and gravely wounded, was transported to a prison hospital in Kyiv in October of that year. There he was pressured to testify against other freedom fighters on trial, but refused to co-operate.

He was subsequently transferred back to Vladimir prison, but this time placed in the block for the mentally insane. Reports in January 1974 list Moroz in extremely poor health and state that he is constantly abused by the KGB and prison guards, who are attempting to break him physically and mentally to obtain a confession of guilt and a renunciation of his views. The reports also state that Moroz is being denied all rights legally accorded to a prisoner.

Moroz' case has been taken up by several chapters of Amnesty International, Historian's Associations and he has been named in numerous appeals by world literary figures.

SVYATOSLAV KARAVANSKYI'S LIFE THREATENED

In news just received from Ukraine we have learnt this about a new Russian crime: "At present Svyatoslav Karavanskyi is serving his unlawful imprisonment in a political concentration camp of a particularly special severe regime. Such a concentration camp, where people are buried alive, could only have been thought up by the devil himself. In this concentration camp the prisoners constantly live and work under lock, without any fresh air, because they are never taken out for exercise.

In his concentration camp the prisoners are forced to work long hours in glass-grinding workshops, from which dangerous dust unceasingly penetrates the lungs of the undernourished prisoner and seriously threatens his life. This threat is increased also by the fact that the glass-grinding workshops are situated in the same buildings adjacent to the prisoners' living quarters. The cells, polluted by this poisonous dust, are also a hazard to human life. This dust is everywhere: in the air, on the beds, in the clothes, and in the food. The prisoners regard that the Vladimir prison in comparison with this death-dealing prison was a real blessing.

KARAVANSKYI Svyatoslav, born 1920, writer and literary critic. Participated during the war in the Ukrainian Nationalist Organisation, which fought against the Nazis and later against the Russian forces in defence of Ukrainian freedom and independence, and was sentenced to 25 years of camps. 1960 released, but again arrested in 1965 to serve the rest of his sentence. In 1970 his term was prolonged for another 5 years of imprisonment. He participated in hunger strikes and protest actions of political prisoners against illegal acts of the prison administration. For his activities he was transferred to the Vladimir prison. It is known however that even there he remained active, fighting for the rights of his fellow-prisoners. He is known to have been one of the participants of the hunger strike from December 5th to 10th, 1970. — At present he is serving his sentence in the above mentioned death-dealing concentration camp.

Hon. Judy LaMarsh (Canada)

Signatures can save a man from torture

Every day people sign petitions addressed to governments-municipal, provincial or federal. When approached for signature, many sign rather absently, without much understanding of what it is they are lending their names to, and some sign cynically, doubting that the petition can be effective.

Do they work? Do they in fact express public opinion sufficient to sway the recipient to the action pleaded for?

There are obviously a great many people who think they are effective, either because of the numbers of people who sign, or of their stature. It must be effective — why else would so many people turn to this method of pressuring authority? A petition, or open letter published in the press or read over radio or television, can have a snowball effect of attracting to it further supporters.

No authority, no matter how autocratic, can afford to ignore a really large and informed slice of public opinion, for the obvious reason that to fly in the face of such opinion is to invite its wrath when the next election rolls around. So it can be effective if you are a ratepayer or voter and you are addressing your own authorities.

What about the effectiveness of the petition or open letter when it is addressed to a governmental authority other than your own?

Officially, at least, one must presume that it would be ignored. But in this global village, isn't it just as important that one country has a sense of approval from people around the world? Aren't we all, in a sense, voters in that world? And might there not come a reckoning, on the world stage, if any country chooses to ignore world opinion?

For a case in point, take that of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Before he was exiled from the Soviet Union there had been a veritable blizzard of petitions, open letters and appeals for his safety addressed to the Soviet authorities from people all over the world.

Solzhenitsyn had for years defied his government's authority by addressing his writings to the people of his own country in terms which the government found unacceptable. His books, smuggled out of Russia, brought him world renown and the Nobel Prize.

There was apprehension abroad that he would be arrested and would disappear either into prison or by means of one of those "unfortunate accidents". Undoubtedly, the fact that he did not, but was exiled by the authorities, is clear proof of the effectiveness of the pleas addressed to them.

Solzhenitsyn, of course, was already a world figure, so that it was not difficult to marshal public support by means of petitions and open letters and editorial demands. But there are many others in markedly similar situations who are not world-famous, who already rot in

prisons for exactly the same kind of action.

One such is Valentyn Moroz. Who is he? He is a 38-year-old historian and writer, a modern hero of the Ukrainian renaissance. Like Solzhenitsyn, his writings disclose a deep love of his country and an intense desire to improve it.

Moroz was a university professor of modern history. In 1965, he was arrested and jailed for four years for anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. In prison, he kept writing, and for that suffered solitary confinement. When he was released in 1969 he was unable to find work, and his wife lost her job because of his "criminal record".

He kept writing. He was arrested again 10 months after his release, and tried in a closed court. He was sentenced to nine years at hard labor and five years exile from Ukraine. Protests rose from all over Ukraine, but to no effect.

Since he returned to prison he has reportedly been physically attacked and systematically brutalized. His physical and mental condition are said to have so deteriorated that there is fear for his sanity and his life.

A fellow prisoner, released and now in Israel, describes his condition. "Moroz is in a state of complete exhaustion and on the verge of insanity. His existence is a frightful combination of starvation and confinement to a ward of an insane asylum. He is subject to attacks by creatures who have lost all human and social traits. The mental and physical tortures of Moroz do not cease even for a day."

The open letter I have been asked to sign is a plea for the release of this broken young man, while he yet lives.

I don't know how effective my signature can be but I know that thousands of such signatures may well swell that plea to a crescendo which must be heard, and acted upon in the Soviet Union. In the name of humanity, won't you sign it too?

POISONING OF CHILDREN IN CHERKASY

On August 22-24, 1973, a dreadful incident occurred in Cherkasy. At that time **330 Ukrainian children were poisoned** in a Ukrainian dormitory. Nobody among the staff or cooks was sick, just the children. Out of the 330 children poisoned by an unknown substance **seven children died**, while the remainder were hospitalized. This is obviously a planned policy of the Russian chauvinists intended to frighten parents from sending their children to Ukrainian child care centers and dormitories and, thus, in a genocidal manner forcing them to send their children to Russian child care centers and other dormitories, which are primary centers of Russification of Ukrainian children.

In the course of this tragedy four students protested by almost openly hanging on one of the towers a blue and yellow flag and the trident with the inscription that the Ukrainian children died for the ideals of the Ukrainian flag and trident. At the time of the raising of the flag and trident one student was killed, one captured and two managed to escape.

From a different source it is reported that in the summer of 1973 **in several localities of Western Ukraine flour and yeast, poisoned by chemicals and spoilt appeared on the market**, calling out a general panic among the population. The news report clearly states that this was a purposely planned Russian genocidal policy, directed against the peaceful Ukrainian population in order to weaken its national substance and resistance to the occupant in various ways.

In Ukraine a discussion is still going on surrounding the dismissal of P. Shelest from the post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for writing the book **Our Soviet Ukraine**, which was removed from all bookshops and libraries and destroyed. Immediately after the appearance of this book nobody wished to read it knowing who wrote it and what could be expected from such a quisling. However, everything had changed after P. Shelest's removal from office and the appearance of a critical article in the periodical **Komunist Ukrainy** on this book, following which many rushed to read it. Soon it attracted attention to itself to such a degree that today on the black market it sells for 30-50 rubles and sometimes even more..

On the heels of numerous provocations, harassment and constant persecution of the outstanding Ukrainian writer and translator, **Hryhoriy Kochur**, the KGB began a systematic persecution of his son who works as a journalist. He is simply accused on account of his father.

A popular Lviv writer of fairy tales, Svarnyk finds himself in a similar predicament. The KGB intimidates him through his son, Ivan Svarnyk, a student who was expelled from Lviv University for demanding Ukrainian language courses in schools. He was banned from further studies.

Toward a Free World Strategy Against Communist Despotism

The Free World has no common strategy. It needs one, and needs it urgently, if it is to be serious in desiring to preserve the security of liberty against the incessant assaults of Communism.

There is much talk about detente and the end of the Cold War. The Cold War, which is a nice term denoting the permanent Communist offensive against the Free World, supposedly was over long, long ago, by the end of the Truman administration in 1952. During the Kennedy administration, after the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, it supposedly ended once again. The Nixon administration, through state visits, arms regulation agreements, and trade compacts prides itself on having ended the Cold War for the third time.

Yet the news has yet to reach Moscow. For the Cold War to stop, Moscow would have to erase its commitment to world revolution and to the ultimate world-wide victory of Communism. No cancellation of the perennial goals of Communism has occurred.

On the contrary, the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which in 1971 laid down the Kremlin law for the current phase of the world conflict, reconfirmed the goals of the World Revolution, and restated the CPSU's undying faith in world-wide Communist victory. Secretary General Leonid I. Brezhnev promised to step up the struggle. All this was explained in clear language and more strongly than it had been stated during the previous two decades.

The writ of the 24th Congress is still valid, a fact which, almost daily, is confirmed in Soviet organs, e. g. in *Isvestiya* of 17 July, 1973.

At this time, the twin concept that the world revolution continues and that Moscow has the "international duty" to promote the process, is usually

expressed through the code word of "peaceful coexistence". This magic term stands for international class struggle and intensified ideological contest.

Mikhail A. Suslov confirmed both the validity of the 24th Congress resolutions and the coexistence line on 13 July 1973. In celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Party's emergence in 1903, he excluded coexistence from the ideological struggle (which he described as "particularly acute") and called for support to so-called liberation movements. *New Times*, also in July 1973, pointed out that while Brezhnev and Nixon were talking to one another, "Vietnamese patriots were destroying American occupants with Soviet weapons and techniques". *New Times* is the organ of the USSR's foreign office.

Suslov's speech is the latest major ideological pronouncement by the Brezhnev Politburo. It shows slavish adherence to the old thought pattern. Lenin's concept of the "party of a new type" — a party of professional revolutionaries — is re-confirmed, together with that party's "responsibility for the implementation of its historic tasks" and its commitment to revolution for the "building of a complete Communist society". The party is an "integral part of the world army of proletarian revolutionaries". Its history "presents a vivid example of the indivisible character of its national and international activity". It is closely linked with the "destinies of the proletarian liberation movement". It "consistently pursues a policy of assistance to people fighting for "national and social liberation". The CPSU plays "the leading role... in the struggle for the triumph of Communism". "The creative activity of the

Soviet people led by our party organically merges with the world revolutionary process, the development of which brings nearer the downfall of imperialism and the **triumph of Socialism on a world scale.**" (*Italics added.*)

The Kremlin's commitment to Lenin and Leninism is as firm as ever. For a short while, to be sure, there were fewer references to the master. But the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 26-27 April, 1973, set matters right. As quoted by *Pravda* of 29 April, 1973, Brezhnev stated:

"The principled bases of our **socialist revolutionary course in international politics** have been laid down by the **great Lenin**. We remain indissolubly faithful to his directions and his legacy. And in this faithfulness to the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism and its principled clarity of purpose lies the guarantee of new successes and new victories of our just cause."*)

The Maoists in Peking have been trying to tell Western newspapermen that the Soviet policy of détente and coexistence is aimed at taking over China as well as Western Europe. And Soviet academician A. M. Rumyantsev in a 1972 book on Mao Tse-tung's thoughts tells us — and he should know what Mao is really thinking — that "world hegemony" is Mao's "principal aim".

On 12 July 1973 *Pravda* wrote: "Our party approaches each international problem from the viewpoint of the interests of Socialism and the interests of the liberation, anti-imperialist struggle." This is the reason why Moscow regarded it as its "international duty" to provide "comprehensive assistance" to the Vietnamese and the Arabs. On

13 July, it remarks on the 70th anniversary celebrations, *Pravda* defined the USSR's current strategic objective as follows: "Building Communism in the USSR and the strengthening of Socialism's positions in the world arena."

Brezhnev, on 26 July, participated in Communist festivities in Kyiv, where he described his strategy in this way: "The contest... goes on. The whole point is not to let this process develop into armed clashes and wars' between countries." In other words, he still means to get the bone, but he does not want to fight for it — he wants it as a present. Thus, "acute ideological struggle" is a Communist phrase which stands for something like "intensive subversion".

Soviet continuing commitment to the international class struggle is furthermore evidenced by their continuing activities, for example nuclear armaments, weapons deliveries to guerrillas in Africa, increased naval activity and plenty of reconnaissance flights in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. Work on the base on Socotra reportedly is progressing, and an additional, as yet unidentified new island base in the Central Indian Ocean is being built. Soviet naval ships maintain a nearly continuous presence in the port of Chittagong, Bangla Desh.

The reorganization of the Politburo in April 1973 also must be regarded as an important strategic event. This reorganization of the USSR's highest strategic command echelon promoted the Minister of Defense, Marshal Andrei A. Grechko, the chief expert in intelligence and subversion, KGB boss, Yuri V. Andropov, and the Foreign Minister and foremost promotor of political warfare, Andrei Gromyko, to full membership in the Politburo and thereby elevated them to the rank of top decision-makers. The shift involves an increase in power for the military and the strategic services. There is little doubt that this semi-pronunciamento was promoted by Marshal Grechko.

*) The seemingly strange use of the word "principled" is a signal that tactical flexibility is just that and nothing more; and that Leninist strategies and goals are adhered to as firmly as ever.

During the current period Kremlin strategy is characterized by the following tasks:

1. To gain dominance in the Sino-Soviet conflict by holding about half of the Soviet ready military forces at the Chinese borders.

2. To build as rapidly as possible Soviet oceanic seapower and establish global sea routes linking the western part of the USSR with the far eastern USSR through the "world ocean".

3. To gain time for the overcoming of economic troubles, technological backwardness, and political nations splits and dissensions within the CP bloc, and to refloat the Communist programme which is increasingly exhibiting its uselessness by practicing an ostentatious policy of détente and peace, and for these purposes to obtain cooperation and help from the Free World.

4. To preserve the currently existing superiority of bloc ground forces, and accomplish dominion over the world ocean and control over air and orbital space, by continuous armaments and technological ameliorations.

5. To strengthen world-wide subversive and psycho-political capabilities by promoting the activities of the International Communist Government and its affiliated organizations.

6. To keep the Kremlin's inner and outer empire together by committing the Soviet armed forces to constant (i. e. instantaneous) combat readiness, and by pursuing policies to avoid major clashes with the United States — at least for the time being.

7. To paralyze and dissolve NATO and other Free World alliances by waging all-out psychological offensives.

8. To expand communist power, partly through the entry of Communist, Socialist, and "Socialist-Nationalist" parties into governments, notably in Germany, Italy, and France; to gain control over dominant maritime junction points (Horn, Good Hope, Panama,

Suez, Malacca); and to perpetuate ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, South-East Asia, and Africa.

9. To promote the transformation of the European Economic Community into a socialist enterprise by facilitating the political maneuvering of socialist parties and trying to engineer the paralysis of centre and conservative parties.

10. To establish increasing control over the world's production and distribution of oil by penetrating into the Persian Gulf area, creating trading positions, and talking the Free World into entangling gas-oil trade agreements.

This strategy is being effectively implemented, on the basis of an unhurried and steady accumulation of power, by a capable leadership group under the leadership of Brezhnev and A. P. Kirilenko, who seems to be Brezhnev's favourite heir apparent. This leadership group also includes A. N. Kosygin who is in charge of the Soviet and bloc economy. He is backstopped by D. F. Ustinov who handles the arms industry, and D. M. Gvishiani, his son-in-law, who from a position outside the Politburo is responsible for technology. Grechko handles the five military forces of the satellite states. Andropov commands the militarized internal security forces plus the world-wide Communist intelligence and subversive apparatus. He is supported by A. N. Shelepin, another possible successor, who seems to be the candidate of Brezhnev's opponents; Shelepin's task is to penetrate and manipulate labour organizations within the Free World. B. N. Ponomarev, probably assisted by party secretary K. F. Katushev and by K. V. Russakov, recently appointed assistant to Brezhnev, coordinates the world-wide activities of the non-ruling Communist Parties, i. e. the International Communist Movement. Ponomarev also acts as the main propaganda expert.

Furthermore, Gromyko handles diplomatic and political activities, largely concentrating on splitting Free World

alliances, Suslov is the chief ideologist of all Soviet-oriented CP's.

To keep the various ethnic and national questions under control, the Politburo includes representatives from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and, of course, the RSFSR.

Broadly speaking, Kremlin strategy aims to organize, strengthen, unite, motivate, and utilize communist power; and it aims simultaneously to disorganize, weaken, disunite, demoralize, neutralize, and paralyze the power of the Free World. The Kremlin's Golden Rule reads: Do to the opponent exactly the opposite of what you wish to do onto yourself.

Within this strategic framework, the Kremlin is embarked on the following major undertakings:

1. To enlarge the economic-technological base, or capability, of the communist bloc.

2. To integrate the capabilities and strategies of all communist states and coordinate the strategies of non-ruling CP's — the International Communist Movement.

3. To run continuous psycho-political operations throughout the Free World, including ideological persuasion, anti-religious, pseudo-democratic, anti-militaristic, pseudo-nationalist, etc., propaganda; and organize, support, and direct "mass movements", "front organizations", and "liberation" forces.

4. To conduct continuous and worldwide subversion by infiltrating, diverting and paralyzing non-Communist organizations, parties, bureaucracies, military forces, and governments; by sabotaging anti-Communist policies and strategies; by stimulating disunity; and by preventing the emergence of anti-Communist purposes.

5. To build and deploy military forces of all kinds -- nuclear, conventional, guerrilla, revolutionary, and terrorist — and develop the various Communist forces to the point of superiority or supremacy; and in order to rea-

lize the Kremlin's will, to resort to blackmail, proxy operations, small, limited and nuclear wars, as indicated by opportunities and circumstances.

The Kremlin wants to add to this palette strategic economic operations, such as industrial mass strikes, controls over sales and distributions of raw materials, international trade of unilateral advantage to the CP countries, increasing participation in world transportation, especially shipping, furthermore, financial and currency manipulations within the Free World, and opening up a more or less unilateral flow of credit to the USSR and its dependants.

Accompanying those undertakings, the Kremlin also is embarked upon several tasks which are best described as "meta-strategic".

1. Continuous efforts through diplomacy, international law, and propaganda to establish and strengthen the legitimacy of CP governments and weaken the legitimacy of non-Communist regimes. This effort is crucial for the internal security of CP despotism and for the gradual undermining of the freedom systems.

2. Continuous efforts at collecting all kinds of intelligence that are needed for the execution of Communist strategies. These operations are designed to secure technological information and know-how for the USSR but their chief mission is to acquire operational intelligence on capabilities, vulnerabilities, intentions and strategic time schedules of Free World countries, as well as intelligence required for the execution of psychopolitical and subversive operations.

3. Continuous operations aiming at deception to confuse the opponents of Communism, and in particular to conceal Kremlin intentions, and the nature and schedule, sometimes even the occurrence of strategic operations.

4. Continuous preparations for the application of multiple techniques of surprise to facilitate, and reduce the risk of strategic initiatives.

5. As indicated by time, place, and opportunity, the use of techniques of *provokatsiya*, for example, the support to non-Communist and anti-Communist organizations, for purposes such as discrediting and the political polarization of target nations, and for the disruption of liberation movements directed against Communist dictatorships. Provocation in the sense of entrapment and enticement also may be used for the initiation of war to throw the onus of aggression on non-Communist belligerents. This technique is particularly important for the repeated application of the Brezhnev doctrine, now formalized as a Kremlin commitment to wars for the defence of the socialist fatherland. These wars were invented by Brezhnev and Grechko who regard them as the more or less unavoidable wars that are typical of the present so-called era of transition. The Kremlin leaders believe that those wars will result in a significant acceleration of the advent of world-wide Communism. Those wars will be faked. The Communists are resolved to fight those "most just" wars till victory. In passing, it is to be noted that the Communists regard the winning of victories as their sacred duty. They do not believe, as many in the Free World do, that victory is an undesirable or infeasible outcome of modern conflict.

6. To be able to take advantage of every opportunity and to be protected against all sudden dangers the Soviet military forces operate on the principle of constant combat readiness — the Soviet soldier, wherever he may be stationed. The "principle" and its effectuation, must be ready to fight in different realization are, of course, two different things.

7. The most subtle meta-strategic operation is directed at preventing the Free World from elaborating and executing a common, sustained and effective strategy that would be derived from the clearly defined purpose of putting an end to the otherwise unend-

ing Communist menace, and that would be executed with a strong and enduring will to reach this strategic goal. The Kremlin wants Free World countries to pursue ineffectual, mutually incompatible, aimless, reactive, cautious and weak strategies. Bad Free World strategies combined with inconsistency, vacillation, and weakness will serve Kremlin purposes optimally.

Communist strategy is perhaps the most sophisticated strategy of history. This strategy is the single most important asset at the disposal of the Kremlin. The Kremlin's strategic sophistication is the fundamental reason why NATO, Japan, Australia and the other key members of the Free World alliance systems must fear the Communists, despite the fact that in terms of economic potential, they are no less than four times stronger. In the face of the Free World's mental and moral weakness, the Communists need not and do not tremble.

Nevertheless, the Communist strategists lead from inherent weakness, not strength. The Communist weaknesses, are horrendous, such as the failure of Communist economics, the lack of legitimacy of the Communist usurpatory regimes, the defects and obsolescence of the political formula (or ideology), the oppressiveness of Communist despotism in all spheres of life, the sustained denial of national self-determination, the suppression of freedom and justice, the smouldering rebelliousness of all exploited, oppressed, and captive nations and peoples in the USSR-Russian empire; as well as disunity within the block and above all, the Sino-Soviet conflict which might prove to be insoluble.*) (to be continued)

*) Milovan Djilas in *Corriera della Sera*, 20 July 1973, wrote: "The Soviet Union's ideology and bureaucracy have ended up by placing themselves in a position which is so ludicrous as to seek opponents and 'enemies' only in those who share their same convictions, first of all the Chinese Communists."

Aide Memoire

European Captive Nations' and Free World's demands for peace and security in Europe

The EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL believes it is their duty to raise a voice in defense of the nations forcibly occupied and incorporated into the USSR by the Russian colonialists. At a moment when detente, peaceful co-existence, European security and control of nuclear armaments are watchwords in Europe, we feel impelled to remind those who lead us of the true facts behind the annexation of thousands of square miles of territory, and the subjugation, persecution and genocide of many millions of European people by the Russians during more than half a century of brutal colonialism. We would also warn of similar dangers threatening all European countries from further Russian expansionism. Article VI of the Treaty of Brest Litowsk of 3rd March 1918 laid down that:

"Russia must immediately conclude a Peace Treaty with the Ukrainian People's Republic and recognise the one which exists between that State and the 4-Power Alliance: Ukrainian territory must at once be cleared of Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard, and Russia must cease all agitation and propaganda against the Ukrainian Government and her public institutions.

Russian troops must likewise immediately be withdrawn from Estonia and Livonia."

The Treaty clearly establishes the fact that Russian forces were in illegal occupation of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In the case of Ukraine, aggression had followed closely upon the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence by the then Parliament on 22nd January, 1918, a proclamation officially recognized by Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia and other Powers. In direct defiance and blatant violation

of international law Russia, however, moved more troops into Ukraine and after three years of war occupied and annexed that country. In 1941 the Ukrainians proclaimed the restoration of their independence for which they waged an armed struggle against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia until 1951.

Byelorussia suffered a similar fate. After the first all-Byelorussian Congress of December 1917 the country's independence was proclaimed on 25th March 1918. Twelve nations accorded *de facto* recognition to independent Byelorussia but the Russian army forcibly overran and occupied it on 1st January 1919. The Byelorussian Government continued to function from Prague until the outbreak of World War Two.

Under the so-called Riga Peace Treaty of 18th March 1921 Russia illegally divided her newly-annexed territories, thus rendering them less able to resist. By the same methods, and during the same period (1919-1921) Russia appropriated the Caucasian Republics of Georgia, Armenia, and later Turkestan and Azerbaijan. Georgia was recognized *de jure* not only by the Supreme Allied Council and fourteen other Powers but, nine months before invasion (7th May 1920) by Soviet Russia herself who had signed a special Peace and Non-Aggression Treaty, which recognized "without reservation the independence and sovereignty of the Georgian State" and promised "to refrain from all intervention in the internal affairs of Georgia".

Under the Treaty of Versailles of 1918, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania again became independent States: The Western Powers extended *de jure* recognition to them, and they were admitted to membership of the League of

Nations. However, upon the withdrawal of the German army Russian troops invaded the three countries but were bitterly and successfully opposed by the three newly formed armies. The Estonians were supported by token Finnish and Danish volunteer forces, and by the British navy in the Baltic Sea. In the Tartu Peace Pact of 2nd February 1920 Soviet Russia repeated her promises made (and swiftly broken) in the Brest Litowsk Treaty, that she would forever renounce all claim to Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian territory. In less than four years, however, in a brief overnight coup, Russia again went back on her word, attacked Estonia and tried to annex her but the coup was firmly suppressed and for the next 22 years the three Baltic States enjoyed independence. The expansionist eye of the Kremlin was, however, still upon them, and in the infamous Molotov/Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact of 23rd August 1939 the three countries were once again overrun and occupied by the Russian imperialists. It should be remembered, however, that the United States and Great Britain have never accorded *de jure* recognition to the seizure of the Baltic States, who still enjoy independent diplomatic status.

Turning to Poland, we recall her own proclamation of independence on 11th November 1918, and the swift Russian attack which was repulsed by the Polish army helped by well-equipped troops raised in France. The Riga Peace Pact of March 1921, which illegally ceded the western territories of Ukraine and Byelorussia to Poland, ended the war.

The events of World War Two and the terms of the Treaty of Yalta again threw central and eastern Europe into ferment, and the Russian imperialists, by subversive propaganda and armed intervention gained control of Hungary, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany. Finally, we saw Albania fall victim to Commu-

nist subversion and takeover, as Tito subjugated the nations within Yugoslavia.

Freedom, however, dies hard in the countries subjugated by the Russian imperialists, whose pattern of conquest in Europe — and throughout the world — is there for all to see. The long, hard struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from 1942 to 1953, the riots in Russian concentration camps from 1953 to 1959 organised by Ukrainian, Lithuanian and other political prisoners; the Byelorussian and Lithuanian insurgents' struggle for freedom; the riots in Poznan (Poland) and the national uprising in Hungary of 1956, the "spring" in Czecho-Slovakia of 1968; the renewal of the national liberation struggle and rioting within the nations of the USSR, especially in Ukraine and Lithuania, from 1960 to 1974, all illustrate the continuing and increasingly unyielding resistance to the Russian colonialist yoke.

The European Freedom Council warns that if the subjugated nations remain in bondage to Russia, this can only frustrate and eventually wreck all efforts of the free world to promote political, economic and social co-operation and peace in Europe.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that "No one shall be subjugated to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment".

By means of the wholesale Russification and the imposition of their own culture upon other nations within the USSR, by the establishment of economic regions directly subordinate to Moscow; by KGB terror, persecution, executions, long term imprisonment in camps, prisons and lunatic asylums; by permitting only state controlled religion, which is used as an instrument of Russification, the Russians are trying to destroy all national identities and cultures.

TWO CURRENT EXAMPLES OF PERSECUTION

1. **Valentyn Moroz** at the age of 30, could no longer tolerate in silence the Russification and crimes committed against his country by the Russian colonialists, and he began to write in protest at the despoilment of everything held most dear by the Ukrainians. He was arrested in 1965 and, after the usual pretence of a trial, was sentenced to 5 years in a hard labour camp. During his incarceration and after his release in 1969, Moroz continued to write about the harsh realities and excesses of Russian colonialism. He was re-arrested in September 1970 and after more Russian "justice", received a further prison sentence of 9 years, followed by 5 years exile from Ukraine. In prison, because he refused to publicly renounce his beliefs despite torture, he is now imprisoned with raving lunatics, who attack and degrade him. Anatoly Radygin, for many years himself a political prisoner in the USSR, encountered Moroz in prison before he emigrated to Israel and subsequently wrote that Moroz now resembles a Nazi camp victim and brought the following message from him to the world: "Pass on only one thing: they keep me here with the insane, they create a constant hell for me! They endeavour to make me insane like those whom they throw in with me. They are murderers and cannibals. I am suffocating!"

2. **Yuriy Shukhevych** has been in Russian prisons for 26 years. Born in 1933 he was first arrested at the age of 15 and sentenced to 10 years because his father commanded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought for an independent Ukrainian State during and after the Second World War. The Russians tried unsuccessfully to get the boy to denounce his father, and when on 21st August 1958 he should have been released, they issued a fresh warrant for his arrest upon false accusations by the KGB that he had engaged in anti-Soviet activities whilst in the

notorious Vladimir prison. He received a further 10 years sentence and in July 1967 he wrote an open letter to the Chairman of the Praesidium of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic protesting at the unjust sentence and the violation of the Soviet legal system. Released in 1968, Shukhevych was refused permission to return to Ukraine, and started a new life in Caucasus. Four years later, however, he was once again arrested and according to Moscow reports, was given yet another 10 years sentence, with five years banishment for alleged nationalist activities. His wife and two infant children are left destitute, and if he survives these next 15 years, he will have spent almost all his life in prison.

(A list of individuals similarly persecuted by the Russian colonialists is attached as Appendix A.)

The Russian colonialists, threatened by internal revolutions from the peoples struggling to regain their national independence, are calling upon the free world to guarantee peace and security in Europe, whilst they themselves perpetuate colonialism against the tide of world trends.

The European Freedom Council demands from Western Governments that they make clear to the USSR at the European Security Conference that they:

1. Condemn Russian colonialism as being inimical to European security and world peace;

2. Demand the right of every nation within the USSR and satellite states to reestablish in freedom their national independence with their own government, social and political system, culture and religion;

3. Protest at all manifestations of Russification and obliteration of national identities;

4. Give notice that failing immediate and satisfactory Russian response to these demands, Western Governments should officially recognize national li-

beration movements within the Soviet empire — in the same way that the Russians support various movements in Asia and Africa — which seek to remove the Russian colonialist yoke and re-establish democracy and national independence;

In pursuit of these objectives the European Freedom Council urges Western Governments to mobilize world opinion behind the growing campaign to dismantle the last major colonial empire, and set free its captive peoples. In furtherance of this campaign we call upon all Western Governments:

a) To place these matters immediately on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations;

b) To utilize all available media to publicize every aspect of the campaign;

c) To raise in all national and international forums the indefensibility of Russian colonialism in the second half of the 20th Century;

d) A condition of any future dealings with the Russians must be the progressive fulfillment of the foregoing demands.

A demonstration of initial Russian good faith would include:

i) Immediate release from prisons, concentration and labour camps and lunatic asylums of all patriots, freedom fighters and dissidents sentenced unlawfully and unjustly for their cause;

ii) Disbandment of all manifestations of oppression, particularly the concentration camps;

iii) Halting and reversing all programmes of Russification. (The Soviet Statistical Handbook of 1971 shows that the population of the four Central Asiatic Republics — Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgisia and Tadjikistan — increased from 8.9 million to 16.2 million inhabitants, i. e., 7.3 millions or 80 %. The number of Russians in the same period in these four Republics increased from 1.7 to 8.5 millions, i. e. an increase of 6.8 millions or over 400 %).

The recognition of Human Rights and the realization of our demands are pre-

requisites of any meaningful agreement on peace and security with Russia.

THE HISTORICAL REALITY OF APPEASING TYRANTS

The European Freedom Council believes that detente with the USSR is as dangerous and futile, and as inimical to peace in Europe (and indeed the whole world), as was appeasement in Germany in 1938. We all know the bitter realities of trying to deal honourably with tyrants, the only difference being that whereas Hitler in 13 years brutally annihilated more than 6,000,000 people, a whole succession of Soviet tyrants in 55 years have already exterminated more than 60,000,000 human beings within the so-called "workers' paradise", and the process continues. Talking reasonably to Hitler in Munich resulted in tanks rolling across Europe one year later. Why should any Foreign Minister in 1974 believe that mouthing unctuous phrases to Brezhnev will arrest Russia's further colonialist ambitions?

PRESSING NEED FOR DE-COLONISATION IN EUROPE

After 55 years only force of arms maintains the Russian colonial empire. Internal ferment grows daily and the inevitable implosion could escalate to a point where it could well threaten and finally engulf the whole of Europe.

It was the Soviet leaders who clamoured for a European Security Conference, yet it is they — and only they — with their illegal and immoral occupation of formerly free nations, who pose the real threat to stability and true peace in Europe. The time has, in fact, come to arraign Russia in World Courts for the crime of colonialism, of which she has not only accused others for more than half a century, but remains herself almost the sole example today. Russian double standards have been tolerated for far too long, and even excused, in international forums.

SUPPRESSING HUMAN RIGHTS BY SUBTERFUGE

After nearly 30 years the Kremlin has finally ratified the UN Declaration of Human Rights, only to utilise it to subdue dissidents who are increasingly demanding their constitutional rights. Since, however, there is no proper recognition of human rights as embodied in the Soviet Constitutions, the Russians employ the UN Charter to suppress any opposition whatever to their dictatorship, which they classify as "a threat to state security".

THE SUBSIDISING OF TYRANNY

The absurd charade of referring to Russia as a Superpower becomes evident in face of the proven fact that it is the free world which currently holds the Communist empire together. The free world thus subsidises tyranny. Numerous researches have incontrovertibly

established that there is no such thing as Soviet technology. Almost all — perhaps 90-95 % — came directly from the United States and her allies. In effect, the NATO countries and the United States have built, and continue to maintain, the USSR and its industrial and military capabilities. This has been achieved through trade and the sale of plant, equipment and technical assistance. Without these crutches Soviet Russia would still have no more than an agrarian economy. Her status, therefore as a Superpower is entirely fraudulent.

**Ivan Matteo Lombardo,
President,
European Freedom Council**

EFC Secretariat,
8 Munich 8,
Zeppelinstr. 67,
West Germany

Hunger Strike of Women to Protest Torture of Prisoners

Between the 5th and 10th of December 1973, a hunger strike of female prisoners took place in the female zone of the prison camp located near Baryshevo, Mordovia. Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Stefa Shabatura, Iryna Senyk, Sylvia Zelmanson and others participated. They protested against the fact that the government of the USSR has been violating the Human Rights Declaration of which it is a signatory, and urged that freedom of creative activity be granted in camp in free time which heretofore was prohibited, and visiting privileges to those families where husband and wife or other family members are imprisoned at the same time. This was another one in a series of hunger protests against inhuman conditions which the Russian regime instituted in camp through the commandant of the female zone of the camp, Capt. Baylov, and his deputy, Fatayev. A similar hunger strike was held on June 15, 1973.

On April 22, 1973, the female prisoners refused to work and went out on strike making a written declaration that they will work on the "sabbath" on the condition that the money earned by them on that day will go for the improvement of the living conditions of prisoners in the Vladimir prison. This strike took place immediately after Capt. Baylov confined Nina Strokata-Karavanska, on April 13, 1973, to a penal isolation ward for a week for non-fulfillment of the norm (in all probability she has been fulfilling 70% of it) and Stefa Shabutara also for a week to the same isolation ward for complaining to the prosecutor of the USSR against a ban on painting in camp. Thus the camp guards dressed the women in the rags of the isolation ward and transferred them to the camp's second section at Yavas. Nina Karavanska's protests that she is ill and her demands to get a medical examination before and after the confinement brought no re-

sults. The protests by Stefa Shabaturo did not help either. Still on the same day, Iryna Kalynets and Sylvia Zelmanson proclaimed a hunger strike to protest the transfer of Mrs. Karavanska and Shabaturo to the penal isolator.

As a consequence of the issuance of "Ukas No. 20", the life of prisoners became simply unbearable. The administration on its part uses all types of tortures to make conditions in camp even harder to endure. Thus, for instance, the chief of the "sanitary section" nurse Yegorova who "plays" the part of a doctor treats prisoners very rudely. She conducts various "extra-curricular examinations", not permitting the sick to go to a hospital, decides by herself that a prisoner is not sick and is able to work, enters false data in the reports of laboratory analyses and refuses to give out medications. As a result, Iryna Senyk brought a lawsuit against her in court and refused to have confidence in her as a nurse. I. Senyk is serving a sentence amounting to 6 years in camp and 5 in exile. She is in Mordovia since early April 1973.

The Perm Concentration Camps

Conditions are especially bad in the camps of the Chusov district of the Perm region where Ihor Kalynets, Ivan Hel, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Yevhen Sverskyuk, Levko Lukyanenko, Volodymyr Vasylyk, Mykola Kurchyk, Andriy Turryk, Zynoviy Antonyuk, Ivan Ilchuk, Yevhen Pryshlyak, Ivan Kandyba, Mykola Bondar, Mykola Kots and others are confined. Some of them are in Camp Kuchino whose commandant is Major Kotov, and his deputy in matters of regime and the operations section is Major Fedorov, while the KGB representatives are Capt. Ivkin and Capt. Murtazan. In "free time" the prisoners are confined to their cells. This system is detrimental to the prisoners' health for they work on glass polishing machines where they inhale the very dangerous glass dust. The air in the cells

is also filled with it. No wonder, then, that this camp is called "the death chamber" worse even than the Vladimir prison.

New Harassment of Jews in the USSR

A prominent Soviet critic, Prof. Benjamin Levich, accused the government of new chicanery aimed at hindering Soviet Jews from emigrating to Israel. In a public statement in defense of Kyiv engineer Oleksander Feldman, Levich informed that Jews who wish to emigrate are now accused of being bandits and parasites instead of spreading anti-Soviet slanders. Feldman, who in vain tried to obtain permission to emigrate, was sentenced last year for "banditry" to 3 1/2 years' imprisonment. Coming home one day, he noticed a woman kneeling on the ground and looking for something lost. When he approached her with the intention to help, she began to scream. Three men jumped out from under the bushes, grabbed him and led him to a police station. In the trial which took place in one of the factories and for which special passes were demanded of spectators, Feldman was accused of knocking this woman to the ground and of insulting her in abusive language. Thus, a long term imprisonment is being fabricated in order to prevent emigration from the USSR.

A Free-Thinking Tatar Commits Suicide

Refusing to agree to collaborate with the KGB, Illya Habay committed suicide in Moscow on October 20, 1973. He participated in the human rights struggle in the USSR. On the morning of October 20th he jumped from the eleventh floor and was killed.

Illya Habay was born in 1925. He had a wife named Halya and a 6-year-old son. He was a philologist by profession.

In May 1969 Habay was arrested for writing articles in defense of the Cri-

mean Tatars and was sent to Tashkent where in January 1970 he stood trial together with Mustafa Dzhemylev, a representative of the Crimean Tatar movement.

His sentence — three years' imprisonment in the Kemerovsk region.

Illya Habay was a personal friend of Gen. P. Hryhorenko. After his release, he was again questioned in the case of Pyotr Yakir, and subsequently in the Lefortov political prison (Energetyetskaya 3rd Street in Moscow) he was persuaded to become a traitor. Instead of becoming a traitor, an informer of the KGB, Illya Habay chose suicide jumping from his own apartment near the Biloruskiy Railroad Station in Moscow.

There are many such instances in the Soviet Russian empire where people who find themselves in the hands of the Russian KGB, unable to endure the horrible terror but not wishing to betray their friends, chose suicide.

Information about them is very scanty because the KGB conceals such cases, and covers them up with various legends in order to hide the real cause of death of the unfortunate victims. In their cruelty the present methods are no different from those employed in the Stalinist times. They are only more refined and treacherous. Terror has been perfected by scientific methods. Various chemical substances are being applied whose task is to influence the mind and the nervous system of persons who have found themselves under control of the police sadists from the KGB and the party.

Brutal Intensification of Regime in Concentration Camps

In the Soviet concentration camps of Mordovia and the Perm region the prisoners' regime has worsened considerably. As far back as 1969 a new, strict "Correctional Labor Code" was introduced which led to a series of restrictions in camps, raised production norms for prisoners, limited contact

with relatives and intensified disciplinary measures.

In 1972 order No. 20 was introduced which intensified the regime in camps even more. In line with this order, the prisoners must wear their uniforms and walk about the zone in a body. They are prohibited from entering other barracks and shops. The prisoners must strictly adhere to all formalities in greeting camp authorities and all regulations with respect to their dress.

The prisoners are forbidden to receive high-caloried foods in their parcels. They are also not allowed to prepare beds for cultivation, plant flowers and so forth in the zone.

In 1973 all these draconic regulations were tightened even further, while the camp authorities conduct themselves with impudence. For the smallest offences the camp administration punishes prisoners with a lock up room and other "sanctions".

As stipulated by law, the prisoners' food is to contain 2,300 calories. In reality the food contains between 1,000 and 1,500 calories. At the same time the food is of a very poor quality; often totally spoiled, rotten food is being served. All this is done systematically, in line with additional instructions from "above" to make camp life as difficult as possible.

In 1972 and 1973 two zones of camps in the Perm region became a place of increased concentration of Ukrainian political prisoners, who were transferred there mainly from Mordovia. **Zynoviy Antonyuk, Ihor Kalynets, Ivan Svitlychnyi** and others were sent there directly. At the same time, camp regime was made especially sharp in these zones.

The Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in its partial report for November 1973 states that this regime is a new legalized form for political prisoners, who number one million in concentration camps, and hundreds of thousands in ordinary prisons.

Persistent hunger prevailing in concentration camps and overtaxing physical labor with the absence of medical care are responsible for a high percentage of "death cases". In the Committee's report it is mentioned that nearly 5% of the USSR population are in concentration camps or prisons. The camps are mostly situated in unbearable climatic zones which also has a negative effect on the prisoners' health. According to the Committee, there are 1,000 such camps. A map showing the location of camps with accurate information as to the republic and climate of the region was added to the report.

The Martyrdom of Ukrainian Prisoners

(Testimony by an Eye-witness, the Recent Prisoner Solomon D.)

"To get into the Vladimir Prison from this penal camp is considered a blessing" — maintains Solomon D. who only recently shared the fate of prisoners of Bolshevik concentration camps in the wild forests of Mordovia. In that penal camp for several years now there languishes **Svyatoslav Karavanskyi**, long-term prisoner of the Stalinist, Khrushchovite and now Brezhnevite prisons and concentration camps. Together with him a Ukrainian, **Leonid Murzhenko** and Jews **Edward Kuznetsov** and **Yuriy Fedorov** are also being held there.

This camp, writes Solomon D., is the creation of the devil himself. In it, prisoners sentenced to long terms of imprisonment are forced to stay without a breath of fresh air, under lock and key, in prison cells. **These are the people buried alive.** These doomed prisoners are compelled to work on glass-polishing machines with glass dust constantly penetrating their lungs. This shop is located in the same building as the "residential" prison cells and these cells are always full of glass dust. This is a "death chamber" of long-lasting slow death. It is considered a

blessing to be transferred from this penal camp to the Vladimir Prison.

In the concentration camp for political prisoners in the Perm region (p.o. Kuchino, Chusov district, Perm region, p/ya VS 389-36) where a part of the political prisoners was transferred from the Mordovian camps, among others the following Ukrainian political prisoners, sentenced to 15 or more years (aside from **Ihor Kalynets** who is held in the neighboring camp) are interned: **Levko Lukyanenko**, **Volodymyr Vasylyk**, **Mykola Kurchyk**, **Andriy Turyk** and others.

Aside from Ukrainians Lithuanians, Armenians, Jews and others are held in this camp.

From the description of prison conditions it is obvious that the long-term sentences of the Bolshevik courts meted out to political prisoners are pure fiction. All prisoners who were deported to the Perm camps and the camps of especially severe regime are in reality **not sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, but to death**, to death in the coming months from tuberculosis, lung cancer and exhaustion through famine. This is a far more cruel form of punishment than the mass executions of the past of just as innocent people by the Stalinist Chekists. Brezhnev has surpassed Stalin in the cruelty of his extermination of people.

The local executioners who murder the Ukrainian and other prisoners by torturing them to death are Major Kotov, the commandant of the Perm camp, his deputy, Major Fedorov (operations) and Captain Zhuravkov (political affairs), as well as the KGB representatives, Capt. Ivkiv and Capt. Murtazan. We have already reported about the sadistic "nurse" Yegorova.

In the female penal camp in the Mordovian ASSR (p.o. Baryshevo, ZhKh 385/3) the following Ukrainian female prisoners are incarcerated: **Nina Strokata-Karavanska**, wife of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, born in 1928, a biochemist, sentenced in Odessa in 1972 to 4

years of imprisonment. **Stefa Shabatura**, a young woman, artist, former member of the Union of Ukrainian Artists in Lviv, sentenced in Lviv in 1972 to 5 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile. **Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets**, a 33-year-old poetess, sentenced in Lviv in 1972 to 6 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile. Her husband **Ihor Kalynets** who received a similar sentence is confined to the Perm concentration camps (USSR, p. o. Vsesvyatskoe, Perm region, p/ya VS-389-35). Their 10-year-old daughter **Dzvinka** remains in Lviv. And for **Iryna** and **Ihor**, the fact that they are unable to bring up their daughter causes a hundred-fold greater suffering. **Iryna Senyk**, born in 1926, a prominent Ukrainian poetess and patriot, arrived in camp on April 13, 1973. Earlier she had already served a 10-year term of imprisonment in the days of "father of the peoples" Stalin, from which she came out spiritually unbroken, but with impaired health physically. And now again, this wonderful person was sentenced by the Bolshevik "court of justice" in **Ivano-Frankivsk** (February 1973) to a subsequent 11 years (6 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile). Being confined to a camp adjacent to that of **Solomon D. Iryna** dedicated the following verse to the author of this testimony, as a reflection of her poetic soul:

Below are the daffodils
daffodils
higher up are the lilies
of the white snows
still higher
the Carpathians
the Carpathians of my
sorrow
the Carpathians of my
longing
the white Carpathians
of my unforgettable dreams

Capt. **Baylhov** is the commandant of this female concentration camp; Senior **Lieut. Fateyev** is his deputy and head of operations.

ESTONIAN PROTEST

Moscow, March 3 (UPI) — About 40 persons with signs reading "Down With Russian Power" demonstrated recently in the streets of Tallin, the capital of Estonia, sources in the Baltic republic said yesterday.

Although resistance to Soviet Russian rule has been evident from time to time since the Baltic republics were annexed in 1940, the sources said this was the first known instance of such a demonstration in Estonia.

The sources said that the demonstration occurred two weeks ago outside the **Intourist** hotel in Tallin. They said the demonstrators included Estonians and Soviet citizens of German origin who live in Estonia. Some signs demanded that the ethnic Germans be allowed to emigrate to West Germany.

Police quickly moved in and arrested the participants.

THE VOICE OF FREE AND SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN GENEVA

The European Freedom Council, the coordinating body of free Western European national organizations and of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite states, submitted its Memorandum to American, British and other ambassadors of free Europe who are participating at the European Conference on Security and Cooperation. This memorandum included different proposals and demands to be put forth at this conference. The situation of the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries is thoroughly analyzed in this Memorandum.

**Save us unnecessary expenses!
Send in your subscription for
ABN Correspondence
immediately!**

The Recent Events in Georgia

I have no time here to recall to you the various and numerous nationalist rebellions of the Georgians, and especially the revolt of the Georgian youth, first against the Russian tsarist tyranny, and, since the Revolution, against the Russian Communist imperialism and their policy of Russification. The two major uprisings occurred in 1924 and in 1956. But more important for us, today, is what is happening in Georgia at this very moment. That is why I would like to give you a brief chronology of events which occurred lately in Georgia and which were barely or not at all reported in the Western press.

It began in March 1972 (between the 6th and the 13th of March) with a condemnation in *Pravda* of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tbilisi City for "lack of discipline and bad management". Together, with these accusations of economic failure (especially in the health and transport services) there was a strong attack against the youth for its lack of political maturity, lack of militarism and against the excesses, among all the Georgians, of nationalism and "chauvinism". In April 1972 a purge started involving the Communist Party leaders who were held responsible for the management of the economy and for the lack of political discipline.

In September and October there began a threefold intervention of the Russians in the Georgian life: intellectual repression, political purges, and economic "resocialization".

The intellectual repression was illustrated by the strong condemnation of the historian Sidamonidzé who wrote a book about the years of revolution, and more specifically, about the years of independence, 1918-1921, a period which is strictly and totally ignored in the official works. Together with the

condemnation of Sidamonidzé, the President of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, Prof. MOUSKHELICHVILI, who had given his consent to the publication, was dismissed and replaced by Prof. VEKUA. The book was withdrawn from the bookstores, but illegal copies were already and still are circulating among the population. This intellectual repression was also illustrated by renewed appeals to the youth to show more interest in political meetings and Communist activities.

On September 29th the political purge began, Mr. Vassili Mjavanadze, First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party was purged and replaced by Edovard Chevardnadzé. The Western press presents E. Chevardnadzé as a pure and honest Communist who wants to restore justice and suppress the illegal profits, the black market and so on. What it omitted to say is that Mr. Chavardnadzé is in fact a general of the KGB, and friend of Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Andropov and Mr. Shelepin.

With the nomination of Mr. Chavardnadzé there began a wave of economic arrests in the name of the "resocialization" of Georgia. The attacks were led against private property, against the "speculators" and "profiteers". The first wave was marked by the arrests of the LAZICHVILI brothers, and 81 other so-called "speculators", who did in fact receive high benefits and illegal wages but who were in return providing Georgia with a certain number of small private "neo-capitalist" enterprises based on the principle of nationality and they did provide Georgia with more food and services than those which can be found in the other parts of the USSR.

All this economic reorganization resulted in an aggravation of the standard of living, together with a stronger discipline in the intellectual and poli-

tical fields, all helping to develop a strong nationalist agitation. This movement expressed itself through act of violence.

In May 1973:

- A bomb was thrown at the monument commemorating the so-called "liberation" of Georgia by the Russian army in February 1921.

- An incendiary bomb destroyed the National Opera House in Tbilisi.

- There were two attempts to assassinate Mr. Chevardnadzé.

- There were police searches among the known nationalist circles.

- Georgian Jews demonstrated in the streets of Tbilisi to defend their rights to emigrate (and to defend Israel, after the Olympic Games affair in Munich).

- The police and the armed forces have, since then, been reinforced.

- The Soviet leadership decided to inflict strong penalties upon people attempting to destroy "cultural buildings".

- Meanwhile the Western Press is joking about the Georgians who are no longer able to go and sell their fruit in Moscow each week !!!



WACL Conference Luncheon, from right to left: Mr. John J. Kosiak and Mr. Anatol Pleskachewski (Byelorussia), Dr. Stefan Halamay (Ukraine), The Dowager Lady Birdwood (Great Britain), Dr. & Mrs. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. S. Stetsko (Ukraine), Anatol Radygin (Israel).

WACL Washington Resolutions

On the Nations Subjugated by Soviet Russian Imperialism and Communism

WHEREAS the Russian occupants, being under the pressure of the struggle for national liberation and independent statehood of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite states and fearing that the nations subjugated by them will rise in a revolution, need the support of the Free World in order to fight the enslaved nations; and

WHEREAS the Russian occupants are combatting by all means liberation nationalism in all forms in the countries subjugated by them and are trying to create a so-called "Soviet" people by merging the nations into one Russian supnation; and

WHEREAS the Russian chauvinists and imperialists are attempting to destroy the national cultures and replace them with a so-called "Soviet" culture (i. e., *de facto* Russian culture) by imposing Russification by force in all fields of creative work of the subjugated nations and to abolish even the so-called national republics by establishing seven economic regions directly subordinated to Moscow; and

WHEREAS re-Stalinization is systematically continued and brutal terror increasingly practiced, nationalists being executed and national riots crushed by force in the occupied countries, and in particular the terror practiced against cultural workers and fighters for national independence and human rights is being intensified; and

WHEREAS cultural workers are cruelly sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment (e. g. in Ukraine) and concentration camps of severe regime or to confinement for life in insane asylums (e. g. Professor Plyushch and the poets Z. Krasivskyj and O. Terela) and the KGB is using the most diabolic methods to break the prisoners' resistance by chemical and other inhuman devices (e. g. V. Moroz, S. Karavanskyj, D.

Shumuk, Iryna Kalynets, Iryna Senyk, S. Kudirka, L. Lukianenko, Kandyba, Hryhorenko, Stefa Shabatara); and

WHEREAS on the one hand, the practice of religion is persecuted more and more cruelly, and on the other, the Russian Church of the Kremlin regime (its hierarchy serving the atheist Russian imperialists) is being imposed on the non-Russian peoples; and

WHEREAS the primary goal of all International Security Conferences initiated by Moscow, among them the so-called European Security and Disarmament Conferences, is to safeguard Moscow against uprisings of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite states fighting Russian occupation and to provide Moscow with a base for future conquests;

The VIIth WACL Conference now resolves

1. To fully support the national liberation movements of the nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states and others governed by a totalitarian Communist regime — in their struggle for re-establishing their democratic national independent states; and

2. To support the right of each nation to establish its own state, social and political order; to create its own cultural values; to practice its own religion; to realize its social ideas in accordance with its proper historical traditions and by its own free will; and

3. To strongly protest and condemn Russification, the concept of the so-called "Soviet" people, national and cultural genocide, the destruction of historical traditions and historical monuments of the subjugated nations, denationalization and the annihilation of religion, resulting in the disintegration of culture and the barbarization of life, its deprival of heroism and humanity

when the traditional roots are taken away from the people; and

4. To protect with special firmness and to equally condemn the assassinations and executions of fighters for national independence and their imprisonment; the confinement in prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric asylums of cultural workers and fighters for national and human rights; the use of barbaric chemical devices for breaking their resistance in order to obtain declarations of repentance; the persecution of Christianity, Islam, the Jewish religion and Buddhism as well as of faith in God in general; and the crushing of nations' aspirations to independence and freedom by armed coercion; and

5. To appeal to

a) the governments of the free nations of the world to place for decision on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly the violation of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, especially with respect to the cultural leaders persecuted in the USSR and the fighters for national and human rights;

b) world public opinion, including various types of organizations, to organize worldwide activities of protest in defense of all those who are being persecuted;

c) the governments and parliaments of the Free World to set as a prerequisite for any conference the realization of the right to national independence of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite countries, and not to disarm in a situation when the Bolshevik aggressors are arming; and

6. To support the Captive Nations Law No. 86-90, of October 17, 1959, enacted by the US Congress, supporting the liberation struggle for the national independence of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, East Germany, Georgia, Armenia, Northern Caucasus, Estonia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechia,

Slovakia, Croatia, Albania, Vietnam, Korea and all other nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states or governed by a totalitarian Communist regime (Cuba); to support the Congressional activity of US Senator Jackson who requests the right for the nationals of all subjugated nations to freely leave the USSR; to support the US House Resolution 196 dated Jan. 9, 1973, introduced by Congressman Daniel J. Flood on establishing a special captive nations committee of the US Congress; and

7. To warn the Free World of the dangerous consequences of the so-called European Security Conference and Disarmament Conference, as well as of any agreements with the USSR, whose goal is to consolidate its rule over the subjugated nations with the prospect of further usurpations of the still free part of the world.

In favor of The Liberation Byelorussia and All Other Captive Nations

The World Anti-Communist League notes the following facts:

1) The severe oppression of people of the Communist government of Soviet Russia is felt continuously in the entire Free World. As a recent event, there was noted the forcible expulsion by the Soviet government of an internationally famous novelist, Aleksander I. Solzhenitsyn, from his native Russia to West Germany and the stripping from him of his Soviet citizenship on Feb. 13, 1974.

2) The non-Russian nations, including Byelorussia, subjugated by Soviet Russia, are living in conditions of worse double oppression: a) as victims of Communist tyranny superimposed by Bolshevik Russia and b) as colonial slaves of the Russian empire called USSR today.

3) The Russian democrats want to change the present Communist tyranny in the USSR to a democratic order. Captive non-Russian nations, beside

introduction of democracy, want unconditional liberation from the Russian domination and restoration of their independent states.

4) The First All-Byelorussian Congress in Minsk was dispersed by the Soviet Russian Army on Dec. 17, 1917. Despite this suppression, the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian State on March 25, 1918. In opposition to this, the Soviet Russian government of Moscow created its own fictitious State, the "Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic", including it in the USSR. Ethnographically Byelorussian territory was divided among Russia and neighboring states. Russian Bolsheviks introduced the Communist system of slavery and deprived the people of all human rights and freedoms. They used limitless oppression and merciless exploitation on the enslaved people. Starvation and the shortage of the most necessary articles for the people were distinctive marks of Communist domination terror. During the 56 years of domination, Soviet Russia annihilated over six million of the Byelorussian population.

5. Despite continuous terror in Byelorussia, the Byelorussians were fighting at every opportunity for liberation from Soviet Russian domination. There were armed uprisings in the Slutsk district in 1920 and in Vyetizh, Homel and other areas in 1922. At the end of the Second World War, on June 27, 1944, the Second All-Byelorussian Congress convened in Minsk. This Congress annulled all treaties involving Byelorussia that had been made by occupation governments, approved the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, and elected the Byelorussian Central Council as the only national Byelorussian representation. An organized Byelorussian National Guard was fighting for the independence of the country. Byelorussia was conquered again, however, by Soviet Russia.

6) In 1973 the Soviet Russian government introduced a new economic and administrative partition of the entire territory of the USSR into seven districts. This re-districting ignored completely the existing ethnic groups and the union republics of the USSR, as well as their national needs. This partition is based upon the aim to increase the might of the Russian empire and consolidate non-Russian nationalities into a single Soviet Russian nation. The Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics were annexed directly into the North-Central Russian region. This subordination will help Russia to exploit more effectively Byelorussia and Baltic countries and will speed their Russification.

Accordingly, The VIIth WACL Conference resolves

1) To condemn the oppressive and genocidal policies of Soviet Russia in Byelorussia and other occupied non-Russian captive countries; and

2) To express its full solidarity and support to the liberation of Byelorussia and all other captive nations and the establishment of their independent states.

On The Dissolution of Yugoslavia

WHEREAS in regard to the recent political situation in Communist Yugoslavia and the extraordinary movements in Austria, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria;

The VIIth WACL Conference resolves.

That the only satisfactory solution to bring peace, prosperity and democracy in Yugoslavia is the dissolution of this artificial creation and the re-establishment of a Croat, Slovene and Serbian separate state as a part of the United Europe.

Calling For Release Of Two Ukrainian Political Prisoners In Soviet Russian Jails

WHEREAS Valentyn Moroz, 38-year-old Ukrainian historian and author of

such books as **A Report from the Beria Preserve, A Chronicle of Resistance of Ukraine, Moses and Dathan**, and other works, who was sentenced in November 1970 to nine years at hard labor (his second sentence since 1965), is being subjected to beatings and torture by criminal inmates in the infamous Vladimir Prison in the Russian Republic reportedly with full knowledge, if not instigation, of prison authorities, and is being constantly placed in solitary confinement instead of in a hospital; and

WHEREAS Leonid Plyushch, 34-year-old Ukrainian mathematician and cybernetics specialist and former research officer of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, was arrested and without being tried and placed in a psychiatric prison in the City of Dnipropetrovsk in Ukraine, where he is being administered unregulated doses of haloperidol which is causing the rapid deterioration of his health, and whom Dr. Andrei Sakharov described in an appeal sent from Moscow as "near death" and in which the eminent Russian scientist appeals to world opinion to take all steps to save the life of this young scientist; and

WHEREAS the American Council for World Freedom at its Annual Meeting, held March 2, 1974, in Washington, D. C. adopted unanimously a resolution to appeal to the President of the United States, the Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights and the International Red Cross to save the lives of these two young Ukrainian intellectuals;

The VIIth WACL Conference now resolves:

To appeal to the UN Secretary General, the President of the United States of America and to the International Red Cross to prevail upon the Soviet government to release forthwith Valentyn Moroz and Leonid Plyushch from prison and allow them to leave the USSR for medical treatment in a

hospital abroad, so that their health could be restored and their lives salvaged.

In Defense Of Ukraine's Struggle For National Independence.

WHEREAS, liberation nationalism in Ukraine and other countries enslaved by the Russian colonialist regime is constantly growing, particularly among the young generation fighting Communism, Sovietism and Russification, and cultivating its national historical traditions in all fields of activity and struggle and, according to the documentation of the US Senate (Hearings of February 1, 1973) "the Ukrainian nationalist movement has become the most powerful one within the USSR" and is becoming a mortal danger for the Russian empire and the Communist system; and

WHEREAS, the Russian occupants — profiting by agreements with the USA, Germany and other states of the free world which recognize the status quo of Russian conquests in the world — intensified Stalinist terror and the national and cultural genocide in Ukraine and other captive nations; and

WHEREAS, Ukraine struggling for her national independence and against Russian imperialism and Communism stands in the first line of defense of world freedom;

The VIIth Conference of WACL resolves:

1. To protest against and condemn the national and cultural genocide in Ukraine, the execution of nationalist fighters (e. g. Ivan Chayka, Petro Kovalchuk, Vasyl Malshuk, Mykhaylo Soroka, Antin Oliynyk), the brutal murder of believers in Christ (soldier Moyseyev) and cultural leaders (artist Alla Horska), the internment of intellectuals and patriots in general in KGB mental asylums (Prof. L. Plyushch, A. Lupynis, poets: Z. Krasivskyj, O. Terela; Gen. P. Hryhorenko — for an indefinite time),

in prisons and concentration camps and their deportation to Siberia (the majority of them receiving a total of 10 to 15 years, e. g. Valentyn Moroz, historian, after 5 years of imprisonment sentenced to another 14 years and presently tortured in Vladimir prison; I. Kalynets, poet; his wife Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, poetess and professor; I. Svitlychnyi, professor and literary critic; Nadiya Svitlychna-Shumuk, philologist; Danylo Shumuk, after 27 years of imprisonment again sentenced to 15 years; Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, after 20 years of imprisonment sentenced to another 15 years; I. Hel, student, after 3 years of imprisonment sentenced to another 15 years; Mykhaylo Osadchy, university professor and poet — after 2 years in a labor camp sentenced to another 10 years; Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk sentenced to 10 years; E. Pryshlak, 25 years of imprisonment; Ye. Sverstyuk, writer; Iryna Senyk, artist — after 10 years of imprisonment sentenced to another 11 years; Nina Strokata-Karavanska, microbiologist; Vasyl Stus, poet; Vyacheslav Chornovil — after 3 years of imprisonment sentenced to another 12 years; Ukrainian nationalist, O. Bil'skyj — imprisoned at 19 years of age, became blind during his 35 years imprisonment but will not repent; UPA fighter, I. Ilchuk — 25 years concentration camps; Ukrainian patriot, Maria Palchak — 25 years; S. Karavanskyi, writer — 30 years in prisons and concentration camps, tortured in glass grinding workshop; and about 300 other Ukrainian intellectuals, among them Chornovil's brother who has been seized by the KGB); and

2. To appeal to the Governments of the Free World nations

a) to render their political and moral support to the struggle of Ukraine and other nations subjugated within the USSR for the re-establishment of their independent states; and

b) to severely condemn and together with us urge the liquidation of all concentration camps; demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political and religious convictions; demand the immediate abolition of the use of chemical and medical means and the application of malpractices including psychiatric methods of breaking the willpower of political and religious prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them; vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights in insane asylums; demand an end to persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes, demand the cessation of Russification of the intermixing of peoples and deportations; and

c) to demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from Ukraine and other Russian-subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites; and

d) to demand a return of national sovereignty to Ukraine and all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite states; and

3. To appeal to world public opinion, including Churches, humanitarian, political, youth, combatant and student organizations, to intellectuals, Nobel Prize holders and the mass media to openly support the Ukrainian cultural workers and fighters for national independence and human rights; to create an international cultural, political, trade-unionist and humanitarian front of free trade-union movement within the subjugated nations, for universally valid equal rights of all nations and individuals; and

4. To give full support to "Ukraine's Plea for Help", an appeal from Ukraine, smuggled to the West and published in "The Daily Telegraph" on August 16, 1973.

WOMAN ABLAZE IN RED SQUARE

Tourists, including a party from Britain, watched in horror as an elderly woman set fire to herself in Moscow's Red Square when thousands were celebrating International Women's Day.

The woman, reported to be in her sixties, was first noticed standing in front of the Lenin Mausoleum. She then poured an inflammable substance over herself and set it alight with a match.

Onlookers and Kremlin guards ran to her assistance. She was wrapped up in Army greatcoats and taken away by ambulance.

"The Sunday Telegraph" 10. 3. 1974 London.



On June 25, 1974, the British Broadcasting System reported that Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz has announced a hunger strike until death at the notorious Vladimir prison, unless his demands to be moved to a labor camp are met.

The June 30th issue of the "Observer" wrote that Valentyn Moroz will begin his hunger strike on July 1, 1974. The "Observer" underlined Moroz' announcement that unless his demands are met, he will strike until death.

CONTENTS :

<i>B. Osinsky</i>	
A Precondition Of Victory	5
<i>Prof. Stefan Possony (USA)</i>	
Toward a Free World Strategy Against Communist Despotism	10
<i>Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine)</i>	
The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire	14
<i>Dr. Herbert Hupka (Germany)</i>	
"GDR" — a Russian Product	22
<i>Yaroslav Myslivec (Chechia)</i>	
Mistaken Czech Policy Makers	27
<i>Z. Karbovyh</i>	
One other Superpower	29
British League for European Freedom	
British Government Asked to Intervene For V. Moroz	32
The Khmer People Struggling For Freedom	33
The Baltic Appeal Committee of The Baltic Federation in Canada	
Baltic Plea For Humanity	35
The British League For European Freedom	
Captive Nations Week	37
From Washington WACL Resolutions	40
From Behind the Iron Curtain	42

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.

Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (ABN-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositionskasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No. 30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), 8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon: 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.
Verantw. Redakteur Frau Slava Stetzko.
Erscheinungsort München.
Druck: Dr. J. Herp, München.

The International Situation and Proposals for a Liberation Policy

The present international scene is dominated by several problems: a) the intensified arms race of the superpowers; b) the so-called energy crisis; c) further economic growth and well-being of nations, and d) the continuous struggle between the Communist Russian imperialists and the freedom-loving nations occupied by the former.

The arms race is being accelerated primarily by Russian efforts to achieve military superiority which will be used by Moscow for blackmail of the free nations and further conquests and suppression of national liberation movements of nations under its yoke. Moscow's development of intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads further endangers the free world's freedom and security.

The energy crisis, although arising slowly in the course of several years, became dramatic as the result of the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 after Russia openly instigated the Arabs to use the oil as a weapon against the free world and endeavored to make the Arab nations its satellites.

With the oil shortages a possible recession looms over the free world. This should open the eyes of the free nations' statesmen and economists to the tremendous danger to their national security, freedom and economic progress and well-being stemming from extensive trade and economic cooperation with Russia which intends to achieve economic supremacy over the free world as well, and will attempt to make at least some free nations economically dependent upon it, which in turn will be followed by political and military domination.

At the same time, in full view of the free nations, Russia tightens her colonialist and totalitarian grip upon the many nations she holds captive in the Soviet Union. She engages in wide-

spread pogroms among the intelligentsia, the intellectuals, students and freedom-loving people in general with the aim to extinguish every trace of national freedom movements in these European nations. The West looks passively on as Russia attempts to consolidate her hold on half of Europe.

On the basis of these general acts we believe that

a) the policy of the balance of power among several large nations, which is the current foreign policy of the US government, should be considered a temporary policy inasmuch as Russia's policy is a dynamic expansionist and imperialist policy aimed at weakening the NATO powers and at achieving world supremacy and not at attaining a power equilibrium with other big nations at all. Through her domination over some Arab countries, Russia is pressing for an opening of the Suez Canal in order to extend her influence beyond the Middle East, throughout South Asia in the Indian Ocean area and in East Africa;

b) the selfimposed division of spheres of power in line with the concept of global balance of power tends to restrict the dissemination of ideas and policies of the West. The glaring examples of this are 1) the failure of Western expectations that Russia will relate her totalitarian grip upon her subjects and the enslaved nations within the Soviet Union and the satellites as a consequence of détente with the West and the desired end of the cold war, and 2) the West's expectation that Russia will discontinue her Communist expansionism, subversion of free nations, and attempts at decomposition of the NATO alliance. While internally the Communist dictatorial tyranny is increasing its terrorism, intolerance and repressions, externally the Russian Communists are consolidating around

themselves the world Communist movement and are bolder than ever in instigating anti-Western movements, especially among the Arabs;

c) as the Arab-Israeli war broke out, the Russians were the first to make preparations to use paratroop divisions against Israel, thereby revealing their disinterest in arms limitations, disarmament or adopting peaceful methods of coexistence, which they falsely propagated at the Helsinki Conference last year.

The turning of many Western statesmen toward so-called pragmatic policies and away from freedom and liberation policies means surrounding one of the strongest weapons of the West, namely, the concepts of national and personal freedom, as expressed in many democratic constitutions, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the love of freedom inherent to Western culture.

Thus, Western opposition to the forces of Russian colonialist totalitarianism are weakened. Free nations tend to recognize the righteousness of the rule of force, relinquishing their traditional resistance to oppression, dictatorship, totalitarianism and enslavement of entire nations. The policy of the balance of power, however, vindicates colonialist and totalitarian systems. This policy implies certain collaboration with colonial empires such as the Soviet Russian superpower or the Stalinist regime of mainland China. The freedom-striving national movements of the peoples enslaved by these tyrannical colonialists have been weakened by the policies of the pragmatists who show themselves more willing to cooperate with the oppressors and terroristic regimes than with the oppressed and exploited peoples.

The status quo approach of many present leaders of Western nations conditions them to popularize only those forces inside the Soviet Union which work for the preservation of the impe-

rial state or, at the most, criticize the lack of freedom of speech or some governmental excesses. Therefore, such loyal opposition groups or individuals as Sakharov, Soldzhenitsyn or Maksimov receive broad press coverage in the West because they are not against the balance of power policy, but rather approve of the existence and might of the Russian empire. However, Western governments and information media in general ignore, neglect or degrade those forces within the Soviet Union which work for the freedom of whole nations, and their representatives as the Ukrainians **Valentyn Moroz**, **Yuriy Shukhevych** — son of the late Gen. Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the prominent Ukrainian intellectual **Ivan Svitlychnyi** and many others. The "pragmatists" are not interested in the people who serve 15 or 25-year cannibalistic sentences in Russian concentration camps. They prefer to carry on telephone conversations with people who serve 15 or 25-year cannibalistic sentences in Russian concentration camps. They prefer to carry on telephone conversations with people like Sakharov who lives in a pleasant apartment in Moscow. Yet, they do not care to get in touch with such an outstanding intellectual as Prof. **Leonid Plyushch**, who is being systematically destroyed in the KGB-run psychiatric clinic in subjugated Ukraine or **Lev Lukyanenko**, who is being poisoned in a Russian concentration camp.

We believe that all the available equitable means should be used to further and strengthen the people and movements which cherish national, socio-economic and personal freedoms not only within the sovereign Western nations, but even more so inside the peoples of the satellite states and the Soviet Union which are colonially enslaved, politically dominated by the totalitarian Communist regimes, socially underprivileged under the yoke of Communist oppressors and, most of all,

are subjected to the terrible pressure of denationalization by the chauvinistic Russification policies.

Therefore, we urge Western governments, information media, democratic political parties, freedom-cherishing institutions and free people all over the world to give more press coverage to the national liberation processes inside the Soviet Russian empire, especially those of the non-Russian peoples, to use the various media for loud protests, to mobilize international public opinion against Russian chauvinism, racism and messianism, against the terror of the KGB, against the totalitarian dictatorship of the oppressing Communist regimes, to devote more programs on television to the enslaved nations, to give more broadcast time to the spokesmen of the subjugated nations. Western publishing houses should spend less on the publication of literature of the Russian dissidents who at no time advocate the liquidation of the imperial prison of nations, but publish instead the works of the more talented Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian, Turk-kestanian, Byelorussian and other freedom-loving writers and intellectuals. Western military theorists should give more attention to the insurgent underground liberation forces within the Communist Russian empire widely publicizing such insurrections as those occurring in the Russian concentration camps in the 1950s, revolts on religious grounds as those in Lithuania in 1972, revolts on national, social and economic grounds in several regions of Ukraine in the 1960s and early 1970s (Krasnodar, Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzherzhynsk, etc.). Western diplomats should be urged to always place on the agenda of international conferences the terrible fate of nations under the Russian yoke, emphasizing the moral duty of free peoples to render all possible assistance to the strivings or those who aspire for national, political and personal freedoms. Western traders and economists should be cautioned against deals

with the brutal Russian tyrants and ruthless colonialist exploiters of many nations because all economic and technological advantages thus gained by the Russians are immediately placed at their service of Russian imperial aggrandizement and preparation of new aggressive expansionist adventures directed against the free nations.

We also warn the West against the various so-called cultural exchanges with the Russians. While the free peoples truly communicate among themselves, the Russian Communists use such channels and occasions exclusively for dissemination not only of the Communist ideology but also of propaganda of Russian racist and chauvinist messianism. Hence, the enslaved non-Russian nations are neglected, belittled and forsaken. For this reason, we propose finding means and methods of establishing cultural exchanges between the free peoples and the freedom-striving peoples subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states.

We wish to inform freepeople all over the world that the idea of a common struggle against Russian chauvinism, racism, messianism and colonialism is very much alive among all peoples in Soviet Russian captivity. All these national forces and movements expect the free people of the West to be interested in their strivings and be willing to assist them. Therefore, we urge all free nations to promote the concepts of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which resolutely stresses the establishment of a global front of all forces determined not only to preserve freedom and security for their own particular nations but also to extend a helping hand to fellow men and nations suffering under the Russian colonialist yoke. Such a resolute worldwide front is also needed as a response to a global threat of aggressive Communist Russian imperialism which still aims at further conquests of foreign lands.

We appeal to the governments and people of free nations not to conclude

any treaties or agreements with the Russians, which would further advance the consolidation of Russian domination over the conquered countries and weaken the strivings of the subjugated nations to liberate themselves. All the conferences with the Russians — be they in Helsinki, in Vienna or in Geneva — will in no way enhance the security, peace and freedom of Western nations, but on the contrary will enable the Russians to intensify their efforts to disunite the NATO alliance and the West European Economic Community, affording them a better chance of using their strategic nuclear weapons as means of blackmail in international relations, of strengthening their propaganda and penetration of the free nations and terrorizing and russifying more intensively the nations oppressed within the Soviet Union and the satellite states. Even in Yugoslavia the influence of the KGB and Russification are being felt for some time now.

We appeal to the freedom-loving governments, institutions and individuals to stand up in defense of the thousands upon thousands of political prisoners incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, psychiatric clinics and windowless cells of KGB prisons whose main "crimes" were love of their native land, a wish to speak their mother tongue instead of Russian, a desire to work in the interest of their own communities and countries and not in the interest of the foreign Russian invaders.

We appeal to Western businessmen and economists to discontinue trade, financial assistance and technological exchanges with the Soviet Union because

such dealings benefit the Russian oppressors, the subjugated peoples receiving at best the crumbs of these benefits. While the Russian "master race" strengthens its position in the empire, the captive nations become even more dependent upon the Russian oppressor.

One Ukrainian freedom-fighter who has been inhumanly incarcerated in Russian prison camps for more than a quarter century wrote a poem directed at the free nations of the West, of which excerpts are quoted below:

It's not a verse, not a hymn,
not an ode,
And not a fruit of lase
poetic manias
It's the thirst, the entreaty
of freedom,
It's the last outcry of the prisoner
condemned to die.

He stands on the brink of his grave,
And waits for a bullet to penetrate
his proud skull

His hands were tied by wire
By the heirs of Yagoda and Beria.

He stands on the brink of his grave,
And in the grave — corpses
upon corpses,

Humanity's wisdom! The all-creative
power!

It was against you that the hand
was raised!

So look out — save your skull,
Free intellect — the Conscience
of the age,

For in the cosmic era
Machine-gun fire was opened
at you!

(S. Karavanskyi, Yavas, 1966)

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
by John Kolasky

Printed in Canada by Web Offset
Publications Limited

Design: Diana McElroy
ISBN 0-88778-097-0

A Precondition of Victory

In the periodical **Our Front**, published prior to the 1941 war by the revolutionary organization of nations subjugated by Russia, it was stated: "It is necessary to set up the closest possible cooperation among the revolutionary organizations of all nations subjugated by Russia. It is necessary to coordinate the revolutionary struggle of all the nations subjugated by Russia . . . , to win the heart and mind of the Red Army soldier for the Revolution, to orient him upon our aims, programs and slogans.

"Without a revolutionary organization there is no revolution . . . We have a single aim: complete political liberation of nations subjugated by Russia. The road to our goal leads through a total dissolution of the Russian prison of nations, the USSR, by the revolutionary forces of the nations subjugated by Russia. A precondition of our victory is our own power alone, the power of nations subjugated by Russia united by a joint struggle . . . A blow from the outside is just a favorable opportunity for our struggle . . . Russian Bolshevism is a modern form of historic Russian imperialism, which oppresses us, against which we are fighting at present . . ."

National Uprisings

The First Conference of the Nations subjugated by Russian Bolshevism (November 21, - 22, 1943) formed the Revolutionary Committee of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia under the protection of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) in the forests of Zhytomyr region of Ukraine. It was attended by delegates from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural and Turkestan. Under the command of a

Georgian major, the delegates engaged in battle against the Nazi invaders. The national detachments created under the auspices of the UPA were to expand into independent national insurgent armies and go over to their own territory in order to continue the struggle.

The Appeal of the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia emphasized the necessity of a joint front against the Hitler "New Europe" and the Bolshevik USSR and proclaimed as its goal: "an order built upon the system of independent states of each nation on its own ethnographic territory", and as "the road — the national revolutions" for "the success of which the rising of the millions-strong masses is required".

Nationalism — The Dominant Idea of Our Epoch

The ideological positions of ABN have justified themselves in full. Liberation nationalism — opposed to imperialism — has become the symbol and banner of our age. "Without nationalism — write the fighters in our native lands — there is no progress; without nationalism there is no nation. Under the banner of nationalism, the national liberation movement in the whole world is taking place. More than half of humanity considers it its own banner.

Frightened by the growth of the nationalist movement inside the Russian empire, one Bolshevik historical journal writes: "The ideologists of anti-Communism openly maintain that nationalism is a type of 'explosive against Communism' and that allegedly 'at long last, Communism can capitulate before nationalism on the global scale' . . ." (Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal, Kyiv, No. 3, 1973).

And Breshnev in a speech on the 50th anniversary of the USSR said that "nationalist superstition is an unusually vital phenomenon which has a firm grip on people's psychology..."

Nationalism —

An Unconquerable Force

How inflammatory is the national idea is evidenced by protest self-immolations:

— On November 5, 1968 **Vasyl Makukh**, 50, the father of two children, the fighter of UPA and OUN, long term prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself in Kyiv with the exclamation:

"Long live Free Ukraine!"

— On January 20, 1960, the Czech student, **Jan Palach**, immolated himself in Prague while shouting: "It is better to die in flames than to live under Russian colonial yoke!"

— On February 10, 1969 — the Ukrainian patriot and former prisoner of concentration camps **Mykola Beryslavskyi**, 55, the father of three children attempted self-immolation as protest against Russification, for which he was sentenced to 2 and a half years.

— On May 14, 1972 — the self-immolation of the Lithuanian nationalist student **Romas Kalanta** in Kaunas with the exclamation: "Long live independent Lithuania!"

— On May 29, 1972 — Lithuanian worker **Stonis**, 29.

— One June 3, 1972 — Lithuanian worker **Andrus Kukavicius**, 60.

— On June 9, 1972 — attempted self-immolation of the Lithuanian **Zalish Kauskas**.

— The heroic conduct before the court of the Lithuanian sailor, **Simonas Kudirka**, sentenced to 10 years of harsh imprisonment, who greeted his verdict with the exclamation: "I demand freedom for my fatherland, Lithuania!"

— The heroic conduct of the young

Ukrainian historian, **Valentyn Moroz**, in a Russian court, with his by now famous expression: "There will be a trial. Well, we shall fight... Now more than ever it is needed that somebody gives an example of firmness... The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind bars is not easy for anyone. But not to respect oneself is still harder. AND THEREFORE WE SHALL FIGHT! If having placed me behind bars, you were counting on creating something of a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then this is not serious. Try to understand at last: THERE WON'T BE ANY VACUUM ANYMORE!"

The national idea is embodied in concrete action, in direct struggle of the subjugated nations in their native lands and in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger strike in Potma in March 1972, in which the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish and other political prisoners participated, street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; the armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; armed clashes in Erivan, Armenia, also occurring in recent months...

In June 1971, a revolt broke out among the Kabardinians (North Caucasus) in the city of Nalchik. It was crushed by military units of the Russian KGB, and even a woman was executed by shooting after a closed trial. In December 1972, in Derbenti, in Dagestan, armed kolkhoz workers forced the KGB to release the head of the kolkhoz, who had given meat to starving peasants. In June 1971, in Tyraspol, the Moldavian students demonstrated for two days for secession of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania... During the 1972 Jewish passover the KGB organs provoked racial disturbances between the Kabardinians and the Jews in the course of which the KGB killed 8 Kabardinians and two Jews in Nalchik.

In Estonia, there appeared the renowned letter of the representatives of the Estonian intelligentsia defending the right of the Estonian people to independence, and threatening that the time will come when the tanks will not be marching on Prague and Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

In Turkestan, in May 1969, the Uzbeks shouting: "Russians get out of Uzbekistan" revolted in the concentration camps. These disturbances, crushed by the KGB, spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The heroic struggle of Crimean Tatars, defended by Ukrainian General Hryhorenko, is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups, "SHAND", "In the name of the Fatherland" and "Paros" (Torch) fought in 1969/70 for independence and unity of Armenia, publishing a periodical and leaflets. Its members included students and workers.

The heroic national and religious efforts and decisive resistance to Russification are renowned throughout the world. Lithuania has not and never will put down its arms in its struggle for independence and the Christian religion.

In Byelorussia, the writer Bykov strongly protested against the Russification of the country. Byelorussian youth raised its voice in protest; an underground organization was founded by the Latvians in 1962. Called the "Baltic Federation", its aim was to fight for independence of the Baltic Nations — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — and to counteract the Russian occupants jointly... In Bulgaria and Rumania, national resistance is constantly growing. In Hungary, there were new student disturbances in 1973! In Poland a revolt by workers, in 1971, was responsible for the toppling of Gomulka.

It must be stated that the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are popular movements, in which an active part is taken not only by students and intellectuals, but also by workers and collective farmers. Ac-

cording to Andrei Amalrik, out of the 134 signatures appearing under one Kyiv protest letter in defense of prisoners, 25% were those of workers of the Kyiv factories.

The basic ideological and strategic position of ABN in the course of its thirty years of struggle and activity have justified themselves: the concept of the nation as a cornerstone of a new order in the world, the negation of the imperialistic principle, as a historic anachronism of the epoch, the primacy of the spirit and the apotheosis of the heroic concept of life, the elevation of Man, as a creature like unto God, the ideal of social justice, realized on the basis of material and spiritual de-collectivization, with a projection into the center of social order of the creative, working person as a measure of quality and not the Communist or the liberal capitalist system.

The chief factor of liberation is a reliance on the subjugated nation's own forces.

The uprisings in concentration camps of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Armenian and other prisoners in 1953-1959, the disturbances and revolutionary upheavals in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechia and Slovakia, the nationwide insurrection in Ukraine in 1942-1955, the partisan warfare in Lithuania have established that revolutionary struggle is possible, even in the totalitarian, Russian, imperialistic system. The courageous acts of Croatian nationalists have proven the weakness of Yugoslavia as an artificial, forced, colonial structure in Europe.

In the thermonuclear and the ideological age, the most timely and real is the revolutionary, liberation, insurgent concept which will destroy the empire and the system from within.

In the fall of 1970, maneuvers of MVD forces took place near Moscow under the slogan. "Suppression of uprisings in concentration camps..."

The Bankruptcy of the Ideas of Communism and Sovietism

It is an undeniable fact that the system of Communism and Sovietism is bankrupt, regardless of forced attempts to re-educate two generations of youth in the subjugated nations. The young generation of the subjugated nations has been re-born. It has stood up in ideological and active defense of national traditionalism, of the national heroism of life, of heroic religiosity, and heroic humanity, of the Individual.

These ideas of Ukrainian 18th century christian philosopher H. Skovoroda have become the guiding principle of the young generation in Ukraine. The primacy of the spiritual over the material stands at the center of the young generation's attention. "God created man. The basis of morality is the idea of God and of the immortality of the soul... The Church, as bearer of the spirit, must be preserved... War with the Church means war with culture... How many times has the Church saved the nation... Under the conditions of Eastern Europe, the Church was the one power that was independent of the authorities..."

It is impossible to break people, to turn them into slaves, until you steal their sacred days, until you destroy their traditions, until you trample on their cathedrals...", state the contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals.

And in contradiction to the thesis about the so-called Soviet fatherland, the young generation firmly declares, "One can choose one's friends and one's wife, but not one's fatherland"; a human being has but one mother, or none at all!" (V. Symonenko).

A battle is being waged by the captive nations against every genus and species of Russian domination; against the forced consensus of the "Soviet nation", the merging of nations into the Russian nation, against this Babylon, the mixing of nations and people,

against militant godlessness, against the Kremlin's Church, against socialist realism, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, against the Russification of language, spirit, culture — for all these are methods of domination by the occupant.

ABN — Not a Center of Dissidents, But of Revolutionaries

Our struggle is legal from the point of view of divine law, while the Russians' domination over our lands is illegal, because this is a devil's "law" of lawless atheists against which it is our sacred duty to fight. We are bound by God's laws and by the laws of the subjugated nations, not by the laws of the occupants.

The ABN is not a center of dissidents who disagree with the regime on this or the other point. The ABN is a center of revolutionaries of various nations who work to destroy the empire and the regime: some through cultural creativity, political philosophy, others through armed action.

The captor and the captive are two opposite worlds, "two walls" of which one must fall.

And empires have always fallen. There is nothing to repair here — an evil must be razed to the ground!

Liberation, not Compromises

Regardless of the capitulatory politics of the free world's ruling circles, and even of some Western ecclesiastical circles, the ABN remains firmly against:

a) the politics of co-existence and, even more, co-operation with empires and tyranny, with the Russian imperialists;

b) the politics of the so-called balance of power between the superpowers and the demarcation of their respective spheres of influence;

c) the irresponsible rescue of the Russian empire and of Communism from downfall by means of economic, technological, and all other forms of support serving to develop tyranny and empire, and thus also against a common front with the oppressors against the captive nations, which is being realized before our very eyes through the cooperation of Washington and Bonn with Moscow;

d) the so-called European Security Conference, the aim of which is not to aid the liberation of nations but the guarantee of Russian usurpation and the legalization of contemporary starting bases for the further extension of Russian domination in the world;

e) the disarmament of the world's free nations simultaneously with the systematic growth of the Russian empire by means of modern methods of waging war, the modernization of armaments, and the ideological disarming of the free nations with the purpose of laying the groundwork for their capitulation to Moscow;

f) the cooperation of Church circles in the free world with godless genocidal regimes and the Russian Kremlin's official Church, which serves Russian imperialism and aggressive Communist atheism.

The ABN struggles for:

i) the disintegration of the Russian empire into independent national states of the captive nations within their ethnographic boundaries, and the liquidation in Europe of all types of colonial constructions such as Yugoslavia, or the CSSR, and the renewal of the national states forced into these constructions of peoples, the renewal of the independence of the so-called satellite states within their ethnographic boundaries, the reunion in freedom of nations divided by force (Germany, Vietnam, Korea), the liberation of countries of different continents from Communist tyranny, the return to Japan of the Ja-

panese ethnographic territories usurped by Moscow, the liquidation of Russian influence on the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian and Pacific Oceans through the common efforts of the free world and the subjugated nations;

ii) for the development of an uncompromising anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik front of the patriotic circles of the world;

iii) for a common crusade of freedom-loving humanity against Moscow;

iv) for a politics of liberation of the subjugated nations and support of their national liberation revolutions;

v) for a spiritual and ethical renaissance of the world's free nations in the spirit of the heroic conception of life;

vi) for active patriotism, militant religion;

vii) for organized world-wide cooperation between the free and the newly-liberated peoples and nations on the basis of equal rights against a world regime of the new tyrants.

The liberation path of ABN is the path of simultaneous national liberation revolution of the subjugated nations, not an orientation toward liberation by foreign bayonets! Foreign bayonets bring "freedom" and colonial rule for the "liberators", not for the subjugated!

At present, ABN is organizing and summoning world-wide action in defense of the cultural workers and battlers for national state independence, human rights and faith in God, who are imprisoned, put in psychiatric wards, prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime by Moscow.

The time is not far off when reactionary Russian despotism and imperialism shall be destroyed in the whirl of national revolutions, and this shall be a historical victory for the ideas and efforts of ABN, which battles for a new and just world order, for a national as opposed to an imperialist order!

Toward a Free World Strategy Against Communist Despotism

(Conclusion)

These circumstances are aggravated by strategic over-commitment in terms of demography, economic capability, and political reach, as well as by serious economic, agrarian, and technological troubles. The Soviet regime, in addition to lacking genuine legitimacy, also lacks inherent stability. Present indicators are that forces of effective opposition are forming.

The Soviet strategy of step-by-step expansion together with the anomic economic system and the despotic and equally anomic dictatorship, have been leading the USSR into a deep impasse. Yet despite all the furor and the sacrifice, the USSR — Russian Empire — still lacks the capability to defeat the United States or, to express this more cautiously, to engage the US without assuming insuperable risks to the survival of the Kremlin dictatorship. Kremlin strategy is, therefore, extremely cautious: it displays audacity only when it is safe to do so. It is not the strategy of the lion but that of a snake which hypnotizes and poisons the victim and devours it gulp by gulp.

Yet it would be most imprudent to forget that the Soviet-Russians, precisely because they are skillful strategists, possess quite a few highly useful assets:

1. The enormous destructive power of their military forces which terrorizes many opponents of the USSR. The Free World is afraid of serious conflict even though it could prevail in all types of show-down.

2. The illusions and delusions of leftist and neutralist regimes all over the Free World who are putting their trust in short-lived economic gains, who

fail to take elementary military precautions, and who often are helping the Communists to overcome their difficulties.

3. The influence of the pro-Communist forces and the enormous (but usually underrated) impact of Communist propaganda within the Free World.

4. The Free World's obsession with disarmament.

5. The Free World's inability to understand the essence of Soviet strategy, the continuity of the Soviet threat, and the snail's pace of Soviet evolution in direction of constructive policies.

6. All this is topped by the Free World's inability to unite and join together in an effort to keep the world safe from Communism and to make the world safe for democracy — a most sensible, even indispensable goal set forth by President Woodrow Wilson 56 years ago.

The question now arises on what type of strategy the Free World should unite.

Given the enormous and substantially superior economic and technological resources of the Free World, it should be easy to fashion a strategy that promises success and also is economically and technologically feasible.

The free nations should unite on a number of don'ts, e. g.

1. Don't disarm, don't allow the USSR to gain military superiority, don't fail to recoup superiority for the Free World.

2. Don't help the Soviet-Russians to improve their technology.

3. Don't bail out the Communist despots economically, on the contrary

strengthen the exploited, oppressed, and captive nations so that they gain power to be used against tyrannical coercion. In this connection, don't confuse the slaves with their masters — don't forget that while the masters are our enemies, the slaves are our friends.

4. Don't abandon the peoples, groups, and individuals who are fighting for political liberty, personal freedom, justice, prosperity, and national independence.

5. Don't be cynical about human rights and international law.

6. Don't be silent about the errors, deceptions, and stupidities of Communist theory, and about the criminality of Communist practice.

7. Don't give up the principle of internal security against subversion, and don't think that self-preservation is incompatible with free and democratic statehood.

8. Don't tire in keeping Free World public opinion fully informed about the happenings within the bloc and about the aggressive moves of the Kremlin.

A number of don'ts deal with the attitudes of Free World statesmen, politicians, and opinion-makers, whose illusions, self-deceptions, and distortions no free and intelligent citizenry should tolerate. It is everybody's business to guard against Communist propaganda. The average citizen really should have enough common sense to understand that the Communists do not want to coexist with the Free World and to live peacefully for ever. We should never discard the rules of evidence in our strategic discussions, and the Free World should act as guardian so that democracies must never again indulge in wishful thinking. Free World soldiers, diplomats, legislators, and academic specialists should see to it that the strategic lessons of more than half a century are not ignored in our security policies.

These negative prescriptions cannot stand alone but must be combined with

affirmative strategic actions. The number of such actions is quite large, ranging from propaganda defence, anti-submarine warfare, and anti-ballistic missile defences to military morale, psychological operations, new bombers, ICBMs, submarines, SLBMs, space weapons, lasers, improved nuclear explosives, and energy technologies. I do not intend to exhaust the subject. But I want to single out a few types of strategic actions, which I consider to be of overriding significance.

1. Keep a decisive lead in advanced technology, build quantitatively stronger armed forces with qualitatively better weapons, and thereby close the door firmly to any Kremlin decision for major war.

2. Strengthen local forces and establish regionally mobile forces to deter and overcome local aggressions.

3. Support democratic and national liberation movements, especially within the USSR, for national independence of Ukraine, Baltic nations, Georgia, Turkestan and others.

4. Help those liberation movements work out attractive programmes for follow-up social-political systems that are to be substituted for despotism and ensure that the practicality and attractiveness of the better alternatives become widely known.

5. Center sustained psychological offensives on major problems illustrated by such concepts as **peace** which requires the liquidation of aggressive totalitarian governments; **liberty** which necessitates the establishment of representative government; **freedom** which calls for the realization of human, civil, and national rights and of lawful governance; **prosperity** and the **abolition of poverty** which are predicated on the development of free market economies; and **personal self-determination** which cannot be achieved without the reinstitution of the right to own private property.

If and when, as a consequence of superior Free World military, political, and moral strengths and actions the Kremlin is externally paralyzed and the contradictions of the Soviet regime become ever more acute, the internal pressures for fundamental changes will mount. The generation of old believers will inevitably be replaced by younger leaders who may be glad to ignore the problems of yesterday, and instead may be eager to tackle the problems of tomorrow. Yet precisely because sooner or later the Soviet system which is eroding now, will be threatened by internal breakup, several types of events must be anticipated.

1. The Kremlin leaders threatened by political perdition may seek their salvation in "forward escape" and may feel compelled to attack in full force, regardless of the risks this course of action would pose to the subjugated peoples. The Free World will not necessarily be able to deter aggression that results from desperation. Hence Free World armaments must include defences which protect human lives and the political and economic values of the free nations. The Free World must be enabled **both** to win a war that may be imposed upon ourselves, and to survive nuclear conflict without suffering permanent damage. Indeed, only a combined offensive-defensive victory-capable force offers a real hope for effectively deterring a panicky Kremlin.

2. In a different contingency, a CP dominated country other than the USSR may wish to abandon Communism, as happened, to some extent, in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In still another repeat of 1956 and 1968, the USSR may invade the dissident country — in tricky double-talk Kremlin spokesmen in Helsinki reserved this right only a few weeks ago. If then the Free World, once again, acquiesces in a Soviet invasion (which would violate international law), it would allow the Kremlin to kill a legitimate quest for freedom.

Such an event would have disastrous consequences for the Free World as a whole, and it would keep the international crisis and all related internal crises going for the next generation. It is precisely at this point where Soviet strategy would either succeed or fail. Kremlin strategy is now geared to the "most just" wars for the defence of the socialist fatherland — meaning: the use of military power to perpetuate illegitimate and usurpatory despotic dictatorships. Hence it is at this same point where Free World strategy aiming to rid the globe from the constant and constantly growing Communist menace would succeed or fail. At the proper time, the Free World needs to possess the military superiority which ensures deterrence and defence. On this basis of safety and practical invulnerability the Free World could prevent a Soviet counter-revolution so that the nation which is trying to liberate itself, would be enabled to choose the freedom it wants. As soon as the requisite strengths are available and Free World commitment to the defence and protection of freedom is self-evident, it can be expected that future Nagys and Dubčeks will exploit the opportunity and that one East European state after the other will reassert its political independence.

3. In a third contingency the Kremlin may decide to act on the insight that the CP system is no longer viable and begins to institute serious reforms. The anti-Stalinist governments of Hungary and Czechoslovakia demonstrated that such a turn of events is by no means impossible. If then a revolution from above were put in motion, the Free World should stand ready to assist in the effort, in the full realization that this process will take time and will be, in varying degrees, reversible. But those who seek freedom must be treated as friends.

The type of strategy I outlined could eliminate the threat of war and of enslavement that looms over mankind.

Such a strategy is economically feasible and it can be executed with little risk. Its prospects would appear to be good — in the slow and long run. Yet politically here is little hope that such a strategy will soon be adopted. In fact, political constraints in virtually all important free countries are such that no reasonable strategy of any kind appears to be acceptable.

Why is this so? As I pointed out, free peoples and governments don't understand the danger. They also are unable to realize that Communism is moving downhill and has become intrinsically weak, and therefore can be overcome through skilful resistance without war. They don't understand the opportunity either. To be sure, there cannot be any strategy without risk. But appeasement, concessions, and piecemeal capitulations pose a high risk of Soviet miscalculation. Those practices are not strategy but drift and they are the most risky course of action the Free World can select. The precedents of 1914, 1939, and 1962 — the Cuban missile arms — should be a warning, not a model.

The Free World is paralyzed by fear of nuclear conflict, and it closes its eyes to the manifold technological means that can be procured to subdue this terror. It also fails to see that operations can be conducted to neutralize, derail and disrupt Soviet strategy, and to enhance Soviet weaknesses — and that the spoiling of Soviet strategy, by

itself, would be enough, or almost so, to put an end to the Soviet threat.

A cause that lacks protagonists with insight, purpose, unity, fighting spirit, and will can prevail only if it is rescued by God. The main reason the cause of freedom has been suffering is that its cause has not been made persuasive enough, and that the customary arguments for freedom are mainly geared to the past, not to the future. The spokesmen of freedom have been unable to convince the leading parties in their own countries that current strategy is wrong and that freedom that is not paired with dedication and courage is doomed. The spokesmen of freedom, or too many of them, are provincial and isolationist in outlook, and they have been ineffective in coordinating their policies on the international level.

The primary need is for all the political parties which love liberty and which want to preserve, enlarge, and enrich freedom to begin cooperating. The Communists and Socialists managed to build effective international movements. The cause of world freedom calls for international cooperation on the level of movements, parties and parliaments, to complement, improve, and strengthen the governmental and military alliances.

The road is known. But the freedom forces still have a long way to go.

We have to walk fast and we must not tire. I am confident that we will be able to reach our destination before the night falls.

The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday, July 10, 1974

DISSIDENT 'WILL FAST UNTIL HE DIES'

Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian historian, who went on hunger strike on July 1 in Moscow's Vladimir prison where he is serving the first part of a 14-year sentence, will fast until he dies, friends said yesterday.

Moroz, 38, was sentenced in 1970 to six years in prison followed by three

in a labour camp and a further five years in exile for compiling memoirs of his first jail experiences in the 1960s.

The friends said the aim of the hunger strike was to secure his transfer from the prison at Vladimir — where conditions are very difficult — to a labour camp. — (Reuter)

The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire

In my deliberations I would like to proceed from the assumption of our common fears and expectations and to attempt to find a way out from the critical situation, in which not only the nations subjugated within the Russian empire find themselves. I am not speaking about the cause of one part of the world — the subjugated world alone. I am speaking about our common cause — of the free and enslaved people, and more — of the free and enslaved nations.

It is said that mankind is on the brink of a possible destruction by a thermonuclear war. Does such a threat really exist? Is there really no other solution than capitulation before tyrannies or appeasement and detente at the expense of hundreds of millions of subjugated people and dozens of enslaved nations, acknowledging their slavery, the domination of Russian tyrants over them? Is there not one more, "overlooked", neglected superpower, not so much material and technological, as spiritual, moral and political, which plays a decisive role in events which are implacably approaching. Detente with tyrannies, the balance of power on a global scale, i. e. capitulation before despotic governments, or a wager on spiritual, moral, eternal values of man and nations — as a way out of the critical situation in which the world finds itself? Besides the technological, in particular the thermonuclear element of a superpower more important is the moral, spiritual element, or more precisely: the spiritual superpower is of greater importance. It is composed of individuals and nations, subjugated in the Russian empire and under the Communist yoke, who are thirsting for freedom and justice, ready to sacrifice

everything material. After all, why should a lawful process of the dissolution of empires on a world scale shatter at the borders of the Russian prison of nations? Why is the absurd anti-natural concept of the Russian empire which, in a way unprecedented in history, imposes upon the nations and individuals it subjugates its own way of life from metaphysics to the system of collective farming not to become bankrupt at last, but to preserve itself as some "new world, a new system of ideas and values?"

The spiritual, moral and political superpower of our epoch are the billions of subjugated people and dozens of enslaved nations within the Russian empire and languishing in Communist bondage. This is the true reality, the real factor of world politics which will decide the future of mankind.

Aside from the USA is there some other massive superpower in the world? The so-called Russian superpower — the prison of nations and individuals — is a colossus on clay feet.

It is not enough to possess the most modern weapons and military technology. One must have the souls of nations and individuals on one's side. Are the souls of the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Poles, Azerbaijanians, Don Cossacks, Germans on the side of Russia, on the side of Communism?

Even the Russian Sakharov must acknowledge the powerful, dynamic force of the concept of national liberation, although he champions human rights alone, not the rights of nations.

But we place national rights, liberation nationalism as a central issue, for at no time were human rights achieved

in a subjugated nation without the fulfillment of a prerequisite: an independent, democratic, but above all, a sovereign state of each nation... We sympathize with the human rights movement, but the ideas of this movement will never be realized in nationally oppressed countries, in an empire. Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn — in spite of all our sympathy for their limited aspirations — are not on our side for their goals are the rights of the Russian individual, while ours are the rights of people of the subjugated nations in their own independent states. Human rights of a subjugated nation can never be realized without the achievement of its national state independence. Both of them are striving for the impossible — to preserve the empire and to achieve human rights, unless only the Russian people are meant. In order to gain human rights Washington had to win national independence for America. Today, there are no individuals in the world defined in a way other than by their national contents. Hence, no human rights can be achieved without the rights of a nation to which an individual belongs.

Had the so-called democratic empires guaranteed human rights in the nations which they oppressed? We do not think so. Recapitulating, only a nation's own national state with a democratic system of government guarantees human rights in a given nation, having first fulfilled a precondition: national sovereignty.

The slogan of our epoch is independence vs. empire. Nation vs. the prison of nations! Human rights as a consequence of the national right and a democratic system! Self-determination is not a revolutionary slogan of our time. Lenin put forth a more far-reaching slogan: self-determination including separation and deceived the peoples. Not a plebiscite of paper ballots, but a plebiscite of blood dating back a thousand years, repeated time and again in liberation and defense wars against aggressors

and conquerors of Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, etc. has self-determined these nations with millennial or centuries-old traditions as nations-states. Border villages can self-determine themselves, but not entire nations.

The ratio of forces in the Russian empire, including the satellites, is 2:4 to the advantage of the subjugated nations. Not only the oppressors but also the oppressed carry arms in the course of their general military duties. A democratic system and modern technology have in fact made classical warfare in line with the Clausewitz doctrine impossible. Modern technology is made impossible by a modern type of warfare: the guerrilla warfare. The "absolutist-aristocratic" doctrine of warfare propagated by Clausewitz is outdated now.

In a given case it is not a question of compromise between two governments on one territory — a compromise between the oppressor and the oppressed, but between the driving out of the occupying power and the establishment of the occupied nation's own government. The problem is not one of imposing one's own will upon the vanquished, in the sense of the Clausewitz doctrine, in a limited framework, but of a total driving out of the aggressor from one's own land by an all-out guerrilla war, of nations subjugated by Russia in synchronized, coordinated national liberation revolutions which would pass into a conventional war or both types of warfare would supplement each other.

When the concept of war has changed in the thermonuclear and ideological age, in the age of the downfall of empires, as a lawful development of history, in the age of the armed people, when atomic armament ceases to be, and tomorrow will no longer be a privilege of the superpowers or powers, when its quality will change into quan-

tity — for even the tiny Israel already has its own atomic bomb — then the horrible problem of atomic war will of itself cease to exist, creating a global stalemate. Both individuals and nations will again place their bets not on a homunculus — a narrow-minded intellectual — technician who allegedly has the fate of the world in his hands, but on man. Man will again become a Human Being with his own free will, his own morality. Mankind will find itself in the blind alley, if ethical and cultural progress does not go hand in hand with violent civilizational and technological progress. The former is lagging behind. The de-humanization, de-heroization, de-Christianization, a lack of religion, a lack of morality, a barbarization of humanity have reached an unprecedented peak . . .

Yet, in the face of all this our cardinal question is: does the fate of mankind lie in the hands of the Kremlin criminals and mass murderers of nations and individuals who possess thermonuclear arms? Our reply: No! The thermonuclear age is a blind ideological age. Hence we are not only faced with a political, strategic question, but with a metaphysical one: to be or not

to be for mankind? Individuals and nations must realize the ideals of freedom, truth, justice, human and national rights, God's teaching on earth, with profound faith in the higher force which guides the world, consistently and zealously, or fearlessly strive for their fulfillment, for this is their duty as higher beings.

A great shortcoming in the West today is the absence of great statesmen — ideologists, visionaries, charismatic men of words, faith, and heroic concept of life. Technocrats and pragmatists — at times with the best of intentions — have the voice now. In the age of thermonuclear arms and ideological wars this is a tragedy. Therefore James Reston aptly comments in *The International Herald Tribune* of March 4, 1974 under the heading of "The World Crisis of Democracy": "It is true that the men of eloquent idealism are gone — the Churchills and De Gaulles. They have been replaced on the whole with political technicians . . . There is a problem . . ." And he ends his article as follows: "The political 'decline of the West' is no longer a subject for theoretical debate, but an ominous reality, particularly, when the leader of the West, the



Ukrainians at the 7th WACL Conference in Washington, D.C. April 8-11, 1974

United States, has so much trouble of its own . . ."

The Present Forms and Methods of Struggle

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 whases of liberation struggle and an accent on its different aspects, as for instance the socio-political, economic and military. So far, after the period of mass popular uprisings of 1942-1953, the emphasis was being placed on multi-faceted underground struggle including the armed-defensive and particularly, on the conceptual-political and cultural-religious and socio-political struggle of a limited scope. With the change of forms and methods of transition to a longer period of struggle, armed struggle was relegated to a secondary position, while the political concept of a revolutionary guerrilla struggle extended not only to the Ukrainian people at large but to other nations enslaved in the Russian empire, including the satellite states. After all, the CSSR does not differ much from the Ukr. SSR with respect to opportunities for independent action in foreign affairs.

The essence of the present state of struggle is a conflict between two contradictory national organisms — the Russian and the Ukrainian — in all phases of struggle it does not mean the exclusiveness of only those elements defined in a given stage. As we have already mentioned, the emphasis on mass armed struggle of the 1942-1953 period in no way signified a neglect of the elements, the culminating mobilization of which was the concentration of all forces and energy

upon a decisive armed struggle. A changeover to other forms, which had been made by Gen. Roman Shukhevych, did not mean a failure of that stage, but rather was accused by the turn of events in the world, in the USSR and Ukraine.

Depending on the phase of struggle in Ukraine, there exists a corresponding assistance campaign from abroad: in the phase of stress upon the moral and political fight major efforts are turned to strengthening this form as much as possible although this does not mean that in a different phase this work would be less intensive. And so, at present it is absolutely necessary to disseminate our own and other literature, in line with our plan as far as contents is concerned, in other words, corresponding to our ideas, concepts, viewpoint, faith and our road to liberation. Mandatory are radio broadcasts, the erection of our own radio station, verbal and written information, mass and militant actions and acts in foreign countries, as forms of support for the struggle in Ukraine and within the empire, the formation of a global anti-Russian front, international conferences directed toward our ends, a joint anti-Russian action with factors in the free world sympathetic to our cause, in particular with emigrations of ABN peoples and so forth.

In Ukraine and the empire, there continues a campaign in defense of Moroz, Shukhevych and other imprisoned cultural and political leaders and the ideas and principles of 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 gradation of actions is also actualized here and there by attacking the enemy in various spheres of life, including the economic one . . . All of us remember the events in Novochoerkask, 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 in "The Cataract" that those being tried in Lviv were showered with flowers by the crowd on Pekarska Street as they were led from the automobiles to the court room... that Lina Kostenko strewed flowers in their path and that the defendants walked on a carpet of flowers to their trial...

We know about the organization of protest letters to the press from plants or collective farms, which also exerted pressure on opportunistic cultural leaders who were forced to "protest" on their part, because the fear for their own skin in the situation of mutual responsibility created by the KGB did not diminish, but increased when they were silent. When the likes of Svitlychnyi were active, Vinhranovskiy felt freer, when the likes of Moroz were active, Lina Kostenko felt freer, when the likes of Vinhranovskiy were active, Drach created more freely, when Drach is free, there is a lesser threat to Honchar and so forth. Honchar defended Kosmach. He defended the stolen iconostasis ("we were orphaned" — writes Moroz), thus defending himself, the author of "Sobor" (Cathedral). Sverstyuk defended his "Cathedral" in his "Cathedral in Scaffolding". Paradzhanov belonged to those petty thieves who concealed the theft of the Kosmach iconostasis. What happened? With the imprisonment and torturing of Moroz, Paradzhanov also fell from power because the circle of responsibility is narrowing... It is mutual responsibility which is the characteristic of the present era of Russian terror. Concealment of the theft of the iconostasis did not help Paradzhanov any. For this he and Lyubchuk were aptly and severely criticized by Moroz...

Let us recall that Amalrik writes that 25% of the Kyiv workers signed a protest against the imprisonment of

cultural leaders, the fighters for human and national rights... A nationwide movement...

Slogans Pertaining to Dynamic Life

The liberation struggle in Ukraine is not an abstraction which is suspended in the air of theoretical slogans. This is not so. There the people are mobilized by vivid slogans growing out of real life, directing the struggle. The traditions of the nationwide struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) have not been forgotten. They are being perpetuated... The UPA is ingrained in the people because it united into one whole struggle all spheres of life: national coupled with social, cultural with religious, but everything brought down to the national denominator, that is, without a sovereign national state, without the Ukrainian Sovereign and United State it is not possible to attain a picture of Ukrainian content in any sphere of the life of the nation.

We can see how resistance is developing under the slogan: down with deportation of our youth to Kazakhstan, Siberia, Mongolia. Let us recall the resistance put up here and there by new draftees who were forced to serve on the Chinese border. The slogan resounded: Let's perform our military duty in Ukraine!

Now the Russians are transporting 25,000 skilled construction workers from Ukraine and other subjugated nations, including professional engineers, to build the infrastructure of Mongolia. We can hear the cry: let's remain in Ukraine, let's not go to Mongolia! In Ukraine and Kazakhstan, in Siberia and on the Russian territory there resounds the following slogan among the members of the subjugated nations: let's return home from Kazakhstan, Siberia and Russia! We demand Ukrainian newspapers, books, libraries, a place for our national needs. Let's return from Poland and the so-called retrieved lands to the Lemky or the

Kholm region. These are not our lands. We have our own native territory of the Lemkos or the people of Kholm. We request a bishop for our Greek Catholic Church in Poland. All these slogans are spread spontaneously for the nation lives and thinks. The OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and the UPA leave their traces everywhere. Decades of sacrificial acts, self-sacrifice, thousands of the fallen and tortured-to-death members of the OUN-UPA have not remained in vain on the road of struggle... Acts of sacrifice are never futile, they always serve as guideposts...

We hear from chance tourists how the young people demonstratively sing Ukrainian patriotic songs on Dnipro boats and buses. We can hear the slogan: down with discrimination against Ukrainians in Ukraine! Ukrainians for Ukraine — Ukraine for Ukrainians! Let's demonstratively sing Ukrainian songs in streetcars, buses and trains! Let's recall the observances at the grave of Taras Shevchenko in Kaniv. Let's recall Alla Horska and her call to courageously defend the Ukrainian Ukraine. On walls and facades of buildings we can read the inscriptions: Communism equals Nazism! The Bolsheviks are Nazis! Brezhnev is a new Stalin! Brezhnev is a racist Hitler! In factories of heavy industry, in particular in the armament industry, we can hear whispers: let's work slowly. This slogan was promoted by the British in the war against Hitler for the countries which he enslaved. They are recalling it in Ukraine and Lithuania, in Georgia and Turkestan and are applying it against the Russian occupants. Let's slow down in the factories, on the collective farms — this slogan resounds spontaneously... Let's remember that even tiny Estonia raises her head. Only recently 40 Estonians were arrested on the streets of Tallinn because they demonstrated under the slogans: Russians get out of Estonia! Long live free Estonia! Estonia for Estonians! Thousands of demon-

strators in Kaunas protesting religious persecution in Lithuania — are generally well known. Let's not marry Russians — is a slogan in Turkestan. It is true in Ukraine as well. At an ABN Conference in London in 1973, a Turkestani author emphasized the Turkestanis' feeling of superiority over the Russians. Hence the slogans prevalent in Turkestan: Moscow is savage! Turkestan — the culture of centuries! Such a slogan is even more often in Ukraine. Ukraine is a culture of a millennium. When Kyiv was already a cultural center the wolves were still howling on the site where Moscow now stands. The idea of cultural superiority penetrates and is reflected even in literary creativity, of historical nature in particular. Sklyarenko is dead. Therefore he will not be hurt anymore by a mention of his work "Svyatoslav". There are many more such works, but their authors are still alive so we shall not mention them. Or, is not Skovoroda the pride of Ukraine? Or the novels about him?

But the battle is unfurling not only in the cultural sector, it encompasses the economic and socio-political sectors as well. Russia has imposed its socio-political and economic system and its institutions, which contradict Ukrainian nature and spirituality. For this reason about eight million Ukrainians perished in the struggle against the system of collectivization in Ukraine. For this reason, unchanged to this day, there resounds a slogan in Ukraine, spontaneously, naturally, lawfully: down with kolkhozes. Let's have de-collectivization; land for private toiling ownership of the peasant — these are unchangeable slogans until today... Kolkhozes are a Russian invention. Kolkhozes are a means of national and social enslavement. Let's have bigger private plots! Let's have private ownership of land of the farmers! Down with kolkhozes, as it had been down with landlords! Russian and Communist sharks get out!

It is not by chance that such slogans are becoming more and more widespread since collectivization is an anti-natural phenomenon in Ukraine. One of the prominent Ukrainian cultural leaders writes that de-Christianization, collectivization, colonial industrialization, and resettlement from the village to the city has ruined the Ukrainian traditional structures of centuries and this will have far-reaching negative effects on the Ukrainian people. This is not a rhetorical or a literary phrase. A bit of statistics: Soviet agriculture employs about 30 % of the entire work force of the USSR, five times greater than West Germany. The farmers of Western Europe are capable of producing enough foodstuffs to guarantee the feeding of the European Community. The USSR manages not to import grain only in exceptional years. Industrial progress is manifested by the fact that a smaller number of farmers suffices to feed other fellow-citizens. Recently Brezhnev boastfully declared that they managed to supply the population with agricultural products from the 42 million hectares of cultivated land in Kazakhstan and Siberia. Upon the orders of Khrushchev, Brezhnev, the then secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, had been developing the "virgin lands" until the wind scattered the top soil and this became one of the reasons for the fall of Krushchev. In any event, the allegedly good present harvest in the virgin lands — in the words of Brezhnev — makes it possible to barely feed the population without imports. But why is it so? In the past, Ukraine alone was the grainery of Europe. But Brezhnev kept silent in embarrassment about another proof of complete bankruptcy of the collective system. The West European farmer, for instance, in particular the West German, harvests 43 double centners of grain from one hectare while in the USSR one hectare yields a bit less than 16 double centners of grain, hence two and a half times less. The farmers in the USSR on the average get 2000 liters of milk from

one cow, while the West German ones get 3,600 liters... Compare: the private and the kolkhoz economy. The Soviet farmer can cultivate on his own the maximum of 5000 sq. meters of land. These small parcels of land and tiny gardens amount to no more than 1% of all cultivable land in the USSR, yet they take care of 12 % (twelve percent!) of all food needs. Is this not a catastrophic figure for all admirers of the kolkhoz system, which more than all theories points to the absolute bankruptcy of kolkhoz economy. Megalomania afflicts Brezhnev, just as it afflicted Stalin, Hitler and Khrushchev. In all likelihood, he will twist his neck on it, especially with the resistance of the subjugated nations.

Concretely speaking, for Brezhnev the problem of the subjugated nations, including the Baltic states, has been solved. In the next 15 years, he is planning to make 50 million hectares of land from the Baltic to West Siberia suitable land for either grain production or pasture land, i. e. cultivable land four times that of West Germany. These are the new virgin lands. A gigantic sum of 35 billion rubles is being set aside for this purpose. Brezhnev talked about this in Alma Ata in connection with the 20th anniversary of Khrushchev's "opening of the virgin lands" in Kazakhstan... The sum of 35 billion rubles is 25 % of all agricultural expenditures for the years 1971-1974. Brezhnev stated that this was a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that the present "virgin lands" — 42 million hectares which were made suitable for agriculture in the last 20 years, today supply 27 % of all USSR grain. The question arises, how is it possible that 50 billion hectares of land suitable for agriculture just lay about without "being seen" by the brilliant CC CPSU and its chiefs? It must be assumed that for the drying out of swamps, cutting down of forests and so forth Moscow will "recruit" new prisoners, as had been the case with the

infamous construction of the „unique“ canals in the Stalin-Beria period... Brezhnev also remembered the need for reorganization of the Soviet agriculture on the “modern, industrial” basis. Therefore, recalling the agro-cities of Krushchev, he announced the merging of collective and state farms, their fusion into “large production companies” which should apply “industrial methods of agriculture”, adopting the achievements of science and technology... The same process of centralization is taking place in industry... Hence, the new Bolshevik cartels, trusts and monopolies... The ownership “for life” of the kolkhozes is disappearing and in practice everything will become “life” state farms...

A new deception of the peoples... A new method of putting the blame on someone else... A new imperial policy

in the economic sector as well... A new centralization of the occupying power's government in the agricultural field... Hence, completely natural and spontaneous are the slogans down with kolkhozes, down with sovkhoses, “agro-cities”, or other “large production companies”, or “economic regions”!... The process of national and social liberation revolution unfolds normally and naturally. The kolkhoz system is failing, although the occupation regime keeps it through terror not only as an economic system of occupation, but also as a system dictated by military considerations... The struggle in this segment of life is of primary importance, for this is the struggle against anti-natural, anti-Ukrainian, Russian way of life imposed on Ukraine by force.

(to be continued)



Ukrainian and Byelorussian Delegations at the 7th WACL Conference in Washington, D.C. April 8-11, 1974. — From left to right: Dr. S. Halamay, Mr. Y. Deremend, Dr. A. Bedrly, Dr. M. Kushnir (Ukraine)), Mr. P. Pleskachevsky, J. Kossiak (Byelorussia).

Dr. Herbert Hupka, member of the Bundestag*

"GDR" — A Russian Product

After the conclusion of the Eastern Treaties the German question still remains unresolved. In the joint resolution of the German Bundestag of May 17, 1972, the Eastern Treaties are denoted as "important elements of the *modus vivendi*", i.e. a transitional stage. I quote: "The treaties (Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw) do not anticipate a peace treaty for Germany and do not create any legal basis for the presently existing borders. The inalienable right to self-determination is not affected by the treaties."

In other words, the federal government of the Federal Republic of Germany could not and was not entitled to conclude treaties by which the entire German nation — 80 million Germans — would be bound. It had not been authorized to do so either. Nobody knows, of course, when a freely elected all-German government will possibly be in the position to obtain a peace treaty for Germany as a whole. However, it would be irresponsible and not in accordance with our law and the German Treaty as concluded between the Western Allies and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1954 to gather from such a situation that the time has come to conclude treaties binding upon all Germans. The Treaty of 1954 stipulates that "the object of common policy is a freely consented peace-treaty regulation for all Germany", adding that "the final fixing of the German borders would have to be postponed until such regulation is reached". We must beware of possibly undermining the German treaty due to time remoteness or considerations such as doing a favour to our Eastern counterpart. Further, we must not depreciate our fundamental law, the Constitution of

the Federal Republic of Germany. On the contrary, everything concerning Germany should be evaluated according to the fundamental law.

Moreover, Germans living under free as well as unfree conditions are grossly deceived if in accordance with the provisions of the Basic Treaty (*Grundvertrag*) precisely the Communist dictators in East Germany just like we, the Federal Republic of Germany, appeal to the principles with respect to the right to self-determination and the preservation of human rights. Since Hitler's dictatorship such mean lies concerning German affairs have not been told nor has the German people been so grossly deceived.

We repeat that the Federal Republic of Germany is not the entire definitive German state and that the regime imposed by Soviet Russia in East Berlin possesses no democratic legitimation whatsoever for representing 17 million Germans on the other side of Elbe and Werra.

We in particular assume that the young generation does not appreciate the ideas relative to fatherland and nation considering them as values of the past. However, are our young compatriots rather not enthusiastic if Germans instead of a foreign team or foreign individual competitors are winning? This behaviour is not due to nationalist haughtiness but is rather a natural reaction of someone consciously belonging to his people.

Nobody needs to be ashamed of such a natural reaction, i.e. love for his native country and loyalty to his fatherland, binding the individual to the social entity. This natural feeling ought not to be treated as heresy nor made devilish and, in particular, it should not be hushed up.

* West German parliament

George Meany, president of the biggest trade union in the United States, warned, some time ago, in an interview broadcast over the second channel of the German Television of a peace adjusted to the concepts of the Soviet Union. Meany argued as follows:

"I think the Federal Republic of Germany has made too many concessions to the Soviet Russians and obtained nothing in return. Abandoning a considerable part of Germany to Communist dictatorship won't, even if intended to, lead to peace and freedom. Strengthening the power and influence of Soviet Russia can only support the forces of infiltration and aggression and be detrimental to democracy and peace. Disregarding any kind of détente this is not in the interest of the German people nor does it serve peace and freedom either on the continent or elsewhere."

Germany is not very popular at the moment. Those who have disintegrated it want to maintain it disintegrated. Others are ready to put up with the disintegration believing that in this way peace has been secured. However, it is the power of the Russian empire which has in reality been secured. Any-

one saying so must accept that he is suspected to be a "cold warrior" or a fighter for a kind of "primitive anti-Communism. Opposing Communism might be depreciated as "primitive" and discredited. This, however, does not change the fact that we cannot regard Communism as a pacifist salvation doctrine and Brezhnev as a democrat. If we stand up for freedom of the entire Germany we must have an explanation with respect to Communism even if we are rebuked or ignored by those who do not wish to be disturbed in their dreams.

We ought not to be impressed by the argument that we isolate ourselves and miss the opportunity of détente offered. Whatever others consider advantageous and act accordingly need not be useful for Germany and should not necessarily be imitated. Those who pretend that sealing the division of Germany proves a successful policy of "détente" underestimate the common sense of their fellow-citizens and fail as politicians. Never did a dead patient successfully prove the benevolence of his doctor. Similarly, a divided Germany sealed with the German signature cannot prove the good quality of German politics.



Croatian Delegation at the 7th WACL Conference in Washington, D.C. April 8-11, 1974

Insufficient Action in Defense of Moroz

During his last months in prison Anatoly Radygin (his memoirs are entitled "Episodes from Mordovian Concentration Camps", Naharia, Israel, October 1973) repeatedly asked Valentyn Moroz what message he could deliver to the free world. Pain-stricken as he was, Valentyn Moroz frowned and insistently repeated:

"Let people know one thing only — that I am confined with insane people and my life is like hell! They are trying to make me mad like those, thrown into my ward, they are murderers and cannibals! I have no air to breathe!"

To this, Radygin, the author of the memoirs, adds the following:

"Thus I also repeat that one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists has been reduced to a state of complete exhaustion and is approaching insanity. His present existence consists of a frightful mixture of constant hunger in prison and the miserable existence in a cell of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have completely lost the appearance of human beings and have no national or social distinguishing features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and morally tortured, day by day.

Remember this!"

Here, the passage was concluded by the author.

Do we remember? How long have we remembered the trial of Valentyn Moroz and the arrests of over a hundred Ukrainian cultural workers in the last months of 1971? Among those who are generally known are: Ivan Svitlychnyj, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstiuk and Yuriy Shukhevych. Have we taken into consideration, as seriously as would have been required, the "Appeal of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" of Ja-

nuary 1972, ardently requesting men and women, both young and old, to join the struggle in the defense of the unyielding, each person individually doing what he can, to realize the unchanging will of Moroz to confirm: that his silence shall speak louder than shouting; that any action shall be beneficial if it is a demonstration to inform the free world that there are enslaved countries still fighting for their freedom while they, the free world, live in comfort and wealth and forget about human dignity; that life and freedom are being sacrificed there — whereas, what sacrifices do we have to make?

In 1973 our activities in the defense of the unyielding have, indeed, been very poor. We have very much disappointed the hopes of Valentyn Moroz who declared: "... and therefore, we shall fight! There will be a trial — everything will start all over again: new protests, signatures and new material for the press and radio of the entire world."

Our defensive activities, for these unyielding political prisoners, throughout the past year have had a limited scope, carried out by a limited number of young Ukrainians in a simple, quiet ineffective way, arousing public attention in only some countries, but not over the entire world as is required. The unyielding prisoners' fate has, of course, not changed for the better. On the contrary, the Soviet Russian regime does not cease torturing them physically and morally, transforming their life into a daily hell, in their persistent attempt to render them insane. So consequently, the tough and indestructible Moroz painfully frowns and insistently repeats: "I am confined with insane people and my life is like hell... they are assassins and cannibals! I have no air to breathe!" This is the desperate cry of a man condemned to a slow

death! The cry reflecting Moroz' despair, not for himself so much as for all the others in the same situation. He declares again as he did during his trial: "It is not Moroz who is concerned, but every honest human being in my situation. Anyway, there is no room for fussy respectability when people are ready to die slowly from some crafty chemicals in the Vladimir prison."

Valentyn Moroz' cry of despair is now a new slogan for our action in his defense and in the defense of all the unyielding. We must defend all those whom Moscow persecutes, arrests and destroys. We must defend the Ukrainian nation whose select men and women endure punishment in concentration camps behind barbed wire.

A. Chornomorsky

PROTEST IN U. S. IRKS SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, June 23 (UPI) — The Soviet Union has protested to the State Department about a demonstration in Washington by Ukrainian-Americans who threw paintfilled eggs at the Russian Embassy, the Soviet news agency Tass said today.

The protest marred otherwise optimistic press comment on Soviet-American relations in advance of President Nixon's arrival Thursday for his third summit meeting with Russian leaders.

About 1,500 Ukrainian-Americans, some chanting "Russians, go to hell", marched to the Soviet Embassy in Washington to demonstrate against imprisonment in Russia of Ukrainians who protested cultural repression.

Young Men Hurl Paint

Young men hurled paintfilled eggs at the building and police guarding it. Police joined arms to push the protesters away.

Nine persons were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and demonstrating within 500 feet of a foreign embassy. There were no injuries.

According to Tass, "Hooligans shouted slogans hostile to the Soviet Union, and stones and cans of paint were thrown at the embassy's building and territory".

Russians Protest

The agency said that although American officials responsible for security at foreign missions knew of plans for the demonstration, "nevertheless, they allowed it to be held, thus conniving with offensive actions of rabid anti-Soviet elements".

Tass said the embassy made a strong protest to the State Department demanding punishment of those responsible and repair of damage.

Lenin About the Strategy of the USSR in Peace Time

"From my observations during the years of my exile I must conclude that the so-called cultural elites of Western Europe and America are simply incapable of correctly judging the present political situation and the true power relations. This elite is deaf and dumb and our attitude towards it should be based on this assumption.

Never does a revolution develop in a straight line or in an uninterrupted development process. It constitutes a succession of leaps forth and back, a series of attacks and phases of appeasement. During this period the revolution is growing in strength and preparing for the final victory. It is a lengthy process the Socialist Revolution must go through. Therefore, it is necessary to fall back on certain maneuvers that may accelerate the pace of our victory:

a) In order to appease the "deaf-mutes" we must declare that there is a (fictitious) separation between our Government and the government bodies on the one hand and, the Party, the Politbureau and the Comintern on the other. The latter must be emphasized in particular, meaning that there are independent political groups on the territory of the USSR. The "deaf-mutes" will believe us!

b) We must express our intention to take up relations with capi-

talist countries as soon as possible on the basis of absolute non-interference in their internal affairs. The "deaf-mutes" will believe this as well!

They will be delighted with this and will open their doors to us. Then, as fast as possible, we will lock Comintern and Party emissaries under the cloak of diplomatic, cultural and economic representatives through these doors.

Telling the truth is a bourgeois prejudice. By the goal pursued a lie is justified. The capitalists and their governments will close their eyes to our activities. Thus they will become not only deaf and dumb but blind as well. They will give us credits which we will use for supporting Communist parties in their countries. They will supply us with the material and technical knowledge which we do not possess. They will reconstruct our armament industry which we will need in the future for successfully attacking our "suppliers". In other words: "They will exert themselves to prepare their own ruin!"

Needless to comment on this, Western Europe — and above all the Federal Republic of Germany — is, in accordance with Lenin's predictions, about to prepare its own downfall. There can be no better chief witness thereof than Lenin.

Mistaken Czech Policy Makers

Five years ago the Citadel of Prague has been occupied by a government that came into power as a result of elections held in the presence of Russian tanks. The Russian Bolshevik occupants are imposing an anti-Czech policy on the government enforced by them.

However, the Czech people is also to blame for all the misery and sufferings that it has endured already and will still have to face. One cannot betray historical traditions resulting from thousand-year-old struggles, sufferings and experiences.

Our great King George of Podiebrad referred to this tradition for the first time when, giving up the interests of his family, he bequeathed the Crown of the Bohemian King to the Polish Dynasty. This was done by a man who was victoriously fighting against his enemies. King George having a glorious past had also realized that the Czech people can prosper in the Central European framework only when being closely united with its neighbours who are bound with the Czech people by a similar fate.

The second man to express this truth was František Palacky called "Father of the People" when he declared in 1848: "... unless the Austrian state had existed for a long time already we would have to create it in the interest of Europe as well as humanity itself as soon as possible". Palacky had of course in mind a Federal Austrian State consisting of a federation of nations. For decades his political activity consisted in fighting for this idea, but it neither lay in his power to have the issue solved nor was he to blame that the Czech people did not live to see a just solution of the matters of his concern within the Habsburg Monarchy.

When finally in 1908 the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy disintegrated due,

among other things, to the ineffectiveness of the Vienna and Budapest Governments, in the first place the Czechs ought to have created a new organization of federated Central European peoples on the ruins of the old Monarchy. The Czechs, however, guided and seduced by Masaryk and Beneš, have built up Czecho-Slovakia only.

In this state, comprising 15 million inhabitants, the Czech population constituted hardly 50 percent. In Pittsburg Prof. T. G. Masaryk had promised autonomy to the Slovaks before the Czecho-Slovak Republic was actually founded. As President, however, Masaryk did not keep his solemnly pledged word. Together with Beneš he built up an old Austrian state in Czecho-Slovakia, however in a diminished and worse form. It was suggested to the Czechs that properly speaking they were a "Czechoslovak people" and they were aroused for a centralized concept of Czechoslovakia. However, they apparently forgot that there was not a single people in Central Europe, which could hold sway over other peoples settling there, in the long run. They further seemed to forget that the Central European peoples can only live as equals among equals for, otherwise they will inevitably come under German or Russian hegemony.

For over a hundred years the tale has been spread in our country that the Czechs were well off under Russian rule since they were a more mature and better developed nation and could thus play a leading role in the economy of the great Russian empire. When returning from his trip to Russia, Karel Havlíček Borovský began to fight against this superstition and František Palacky clearly set forth his point of view in his remarkable letter of April 11, 1848, bound for Frankfurt. Later on, others warned the Czech people, too.

Yet the Czech people rather believed in imaginary attractive conceptions than listened to men telling the bare truth. Only under the dictatorship of Hitler's National Socialism the Czech people awoke from its intoxicating dreams.

When NAZISM was finally overthrown the Czech people again, intoxicated by its confidence in victory, believed Beneš who — together with the Communists — promised a perfect democracy, the so-called "people's democracy". This democracy soon took a sad end resulting in the dictatorship of Communists loyal to Moscow: The attempts of some comrades, betraying Moscow in 1968, to replace Communist dictatorship by "Socialism with a human face" ended on August 21, 1968, with the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia by "the fraternal troops" of the Warsaw Pact.

This attempt to build up "Socialism with a human face" could not have ended otherwise and, Moscow must have taken note of this attempt or else she would have had to admit that everything that had been done for the past 50 years was wrong.

The majority of Czechs, however, did not correct their erroneous views from these tragedies following one another at such short intervals. Especially in the West people are still trying to peddle the idea of the so-called Czechoslovak nation and state. I can only add to this: "May God give all these people some common sense!"

In 1945 it would first of all have been necessary to oppose the theory of a "Czechoslovak" people. Secondly, self-

determination would have had to be granted to all peoples living in the Czecho-Slovak Republic and in this way the conception of a centralized Czechoslovak Republic would have had to be abandoned.

Thirdly, it would have been absolutely necessary at that time to create a league of Central European peoples residing in the area between the Baltic region and the Aegean Sea, all of these peoples belonging to Christian culture and Western civilization. This is indispensable not for creating a safety zone, a rideau or a "cordon sanitaire", but for avoiding, under any circumstances, that all these regions and territories come under the yoke or rule of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We were opposing the Nazis and the imperialists and we are still opposing all the imperialists claiming Central Europe as their sphere of influence and having thus become the protectors and rulers of the small Central European peoples.

For the above-stated reasons I declare insistently:

Everything that happened in Bohemia and Moravia after May 5, 1945, has caused a state of de facto, but by no means of de jure as was also the case in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia after March 15, 1939. I further declare that every people in Central Europe has the right to speak for itself and on its own behalf and to decide its destiny on the basis of free elections and a plebiscite. The prerequisite to any free expression of people's will — to a plebiscite, — however, is the withdrawal of occupational forces and any foreign organs which are also instrumental in the domination of the small Central European peoples by usurpers.

We all — regardless of our respective nationalities — must unite our forces to defend freedom and democratic rights.

**Freedom for Nations !
Freedom for Individuals !**

**Save us unnecessary expenses!
Send in your subscription for
ABN Correspondence
immediately!**

One other Superpower

We are all here united by the common ties of Fear, Hope and the Struggle to liberate our respective subjugated nations from the rule of the Russian Empire. Sceptics do not believe that this is possible; they think that the only alternative to thermo-nuclear war is capitulation before the tyrants or appeasement or detente. They do not take into account and are not concerned with the fate of the hundreds of millions of people or the fate of the subjugated nations.

Is there not a superpower in the world that will stand up, against this Russian tyranny like David against Goliath? Yes, there is! Although the existence of this superpower has gone unnoticed so far, because it is not rich in terms of material and technological achievements, have no doubt that this superpower exists. It exists and it is growing because it is strong in spiritual, ideological and political values and it will soon play a decisive role in the developments that are irrevocably upon us.

This spiritual superpower consists of all the subjugated nations within the Russian Empire and under the Communist rule who are desirous of freedom and justice and will sacrifice everything to achieve this goal. They do not want to have imposed upon them the Russian way of life and the Russian thinking, beginning with metaphysical doctrines and ending with the kolkhoz system. The Ukrainians, Turkestani, Georgians, Azerbaijani, Bielorrussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Jews, Tartars, Rumanians, Croats, Albanians, Don Cossacks, Germans, are not Russians and they all want their national independence and their own sovereign state. Prof. Sakharov, who is in the

forefront of the fight for human rights within the USSR has acknowledged the mighty power of the idea of national liberation. According to his book, "Statement" which will be published by the Molden Publishing House in Vienna in April 1974, the national and religious movements are the first to appear and are the most conscious. It is their representatives that fill the concentration camps and are the most persecuted.

"Nationalism" writes Solzhenitsyn in his well known letter to the Kremlin leaders "was declared by your ideology already dead in 1848. But is it possible to find today a greater power in the world than nationalism?" He calls upon them to abandon Communism as an unworkable political philosophy, dismantle the Soviet Union and focus on the development of Russia as a separate state. If this is not done, Russia, according to Solzhenitsyn, will not survive in the impending conflict with China.

Nationalism has become the symbol and banner of our age, for without it there would be no nations. Nationalism is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality of each subjugated nation and has captivated the young generation of "Soviet" youth who have grasped this great idea and are willing to die to see it bear fruit.

At a speech at the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union Brezhnev stated: "Nationalist superstition is an unusually vital phenomenon which has a firm grip on people's psychology... One must also take into consideration that manifestations of nationalist tendencies are often inter-woven with local patriotism that in turn is associated with nationalism."

This idea of nationalism, which seems so repulsive to the Kremlin

leaders has been eagerly embraced by the young generation in all the subjugated nations, a young generation brought up in the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. Is it possible that the young people have seen for themselves the discrepancies between Communist slogans and Communist reality? Is it possible that the young people want to believe in something deeper, something more meaningful, something more real than the empty slogans chanted on each anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution? The answer to that question can only be yes. "The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind... and the dedication to it leads at the same time into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs... The national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential question of human conscience", says a Ukrainian underground author. Moroz writes: "An individual who respects, knows and loves the history of his nation — lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people, his land... The nation is immortal, it will live... Know yourself in your people."

If these are the ideas by which the young generation in the subjugated nations lives is it any wonder that the struggle between nationalism and Russian imperialism rages with such intensity within the Soviet Union? This struggle is embodied in concrete actions in the concentration camps, in street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972, the armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis, armed clashes in Erivan, Armenia, self-immolations in Lithuania student disturbances in Hungary in 1973 and countless other examples from each of the subjugated nations about the growth and the strength of the struggle against Russian imperialism.

The national liberation movements

of the subjugated nations are popular movements, in which students, intellectuals, workers and peasants take an active part. It is a struggle of nationwide scope, that is a direct response to the Communist total offensive upon the entire contents and way of life of the subjugated nations. The struggle encompasses the farmer's right to private ownership of land, the worker's right not to be exploited, the artist's right to freely express his creativity, the right of each citizen to workship, the right of each student to explore many and diverse ideas. All the various strata within the subjugated nations have joined this struggle for national liberation, for they see that all their goals can only be accomplished within a sovereign and independent national state. This is a total struggle, a clash of different national organisms, of the captors and the captives, of the exploiters and those exploited not only of their birthright but of their national soul and spirituality. The greatest achievement of this struggle and the best guarantee of our victory is the fact that it was taken up by the young generation, born of parents that have grown up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation which has never seen the free world, but, on the contrary, was reared in an atmosphere totally hostile to everything that they are fighting for now. The banner of freedom and independence for the subjugated nations was raised and is being carried by the generation of the sixties and the seventies, by the sons and daughters not only of prison and concentration camp inmates but by the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and technocrats.

This ideological, spiritual, moral and political revolution is a precondition of the armed revolution that will undoubtedly come, for the young generation has a clear national political aim: the national state. This can only be accomplished, in the era of thermonuclear weapons, by well planned and

coordinated revolutionary uprisings within each and every nation within the Soviet Union and behind the Iron Curtain. The tactics that will best serve in these types of uprisings will be those of guerrilla warfare, for this "primitive type of warfare" is extremely effective against an army that possesses a high degree of technology and of sophisticated weapons. An excellent example of the success of guerrilla warfare against a well technologically equipped opponent was observed in the Viet-Nameese War.

This path of simultaneous revolutions and of guerrilla warfare in the countryside and in the city is the only path that is open to us. None of the Western Powers have expressed any desire to help us or support us in our struggle for national liberation. Only a few people in the West have raised their voices in the defense of human rights, religious freedom and cultural creativity for the subjugated people. On the whole, neither the press, nor the politicians, nor the governments, nor the churches, nor the Vatican nor any of the numerous humanitarian and judiciary institutions have issued any protests or statements against the tortures, imprisonments and persecutions that are daily occurrences within the Russian empire. They all remain silent and mute and are afraid to say **J'accuse**, to the Kremlin tyrants. It is sad and tragic to witness this decline of the West. This continued indifference to the fate of millions of people and of the subjugated nations will sooner or later destroy all support for the West among the subjugated nations. General Fuller wrote: "If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved people, it must inspire them." If no one in the West will help the subjugated nations in their struggle then we will have to rely upon our own forces, but we must warn the West that if national rights and freedom of individuals, freedom of creativity and religion are defended not only by us, who are suffering per-

secutions and cruel treatment, but also by the entire civilized world, then a massive and intensive terror will gain the upper hand in the whole world, for the expansion of the Russian empire will not come to a standstill and Communism will not be satisfied with what it has already conquered. We call upon the workers, writers, artists, scholars, students, women, religious leaders and all people of good will to demand the immediate abolition of chemical and medical methods, including the malpractice of psychiatry, as means of suppressing opposition to the Soviet regime, the release of all political and religious prisoners, the liquidation of concentration camps, the end of Russification and the realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In view of the Reports that come almost daily from the Soviet Union about the treatment of fighters for national rights, about the brutal use of terror and torture, about the use of chemical and medical devices for breaking man's will, about the application of national and cultural genocide, I respectfully ask the Conference:

To severely condemn the existence of the concentration camps and urge their liquidation.

To demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political and religious convictions.

To demand the termination of the application of chemical and medical means for breaking the will power of political and religious prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them.

To vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights in insane asylums.

To demand an end to the persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders

who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes.

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 a return of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellites, as

well as those nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

Without national culture there is no world culture.

If you do not want to see KGB terror and Moscow's oppression prevail in the world, fight for humanism and morality based on religion and traditionalism.

We ask you to join us in the protest against Russian and Communist crimes and in the defense of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT ASKED TO INTERVENE FOR V. MOROZ

**Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury,
10 Downing Street, S. W. 1.**

The Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, O. R. F. M. P.

Dear Mr. Wilson,

The British League for European Freedom is greatly concerned for the fate of the Ukrainian writer and historian Valentyn Moroz, who is incarcerated in solitary confinement in the notorious Vladimir Prison in Moscow.

His only "crime" has been the writing of several essays demanding the restoration of human rights for the Ukrainian people. In all he has been sentenced to 14 years imprisonment, some portion of which he was obliged to spend in the company of raving lunatics, who severely injured him.

Sakharov is now fasting for the release of several prisoners including Valentin Moroz.

We request you most earnestly and urgently to intercede with the Soviet Government for the life of Moroz, whose health — already seriously undermined by many years of imprisonment — cannot long withstand his self-imposed fast unto death.

It would be greatly appreciated if your staff could keep us advised of any action by you, and the results obtained, since we have a large number of Ukrainians associated with this organisation.

Yours sincerely,

**Donald Martin
Chairman**

**Jane Birdwood
Secretary General**

British League for European Freedom

The Khmer People Struggling For Freedom

It has been more than twenty years now that the world has heard about the turmoil and barbarous war in the Indochinese Peninsula.

Centuries ago, the Khmer people had lived in a secure and civilized society. The Khmers, a peace loving people, who were the inventors of social and economic infrastructures never had any ill-will to attack neighboring countries. The huge fertile land, full of precious woods and decorated by lakes and rivers, is the gift of nature. The Seven Wonders of the World, Angkor Wat and other monuments scattering all over the Khmer land are the masterpieces of arts, symbolizing the wisdom of our ancestors. The pagodas, temples and stupas had been built as monuments to the freedom of beliefs.

Cambodia was a monarchy until October 9, 1970, the date on which the Republic was proclaimed. Prince Norodom Sihanouk was in power for 30 years — from 1941 to 1955 as King, from 1955 to 1960 as Prime Minister or Head of the Party, and from 1960 to 1970 as Head of State. In 1955 he abdicated in favor of his father. In 1960, on the death of his father, he had the Constitution amended to enable him to become Head of State.

On March 18, 1970, the two Houses of the Khmer Parliament met and unanimously voted to divest him of his functions as Head of State on the ground that he had authorized the North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops to occupy Khmer territory illegally during the second half of the 1960s, and to install their veritable military bases in flagrant violation of Khmer neutrality enshrined in the Geneva Agreements of 1954, a serious blow to our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Viet Minh were forced to withdraw their troops from Khmer territory by the Geneva Accords of 1954. But

while they were withdrawing their forces, the Viet Minh abducted by force thousands of Khmer teenagers to North Vietnam for indoctrination and guerrilla warfare training.

Even though the overt military aggression was ended, between 1955-1966 the Khmers were far from possessing freedom, for the Hanoi leaders changed their stratagems of overt military aggression into subversive activities in Cambodia. The factories, professional associations, humanitarian associations, educational establishments and so forth were infiltrated by the Communists. These subversions grew stronger and stronger, violating the very neutrality provided by the Geneva Accords of 1954.

Facing this sorrowful history, the Khmers organized successive movements of resistance to liberate their beloved land.

On the 18th of March 1974, the Khmers celebrated the 4th anniversary of their Republic which they longed for centuries ago.

The Khmer people struggled and are still struggling for their freedom alone, on their own beloved soil. During these four years of fighting, the Khmers have suffered very much from political, economic, social and cultural warfare led by the Indochinese Communist Front.

The Indochinese Communists, North Vietnam and their auxiliaries have been trying to convert the war of aggression into civil war — that is to say the "Khmerization" of the war.

The heavy factories (paper factory, cement factory, textile factory) and the Prek Thnot Dam had been destroyed by the aggressors, North Vietnamese and Vietcong.

The number of refugees in Phnom Penh and other cities controlled by the Government of the Khmer Republic has been and is increasing by the thousands

each day causing high inflation far beyond the standard of living. Houses in the zones temporarily controlled by the enemy are burned down. The innocent people have been forced to live in the jungles without shelter, adequate food and medical care.

In September 1973, the North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops attacked the most populated city of Kompong Cham and almost completely destroyed it. In February 1974, the North Vietnamese and Vietcong artillery poured more than a hundred rounds over a civilian section of Phnom Penh destroying about 1033 houses, killing 139, wounding many and leaving about 4,500 people shelterless.

Pagodas, monuments, patrimony properties, school buildings, cultural and educational documents are destroyed and burned.

During these four years of war of aggression imposed on the Khmer Republic by the Indochinese Communists, the Khmer people have put up firm resistance for the cause of freedom, democracy, independence and neutrality. We have fought hand to hand combat against the Indochinese Communists without any foreign troops' interference. We are determined, once and for all, to fight to the last man for the cause of freedom.

On October 9, 1970, the Khmer Republic was proclaimed.

On April 30, 1972, by means of a referendum organized throughout the country, in which more than 80 per cent of the electorate participated, the

Khmer people voted overwhelmingly for the Republican Constitution.

On June 4, 1972, Marshal Len Nol was elected the First President of the Khmer Republic by universal and direct suffrage for a term of five years. On September 4 and 17, 1972, the first National Assembly and the first Senate of the Khmer Republic were also elected by universal suffrage. The other institutions of the Republic, the Constitutional Court, the High Court of Justice and so forth... were successively and subsequently established.

In resisting this war of aggression, the Khmer armed forces, in cooperation with the population and religious leaders, have maintained control over most of the populated provinces of the Khmer Republic. From the first half of 1973 the Communist armed forces, North Vietnamese and Vietcong, started to put Communist tyranny into action: They forced the innocent people to leave their ancestral homes for livelihood in the jungle to standardize poverty; they mobilized teenagers (boys and girls), men, women and monks to bear arms and kill their own brothers. Unable to accept the Communist way of life, some forty thousand people in Kompong Thom, more than twenty thousands in Takeo, more than twenty thousands in Kompong Speu and the whole people of Kompong Chhnang revolted against these aggressors, the North Vietnamese, Vietcong and their auxiliaries, the Khmer Rouge, and sought refuge in the zones controlled by the republican regime of Marshal Lon Nol.

In the year 1974, the Khmer movements for freedom show their dynamism. But as I have already mentioned above, as the economic and financial situation of the Khmer Republic reaches the most depressing point, the problems of relieving millions of refugees and supporting thousands of volunteers who are determined to sacrifice their lives for freedom are met with great difficulties.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

News and Views

Baltic Plea For Humanity

The Baltic Federation in Canada represents Canadians of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian origin. Members of its Baltic Appeal Committee have learned from personal experience the lessons of political oppression, economic exploitation and cultural deprivation under Communism and its twin ideology, Nazism. In contrast, they also are deeply appreciative of the value of political and religious freedom as exercised under a democracy such as Canada. Knowing the real aspirations of the Baltic peoples remaining in their homelands, the Committee members consider themselves entitled to speak on behalf of the **principles** underlying those freedoms which are taken for granted here in their new country but denied to their relatives in their native lands.

One of these principles is freedom to propagate the Gospel to all nations. Therefore, professed Christians of all denominations have a moral duty and responsibility to defend the Christian Church and their brethren in Christ when they are offended.

In this regard, the "Resolution on Human Rights", adopted by the United Church of Canada at its 24th General Council, denounced tyrannies, denial of genuine religious freedom, and indifference to basic human rights and freedoms as morally wrong and politically unwise evils, which, if left unchecked, would eat away any hope of justice, freedom, mercy and peace. The Resolution further stated that it is the duty of the Christian Church to speak out against these evils.

Nevertheless, while much is being spoken for the improvement of conditions in non-Communist lands, little is said, and less done, in support of the true mission of the Church in Communist-dominated countries.

The people of the world are led to believe in the good intentions of the United Nations organization, as expressed in its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with reference to the self-determination of peoples, their basic freedoms and the maintenance of peace and security. At the present time, however, these ideals appear to be applied mainly to the native races existing under "Western colonialism" rather than to those peoples living under Communist imperialism. The Article II, subsection 7, of the UN Charter about non-interference has never been applied against the Communist onslaught, therefore consolidating their power and might.

This unilateral approach will never lead to international peace and security, but only to disaster and surrender.

Therefore to achieve positive results in East-West international negotiations, national independence and freedom must be restored to all the formerly free nations of Middle and Eastern Europe, being either on the leash of the Kremlin or, by fraud, force and terror, incorporated into the Soviet Union as "autonomous republics". For instance, Ukraine and Byelorussia, although nominal members of the United Nations, are, in fact, governed by the functionaries of an alien dictatorship in Moscow. Special attention, too, must be given to the deplorable conditions now existing in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which once were members of the League of Nations. These three national entities, in existence in their homelands for millenniums, are now in danger of being submerged by deliberately-planned inflow of immigrants from other parts of the Soviet Union.

In reviewing the situation, consideration must be given to the historical background of the Baltic States.

When signing the Peace Treaties with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1920, the Soviet Union solemnly pledged itself "to respect forever the sovereignty of these states and non-interference in their affairs". Nevertheless, the independence of the three Baltic nations was violently shattered in 1940 as an inevitable result of the infamous Hitler-Stalin "Friendship Pact". Invasion and occupation of the Baltic area by Soviet Russian troops soon followed. By rigged and fraudulent elections and other unconstitutional means, these states then were incorporated into the USSR. Curiously, Nazism if defeated, yet, the infamous Pact between two totalitarian states is being honoured by democratic societies!

The President of Free Latvia, K. Ulmanis, although detained by the invading Russians in 1940, still managed to broadcast to his fellow-citizens the message: "I will stay in my place. Do so in yours." However, subsequently both he and the President of Independent Estonia, K. Päts, were deported to Russia and "vanished without trace" in the vastness of the Soviet Empire.

Mass deportations, without regard for age, sex or occupation, began simultaneously in all three Baltic countries on the night of June 14, 1941. In this way the Russian Communist leaders violated all trust in their integrity, and the Baltic people in the false concept of non-resistance. When the Russians invaded the countries for the second time, the deportations and executions continued from 1946 to 1951 and were resumed in 1953. Arbitrary demographic changes and Russification followed.

Such acts, "committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or part, any national, racial or religious group", were declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1946, to be "ACTS OF GENOCIDE" and the UN Law Commission, in 1950, defined them as "CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY".

As a result of these conditions, statistically speaking, the ethnic Latvians in 1974 54% have decreased from 75.5%, of the population of that country in 1935, to 56.8% in 1970, according to the Soviet Union census. A similar decrease is also evident for native Estonians and Lithuanians. That is the FATE of many other national entities under the Russian imperialism! (After the Russo-Finnish War of 1939-1940, resulting in the Soviet seizure of Karelia, the proportion of natives in the Karelian population dipped, from a majority before the absorption, to 12%, as a result of demographic changes.)

In view of the serious situation above outlined, the Baltic Committee strongly advocates:

- ① Condemnation and cessation of Genocide and Russification in the Baltic states and other parts of the Russian empire.

- ② Restoration of basic human rights, freedom and national independence to the ethnic Balts, to other captive nations incorporated into the Soviet Union, and to those mid-European nations now on the leash of the Kremlin.

- ③ Restoration and guaranteeing for the inviolability of the national frontiers of the Baltic states, existing before, not after, the illegal occupation of those states.

- ④ Non-recognition, as valid, of any agreement that infringes on the inalienable rights of nations and persons.

The Baltic Committee further declares that world security and freedom, even survival, depends on the freedom and security of nations, rather than on the security of Russian totalitarian regime.

The Committee urges that the participants in the European Security Conferences and other assemblies strive to their utmost to rectify what is "wrong morally and unwise politically".

Yours sincerely

**The Baltic Appeal Committee
of The Baltic Federation in Canada**

**V. Upeslasis, Chairman
N. Austrins, Secretary**

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

July 7th — July 14th 1974

Marxist Meddling Means Misery

Whenever you see strife and turmoil in the world you can be sure International Marxism is at work, exploiting, intimidating, manipulating or undermining. Marxists never sleep and they never offer any true answer to a problem. Their constant tactic is to divide and conquer through the weapons of class and racial warfare and by economic exploitation. What solution do they offer? Quite simply: "GIVE US THE POWER AND YOU WILL SEE ALL THE GOOD THAT WE WILL DO FOR YOU!"

What has been the result for those seduced by this Marxist soft sell? Again, quite simply: "THE ENSLAVEMENT OF MILLIONS BEHIND THE IRON, BAMBOO AND SUGAR CANE CURTAINS." Have these people peace, and the promised workers' paradise?

The record speaks for itself; millions exterminated by forced famines, arbitrary imprisonment and torture. "Full employment" in concentration camps, which, in polite parlance are "corrective labour camps". Is this the sort of "security" YOU CRAVE?

Soviet Insecurity

The truth is the Communist empires are only held together by economic aid trade from the West. Threatened by internal revolution caused by their own inhumanity and failures, Soviet Russia feels more and more insecure. Because of this state of insecurity the Russians have clamoured for a European Security Conference ever since the 1960s, in order to perpetuate their own illegal frontiers, and to lull Europe into a false sense of security.

Western assistance has made it possible for the Communists to concentrate upon their subversive tactics and coalition of the left technique such as in France, Italy and Chile, in the free world. By supplying economic and other aid we are actually financing and working for our own destruction.

What should we demand of Soviet Russia in the name of freedom, justice and human rights? The British League for European Freedom, the European Freedom Council and the World Anti-Communist League insist that Western Governments should make clear to the USSR at the European Security Conference that they:

- a) Condemn Russian colonialism as being inimical to European security and world peace;
- b) Demand the right of every nation within the USSR and satellite states to establish or re-establish in freedom their national independence with their own government, social and political system, culture and religion.

- c) Protest against all manifestations of Russification and obliteration of national identities;
- d) Give notice that failing immediate and satisfactory Russian response to these demands, Western Governments should officially recognise national liberation movements within the Soviet empire (in the same way that the Russians support various movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America) which seek to remove the Russian colonialist yoke and re-establish democracy and national independence.

Support Captive Nations' Week 1974 and write to the British League for European Freedom for further information.

The British League for European Freedom

THE BRITISH ANSWER TO UKRAINIAN MEMO

*Prof V. Vasylenko
The Committee for the Defence of
Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR
49 Linden Gardens
London W2 4HG*

Dear Professor Vasylenko,

Mr Callaghan has asked me to reply to the memorandum which you, and other members of your Committee, sent to him on 3 July. This document has been studied with interest and sympathy.

The Government's attitude to the violation of human rights was made clear by Mr Callaghan in the House of Commons on 27 March, when he said that the Labour Party had never hesitated to make clear where it stood on human rights issues, no matter what governments were involved.

But we have to approach problems of this kind in the light of political realities. We have no standing to represent citizens of the Soviet Union, and there are definite limits to our ability to influence the Soviet authorities in a more liberal direction. But we will continue to make full use of such influence as we possess, and we can and do point out to representatives of the Soviet Government that their internal policies can have an adverse effect on public opinion in the United Kingdom, thus putting obstacles in the way of the development of relations between our two countries. The various cases involving Ukrainians which are the subject of your memorandum are clearly relevant in this context.

One proposal in your memorandum is that the Government should raise these matters in the United Nations. I am afraid that this is not suggestion to which we can accede. We raise in the United Nations only those cases in which the Government or British people are directly involved.

Nevertheless, within the limits described above, Mr Callaghan will continue to do whatever he can to help those deprived of their human rights in Ukraine, as elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,

*N K J Witney
Eastern European and Soviet Dept*

ABN Youth Propositions

We the youth gathered at the ABN Conference declare that we support and agree with the principles, aims, and actions of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

In order to strengthen our actions we submit the following propositions:

1) In regard to the existing organizational structure we propose: —

That three members of the ABN Youth be included in the ABN Information Bureau in order to collect all practical proposals of action in an effort to counterattack the Communist threat to the Free World.

2) We propose that under the banner of the ABN, we, as organized students and young people participate in a counteraction to the Geneva Conference (Oct. 2nd - Oct 3rd, 1973), in order that we may make Europe and the rest of the Free World aware of the Communist version of detente and peaceful coexistence.

In connection with such international actions, in the long range, we propose the organization of Youth Conferences for purposes of unity and cooperation on an annual basis.

A method which could be used to implement our policy is through multicultural programs introduced on both regional and national levels. Through our folklore we can demonstrate our historical significance and make the world aware of the rich heritages of our nations.

3) In order that we make the young generation aware of the existing camouflaged organizations, created in the Western world by Communist influence, we propose to infiltrate these organizations so that we will be better able to undermine their subversive actions.

4) We propose that through seminars, conferences, lectures, printed material the ideological formation of our youth be started with the help of the

ABN. The purpose for this will be to acquire a stronger position when we are to hear people coming from behind the Iron Curtain as well as other students in our countries. We propose that material printed by intellectuals, journalists, academics, etc. in the Western world in agreement with our ideology, be translated and circulated in our respective national tongues.

We, the ABN Youth, agree to cooperate, reciprocally, with other youth organizations of the same ideology in order to fight against the suppression of human and national rights by the Russian Communist imperialism.

In conclusion, the young representatives of the member countries of the ABN and EFC demand that their respective governments officially raise at the UN and other international forums any violation of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and that a special UN Commission be set up to investigate any such violations occurring in the Captive Nations.

Youth Appeal

We, as representatives of youth of our era, in the name of humanity and peace, appeal to all of you to unite together and fight for the universal cause of freedom — the freedom of speech, the freedom of worship, and the freedom of actions. Our cause is freedom of those subjugated nations whose civil rights are openly being crushed by the fascist reactionary Soviet regime.

The movements of the Biafrans, the Czechs and Slovaks, the Blacks South Africans, the Hungarians, the Angolans, the Croats, the people of Bangladesh and the Ukrainians — all these movements are in essence alike. The principles of freedom and individual human rights cannot have a double standard, and cannot be compromised for the furtherance of vested interests. We cannot condemn one regime, and

condone another, where freedom is being suppressed.

As we must unite in support of any suppressed nation we must unite and condemn with all our might the atrocities being committed in the Soviet empire today.

Freedom in any form is being stifled:

● Homicide is punishable with a period of five to ten years' imprisonment, but people are being imprisoned for fifteen years, condemned as so-called "political prisoners" for their literary works or for merely being in possession of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which even Soviet Union is signatory.

● Medical experiments are being carried out on human 'guinea pigs' held in Soviet lunatic asylums under falsified pretexts of insanity while all they wished to do was to follow their own religious beliefs and voice their rights as individuals.

Over five million inmates are imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps (as stated in the United States Senate hearings Feb. 3rd, 1973). Where the terrible conditions surpass even those experienced in the last war, and we are supposedly at peace!

As for individual examples:

Valentyn Moroz, Andrey Amalrik, Senyk, Svitlychnyi, Plyushch, Karavanskyi, Osadchyi, Shukhevych, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets.

This list is but of a few and there are so many the list is never ending. Each and every one of these tortured individuals suffered only for the crime of exercising his universal rights as a human being.

As we must condemn such actions of suppression, so also we cannot condone the governments of the United States of America and other Western countries, which are jointly responsible for the new wave of "Stalinism" which is sweeping over Ukraine and other Soviet republics and the satellite states, because they are making agreements at the sacrifice of national and human rights.

We therefore call upon all students and young people, whoever they are and wherever they may be, to demand

1) The immediate abolition of chemical and medical drugs used for punitive purposes, and the application of malpractice, including psychiatric methods.

2) The release of all political and religious prisoners.

3) The liquidation of concentration camps.

4) The end of Russification.

5) The realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union.

We make these demands in the name of freedom, and in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

From Washington WACL Resolutions

April 8-11, 1974

Condemning North Korean Atrocities

That North Korean gunboats on February 15 sank an unarmed South Korean fishing boat in a shelling attack, and hijacked another to the North with its innocent crewmen, who were peacefully fishing on the high seas about 30 miles west of Paengnyong-do island off the west coast of the Republic of Korea:

That, in their desperate effort to camouflage this brutal crime the North Korean Communists subjected the innocent fishermen to ruthless torture and intimidation, and forced the skipper into saying that they were spying on North Korea, further claiming on February 19 that the unarmed fishing boats of 85 tons, both 15 years old and in operation since 1959, with a maximum

speed of only eight knots per hour, were espionage ships; and

That the North Korean Communists have refused to date to fulfill the fundamental human obligation of providing information, such as the number of prisoners and the place of the ill-fated fishermen's detention, let alone the health and possibility of their being reunited with their heart-broken families in the near future.

The World Anti-Communist League at its 7th Conference resolves:

1. That all WACL members call upon the freedom-loving peoples of their respective countries to publicize and condemn strongly the unpardonable atrocity of the North Korean Communists;

2. That all WACL members urge the leaders of the free world to pay utmost attention to the continuing and mounting military provocations of the North Korean Communists, and to be aware of the fact that weakness on the part of the free world might immediately invite a grave provocation by the Communists in Korea and elsewhere, and not to be misled by the mounting mood of detente or peaceful coexistence and negotiation with the Communists; and

3. That all WACL members, together with the peace-loving peoples of the world, urge and press the North Korean Communists for the immediate release and return of the kidnapped fishermen and the hijacked fishing vessel.

Urging the Dissolution of the United Nations and Creation of a New Association of Nations

WHEREAS since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 this federation has not been able to "maintain international peace and security"; and

WHEREAS the United Nations has found it impossible to develop friendly relations among nations based on equal

rights and self-determination of peoples; and

WHEREAS the United Nations has no been able to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

WHEREAS the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly, rather than becoming centers of harmony have degenerated into the promotion and fostering of dissension and gross injustice; and

WHEREAS by painstaking documentation and scholarly research it can be proved that the United Nations has progressively become from the very date of its foundation to the present, an effective and powerful agency of the ideology and practice of Communism;

The VIIIth WACL Conference resolves

1. That all freedom-loving peoples should immediately take steps through their duly constituted authorities so that the present United Nations may be irrevocably dissolved and in its place be established a real association of truly united peoples, genuinely dedicated to the propagation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and

2. That inasmuch as the Headquarters of the United Nations has been set up in the United States at a tremendous cost to the American people, and maintained to the prejudice of American voters who have been repeatedly hoodwinked, deceived and waylaid by Communist regimes in the USSR, Communist China, North Vietnam and Cuba, the widest possible publicity be given to this RESOLUTION so that all American citizens may write their Congressmen and Senators urging them to seek immediate dissolution of the United Nations and in its stead build a "more stately mansion" consistently and effectively dedicated to freedom and justice.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



ALBANIA

Albanian Archbishop Died in Prison

The Head of the Orthodox Church of Albania, Archbishop Damian, died at the age of 80 years in a state-prison. The Archbishop of "Tirana and all Albania" died in November 1973 already, after about 6 years of imprisonment.

Officially the Orthodox Church of Albania is composed of an archbishopric and three dioceses. The Albanian Church was recognized as autocephalous (self-governing) by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1937. The Ecumenical Patriarchate states that there are about 250,000 Orthodox Christians, 29 monasteries and two seminars for priests in Albania. Since 1967 the Orthodox Church of Albania has been severely persecuted. At that time not only all churches were closed down, but the entire hierarchy and part of the Orthodox clergy were imprisoned. Any religious manifestations have since been punished by prison and severe sanctions. These steps are taken not only against those practicing Christian religions but also against Moslems.

According to statistical data there are about 160,000 Orthodox Christians and 124,000 Catholics in Albania. According to these data the percentage of Moslems ranges between 50 and 60% of the total population.

In 1973 the Catholic press only informed the West about the Catholic priest Kurti who was sentenced to death and executed — this news was confirmed by official authorities.

Shtjefan Kurti, a former parson of Tirana, had baptized a child, when imprisoned in the labor camp of Lushnje, south of Tirana. The child's mother had asked the priest to baptize her child.

Although Kurti performed the ceremony secretly he was observed and denounced. He was immediately sentenced to death and shot.

A R M E N I A

On December 10, 1973, the trial of Armenian patriots arrested November 19, 1973, accused of and sentenced for "activity directed at the subversion of the existing order" and "propagation of nationalism", was concluded.

The following persons were sentenced:

Bahrat Shakverdyan, sentenced to 5 years strict regime concentration camp and 2 years exile.

Ararat Tovmasyan, from Ararat, father of 5 children, sentenced to 3 1/2 years strict regime concentration camps.

Ruben Khatashtryan, not uttering a single word during interrogation and trial, staging a hunger strike to protest genocide towards the Armenian people. Sentence unknown.

Paruyr Ayrykyan, sentenced before, released from concentration camp in March 1973, again arrested in November 1973.

Azap Arshakyan, accused of threatening a KGB collaborator with a knife. His family also persecuted. Sentence unknown.

Asatur Babayan, married, father of 3 children, from Yerevan. Sentence unknown.

Sarkys Torosyan, married, father of 3 children, from Yerevan.

Hework Yekymyan, from Yerevan.

Walter Melykyan, married, father of 3 children, from Berd.

Suryk Melykyan, from Berd.

Yuriy Budyahyn, from Yerevan.

Sentences of all of them unknown.

IN ARRESTS AND PERSECUTIONS 1970 - 1974

In the first half of January, 1972, a new wave of arrests and persecutions began in Ukraine. During the course of 1972 and 1973 several thousand Ukrainian patriots were arrested. The Russian Authorities imposed very strict security measures in order to prevent the news of these repressive actions from reaching the Ukrainian population at home and abroad. Nevertheless, we have managed to collect, from reliable sources, information about 123 Ukrainians who were arrested during the years of 1972 to 1974.

The greater majority of these people were tried illegally by secret courts, and accused under Section 62/1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. These accusations included "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", having possession of material "dangerous to the Soviet people", alleged connections with the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Ukraine or abroad, alleged connections with Samizdat publications, or contributing to these publications, in particular to the **Ukrainian Herald**, which was published and circulated in Ukraine in the same way as the **Chronicle of Current Events** in Moscow. Also, arrested or persecuted were those people who petitioned the Soviet Governments or Party institutions for the release of earlier imprisoned Ukrainians, and the ending of the destruction of many Ukrainian historic and cultural memorials and monuments.

We hope that you, being an academic, writer, poet, journalist, Government official, student or labourer, will not confine yourself to merely reading the information contained in our publication. We hope that you will find it in your heart to help these persecuted and imprisoned people. You may do this by joining with one of the British or International organisations which have been set up for this purpose, or you may find your own way. You will be defending innocent people who have been imprisoned in Russian prisons and concentration camps, or who are being constantly persecuted by the KGB. We are not only concerned about the freedom of these people, but also, in many cases, about their lives.

By taking a positive and active stand on the question of violent persecutions, illegal arrests and brutal incarcerations of thousands of people for their religious, cultural, national and political beliefs, you will be helping people who are forced to stand almost alone against the brutal regime of Communist Russia. You will be voicing your support for the freedom of all nations subjugated by Russia in the so-called USSR.

The partial list of imprisoned Ukrainians:

ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH Yevhen Borysovyich — arrested in Kiev in 1972, and sentenced to several years of imprisonment (exact term of sentence is not known).

ANTONIUK Zinoviï — born 1833, philologist. Arrested in January, 1972, in Kiev, and sentenced to 7 years of concentration camps and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

BAKHTALSKY Roman — born 1897, priest, arrested in 1970 and sentenced to 3 years of concentration camps.

BALAN Ivan — an artist. Arrested in 1970, and tried in Ternopil. Sentence and fate unknown.

BALASHIV Mykhaylo — arrested in August, 1972, and has been held in prison without trial.

BEDRYLO Roman — born 2.1.1932, Arrested 20.6.1969 in Kiev, tried between the 5th and 7th January, 1970, and sentenced to 4 years of hard labour camps.

BONDAR Mykola — born 1939, philosophy lecturer. Arrested 7.11.1970,

and sentenced 12. 5. 1971, to 7 years of imprisonment.

BOYCHUK Yuriy Petrovich — over 50 years old, worker. Arrested in 1970, tried between the 19th and 21st February, 1971, in Ternopil, and sentenced to 15 years of concentration camps and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

CHAKOVSKY V. — arrested in 1972, and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.

CHAYKA Ivan — born 1920. Arrested in 1972, tried in January 1973, and sentenced to death. Sentence carried out by firing squad.

CHORNOVIL Andriy Maksymovych — student, date of arrest and his fate are unknown.

CHORNOVIL Vyacheslav Maksymovych — born 24. 12. 1937, journalist. First arrested in 1966 and sentenced to 3 months of imprisonment. Arrested again 3. 8. 1967, and sentenced 15. 11. 1967, to 3 years imprisonment. 12. 1. 1972, arrested for the third time and sentenced on the 9-12th April, 1973, in Lviv, to 7 years hard labour and concentration camps, and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

CHUBAY Hryhoriy — poet. Arrested in Lviv in August, 1972. Further fate unknown.

CHUPEY Roman — student. Arrested in May, 1973, tried in August, 1973, and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment.

DASHKEVYCH Yaroslav — scientist, biographer and historian. Arrested in Lviv in the winter of 1972. Fate unknown.

DATSIV Kuz'ma Andriyovych — 53 years old, civil engineer. Arrested in December, 1973. Fate unknown.

DEMYANCHUK Tykhon — worker. Arrested and sentenced in 1972 to long term of imprisonment.

DEMYDIV Dmytro — arrested in March, 1973, and sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment.

DYAK Volodymyr — born in 1931, an engineer. Arrested at the end of 1971, and sentenced in April, 1972, in Lviv, to 7 years of imprisonment.

FEDORAK Mykhaylo Andriyovych — priest. Arrested in 1973, and sentenced in 1974, in Lviv, to an unknown term of imprisonment.

GLUZMAN Semen — born in 1946, doctor-psychiatrist. Arrested 11. 5. 1972, and sentenced 20. 10. 1972, in Kiev, to 7 years of concentration camps and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

HAVRYLYAK Hryhoriy Yakowych — polygraphist. Arrested in Lviv in 1973, and sentenced in 1974, to an unknown term of imprisonment.

HEL' Ivan Andriyovych — born 18. 7. 1937, mechanic. Arrested 24. 8. 1965, and sentenced 25. 3. 1966, in Lviv, to 3 years of concentration camps. Released in 1968. Arrested again in January, 1972, and sentenced at the end of July, 1972, in Lviv, to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

HORADCHUK — a priest. Arrested in 1973, and sentenced in 1974, in Lviv to an unknown term of imprisonment.

HORBAL' — poet. Arrested in November, 1970, and tried in Ternopil. Sentence and present fate unknown.

HORSKA Alla Oleksandrivna — born 18. 9. 1929, an artist. On the 28th November, 1970, in the town of Vasylykiv, near Kiev, she was found murdered. The murder was committed by the KGB.

HROMLIAK — murdered by the KGB in the town of Dolyna at the end of 1972.

HRYHORENKO Vasyi — arrested in January, 1972, in Kiev. Fate unknown.

HRYNKIV Dmytro — born 1948, worker. Arrested in March, 1973, and sentenced in August, 1973, to 4 years imprisonment.

IVASIUK — worker. Arrested in 1972, and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment.

KABYSH Mykola — born 1926, worker. Arrested early in 1973, and imprisoned without trial.

KALOSH Hryhoriy Vasylovych — 35 years old, art teacher. Arrested in

1970, and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment.

KALYNETS Ihor — born 1939, poet and literary critic. Arrested in August, 1972, and sentenced early in November, 1972, in Lviv, to 9 years of imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

KARAVANSKY Sviatoslav Yosypovych — born 24. 12. 1920, journalist and philologist. Arrested in July, 1944. He spent 7 months under interrogation. Sentenced 7. 2. 1945 to 25 years hard labour. Served 16 years and 5 months of his sentence. Released 19. 12. 1960. Arrested again 13. 11. 1965 and sentenced to serve the remaining 8 years and 7 months of his previous sentence. Tried again in prison between the 14th and 24th April, 1969, and sentenced to an additional 8 years of imprisonment.

KATALA — born 1942, an engineer. Called by the KGB for questioning 28. 5. 1972, and never returned home. Died in Lviv prison seemingly by committing suicide, but most probably murdered by the KGB.

KENDZHIOR Yaroslav — trade union worker. Arrested early in 1972, in Lviv. His fate is unknown.

KONCHYNSKY Ivan — arrested in March, 1972. His fate is unknown.

KOROBAN Andriy — born 1930, student. First arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. Granted an amnesty in 1956. Arrested for the second time in 1969, tried between the 27th and 31st May, 1970, and sentenced to 6 years of concentration camps.

KOROLCHUK Semen — arrested for the first time in 1967, and released due to lack of evidence. Arrested again in 1971 and sentenced in September 1971, to long term of imprisonment.

KOVALCHUK Petro — born in 1922. At the end of 1945 was captured by the MVD and sentenced to long term of imprisonment. Arrested again in January 1973, and sentenced to death. Sentence carried out.

KOVALENKO Fedir — over 50 years old, teacher. Arrested in January, 1972. Fate unknown.

KOVALENKO Ivan — born 1918, teacher. Arrested early 1972, tried on the 10th to 13th July, 1972, and sentenced to 5 years of concentration camps.

KOVALENKO Leonid Mykolayovych — born 28. 2. 1922, lecturer, writer. Arrested in March, 1972, and sentenced in 1972, to 5 years of imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

KOVHAR Borys — museum director and journalist. Arrested in Kiev in 1972. Present fate unknown, but probably in a psychiatric prison hospital.

KRYSH TAL Pavlo — over 50 years old. Arrested early in 1972, tried in Lutsk in July, 1972, and sentenced to 12 years of concentration camps and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

KRYVY Ivan Mykolayovych — priest. Arrested in 1973, and sentenced in Lviv in 1974 to an unknown period of imprisonment.

KUKHARUK Oleksa — about 53 years old. Arrested at the end of 1972, tried early in January, 1973 and sentenced to 15 years of concentration camps and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

KUSHNARCHUK Ivan — born 1921. Arrested early in 1973, and till now has remained under interrogation.

LABINSKY — worker. Disappeared after 7th November, 1971. His body was later found. He was murdered by the KGB.

LISOVY Vasyl — born 1942, scientist. Arrested in 1972, and sentenced in December, 1973, to 5 years of concentration camps.

LOBKO Vasyl — an engineer. Arrested in 1972. Sentence unknown.

LUTS' Konstantyn — arrested in 1970, and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment.

LUKASH Mykola Oleksiovych — born 19. 12. 1919, teacher of foreign languages. Arrested in 1973. Sentence unknown.

LUPYNIS Anatoliy Ivanovych — born 1935, student. Arrested in 1956

and sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment. Tried for the second time in prison and sentenced to an additional 5 years of concentration camps. Released in 1967. On the 28. 5. 1971, arrested again and sent without trial to a special psychiatric prison hospital.

MAKHOVYK Stepan — arrested in August, 1972, and imprisoned without trial.

MALCHAK Vasyl — arrested at the end of 1971. Died under interrogation in 1972.

MARCHENKO — journalist. Arrested and sentenced in late 1973, in Kiev, to 6 years of imprisonment.

MELNYCHUK Taras — born 1933, poet. Arrested 24. 1. 1972, and sentenced in the spring of 1972 to 3 years of imprisonment.

MINYAYLO Hryhoriy — scientist. Arrested in January, 1972. Date of trial and sentence unknown.

MOROZ Valentyn — born 15. 4. 1936, historian. First arrested in August, 1965, and sentenced in January, 1966, to 5 years of concentration camps. Released 1. 9. 1969. Arrested again 1. 6. 1970, and sentenced 17-18. 9. 1970, to 9 years of imprisonment and concentration camps, and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

MOTUK Mykola — arrested in March, 1973, and sentenced in August, 1973, to 4 years imprisonment.

MOYSEYEV — born 1952, soldier. Disappeared on the 16. 7. 1972. In fact he was murdered by an army officer at the orders of the KGB.

MURZHENKO Oleksa — born 1943. Previously served 8 years of reform school and 6 years of concentration camps. Sentenced again in 1970 to 14 years of imprisonment.

OSADCHY Mykhaylo Hryhorovych — born 22. 3. 1936, poet and lecturer. Arrested 28. 8. 1965, and sentenced 18. 4. 1966 to 2½ years of concentration camps. Arrested again in January, 1972, and sentenced in September, 1972, to 7 years of imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

OSADCHY M. Ivanovych — sentenced after the 2nd World War to 10 years of concentration camps. Arrested again in 1973, and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment.

PANASIUK Stepan Tymofiyovych — carpenter. Arrested in 1973 and sentenced to death in March 1974, for participation in the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

PARADZHANOV Serhiy — film director and producer. Arrested in 1973, and sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment.

PETRENKO Anatoliy — born 1925. Arrested early in 1973, and imprisoned without trial.

PLAKHOTNIUK Mykola — born 1936, a medical doctor. Arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced to imprisonment in a psychiatric prison hospital.

PLUSHCH Leonid — born 1939, mathematician. Arrested in Kiev 17. 1. 1972. Tried and sentenced, in his absence, 30. 1. 1973, to an indefinite period of detention in a psychiatric prison hospital.

POPADIUK Zoryan — professor and teacher. Arrested 6. 7. 1972, and sentenced in 1973 to 7 years of imprisonment.

PRONIUK Yevhen — professor and teacher. Arrested 6. 7. 1972, and sentenced in December, 1973, to 3 years of imprisonment and 4 years banishment from Ukraine.

PRYTYKA Oleksander — born in 1932, doctor of medicine. Arrested 9. 7. 1971, tried 4-19. 5. 1972, and sentenced to 2 years of concentration camps.

RESHETNYK Anatoliy — born 1944, lecturer. Arrested in April, 1972, and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment.

ROKYCKY Volodymyr — born 1944, journalist. Arrested in 1972, and sentenced in August, 1973, to 5 years of concentration camps.

ROMANIUK Vasyl — born 1922, priest. Arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced in July, 1972, to 7 years of

imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

ROMANYSHYN M. — television engineer. Arrested in the spring of 1972, and sentenced in July, 1972, to 2 years imprisonment.

RUBAN Ivan — poet. Arrested 9. 11. 1971, tried 14-19. 5. 1972, and sentenced to 5 years of concentration camps.

SENYK Irena Mykhaylivna — born 1925, poetess. First arrested in 1946 and sentenced to 10 years of concentration camps. Released in 1957. Arrested again in October, 1972, and sentenced in March, 1973, to 6 years of imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

SEREDNYAK Lubov — born 1953, typist. Arrested in 1972, and sentenced 15. 5. 1972, to 1 year of imprisonment.

SERHIYENKO Oleksander — born 1932, teacher. Arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced in June, 1972, to 7 years of imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

SHABATURA Stephania Mykhaylivna — born 1940, paintress and skilled tapestry maker. Arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced in August, 1972, to 5 years of imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

SHCHERBYNA Vasyi — born 1905. Arrested and sentenced in 1972 to 3 years of concentration camps.

SHOVKOVY Ivan — a youth. Arrested in March, 1973, and sentenced in August, 1973, to 4 years hard labour.

SHUKHEVYCH Yuriy Romanovych — born 1938, the son of Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. First arrested 22. 8. 1948, and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Released 22. 4. 1956. Arrested again in the autumn of 1956 and sentenced to a further 1½ years of imprisonment. Released 21. 8. 1958. Arrested again and sentenced 1. 12. 1958, to another 10 years of imprisonment. Released in August, 1968, and banished from Ukraine. Arrested again in March, 1972, and sentenced 9. 9. 1972, to 10

years of imprisonment and concentration camps, and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

SHUMUK Danylo Lavrentiyevych — born 1914. First arrested in 1945 and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. Released in 1955. In 1957 was sentenced to another 10 year term of imprisonment. Released in 1967. Arrested for the third time 14. 1. 1972, and sentenced 5-7. 7. 1972, to 10 years of imprisonment and concentration camps, and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

SKYPA Yaroslav — an engineer. Arrested in late 1970, and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment.

SLISHEVSKY I. A. — arrested in October, 1971, and sent to a psychiatric prison hospital.

SMISHKO Markiyan Yulianovych — born 1900, professor. Arrested in the winter of 1972. His fate is unknown.

SOKOLYAN Anton Vasylovych — priest. Arrested in 1973 and sentenced in 1974, in Lviv, to an unknown term of imprisonment.

SOKULSKY Ivan — born 1940, worker. Arrested 17. 6. 1968, and sentenced in 1970 to 4½ years of concentration camps.

SPODARYK Stepan — born in 1951, worker. Arrested and sentenced in the summer of 1973, to 8 years of concentration camps.

STARCHYK Petro Petrovych — born 1938, poet. First arrested 20. 4. 1972, and sent to a psychiatric prison for an indefinite period.

STASIV-KALYNETS Irena Onuphriyivna — born 1940, poetess. Arrested in Lviv in January 1972, and sentenced in July, 1972, to 6 years of imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

STEPA Bohdan Petrovych — welder. Arrested in 1973. Sentence unknown.

STROKATA - KARAVANSKA Nina Antonivna — born 31. 1. 1925, medical research worker. Arrested 8. 12. 1972, and sentenced 4-19. 5. 1972, to 4 years of imprisonment.

STUS Vasyl — born 1938, poet. Arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced in September, 1972, to 5 years of imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

SUK Ivan Stepanovych — born 1925, lecturer. Arrested and placed into custody. During the 7 months of interrogation he lost his sanity, and his further fate is unknown.

SVERSTIUK Yevhen — born 1928, writer and journalist. Arrested in March, 1972, and sentenced in March, 1973, to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

SVITLYCHNA-SHUMUK Nadia — born 1942, philologist. Arrested 19. 5. 1972, and sentenced in March, 1973, to 4 years of imprisonment.

SVITLYCHNY Ivan Oleksiyovych — born 1929, professor and literary critic. First arrested in September, 1965. Released 30. 4. 1966. Arrested for the second time 12. 1. 1972, and sentenced in March, 1973, to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

SYNYSHYN Mykola Mykolayovych — polygraphist. Arrested in Lviv in 1973, and sentenced in 1974 to an unknown term of imprisonment.

TARASIUK Vasyl Terentiyovych — steward. Arrested in 1973. Nothing is known of his trial or sentence.

TOVKACH Ivan — over 50 years old. Arrested in 1972, and sentenced in July, 1972, to 12 years of concentration camps and confiscation of his private estate.

TROKHAN Stephanie — young woman, collective farm worker. Arrested and sentenced in April, 1974, to an unknown term of imprisonment.

TRUKHAN Hanna — young woman, collective farm worker. Arrested and sentenced in April, 1974, to an unknown term of imprisonment.

TSAP Maria — young woman, a collective farm worker. Arrested and sentenced in April, 1974, to an unknown term of imprisonment.

TSELIUK Semen — about 56 years old. First arrested in 1946, and sentenced to 9 years of imprisonment. Released in 1955. Arrested in 1970, and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment.

TYMCHUK Khrystyna — worker. Arrested and tortured by the KGB. Her fate and whereabouts unknown.

TYMCHUK Leonid — sailor. Arrested in 1972. Fate and whereabouts unknown.

VASYLYK Korniylo Andriyovych — technician. Arrested in 1973, and sentenced in 1974 to an unknown term of imprisonment.

VASYLYNA Roman Andriyovych — technician. Arrested in 1973, and sentenced in 1974, to an unknown term of imprisonment.

VERES Serhiy Fedorovych — born 1947, teacher. Arrested in April, 1970, and sentenced 25-27. 10. 1970, to 2 years of imprisonment.

VOLYTSKA Atena — agricultural worker/engineer. Arrested in the autumn of 1972. Present fate unknown.

YAKUBENKO N. I. — worker. Arrested in 1971 and sent to a psychiatric prison. Detained there without trial.

YAREMA Mykhaylo — arrested in late 1972. Sentence and place of detention unknown.

YAREMA Mykola — over 50 years old. Arrested in late 1972, Sentence unknown.

YAREMA Yuriy — Arrested in late 1972. Sentence unknown.

YUVCHENKO Volodymyr Yevheniyevych — teacher. Arrested in July, 1972. Fate and whereabouts unknown.

ZABOLOTNY — arrested in April, 1972, an sentenced to death. Sentence was carried out.

ZDOROVETS Borys — previously imprisoned for 10 years. Arrested again in 1973, and sentenced in the spring of 1973, to 10 years of imprisonment.

ZEROV Dmytro Konstantynovych — born 1895, botanist. In 1971, at a Party Conference he died of "heart attack". In fact he was murdered by the KGB.

Valentyn Moroz

Last Monday a group of young Ukrainians started a hunger strike outside the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, in sympathy with Valentyn Moroz, the historian who is serving a 14-year sentence in the USSR for advocating civil liberties. He is waging a hunger strike of his own.

While the symbolic significance of this gesture is recognized by people who've escaped from socialist paradise — and, curiously, by the Soviets themselves — there is often difficulty rousing the concern of free-born Canadians. Especially political leaders.

While Moroz is the cause celebre, he is simply one of many. He was imprisoned first for reading foreign publications, then for writing about KGB oppressions in prison and for criticizing the Soviet Union's Russifications policies. He has endured solitary confinement, psychiatric prisons, tortures, stabbings. His health is poor and his hunger strike in Vladimir prison may kill him..

The sympathy hunger strike idea began in Toronto. Already it has sparked a similar gesture outside Manitoba Legislature. Demonstrations are being planned in Denmark, Britain, Australia, and US. At night others join picketers outside the embassy in Ottawa.

Andrej Sakharov, the human rights scientist in the USSR supports the Canadian vigil and urges Western leaders to appeal to the Kremlin on behalf of Moroz.

The Soviet embassy is touchy, and those who write protesting the treatment of Moroz get back a mimeographed response that he is a dangerous criminal. The embassy has appealed to the young strikers to "end this silliness" and come into the embassy for tea and cakes and talk things over. The young people have refused.

Publicity in the West is the only weapon victims of Soviet repression have. Jews have been most successful, and a world-wide campaign has enabled many Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel.

Moroz is more than a Ukrainian cause. He personifies all those imprisoned on human rights issues. If all people, not simply Ukrainians, Russians, Balts, Czechs, Hungarians, Poles, etc. were to express concern it would have more impact.

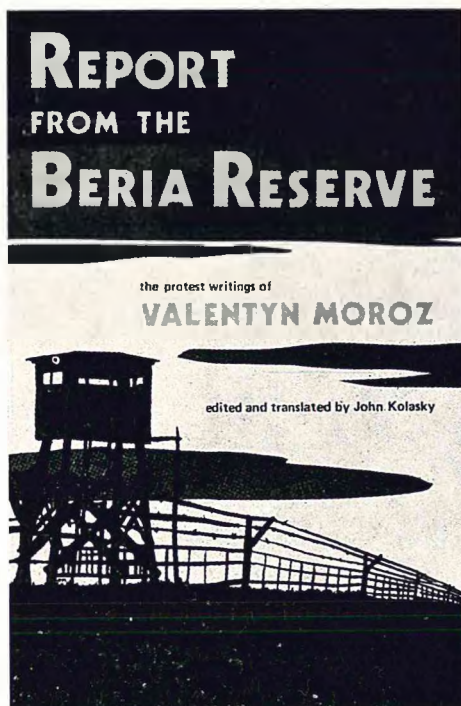
Sakharov told the Toronto group that Solzhenitsyn would undoubtedly support their stand, and he urged that Prime Minister Trudeau and other leaders be persuaded to become involved. Overtures have been made to the PM. But so far External Affairs Minister Sharp has responded, says the Committee for the Defence of Moroz. Sharp asked them to give up the hunger strike — for their health's sake. Meanwhile their fast continues...

The Toronto Sun, Friday, July 19, 1974

On the front cover:

Solidarity demonstrations and hunger strikes in Ottawa, Washington, New York, London and Canberra

Urging free governments to intervene on behalf of Valentyn Moroz, who started a hunger strike to the death in Vladimir prison (Russia) on July 1st.



REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**
Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**

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

From Valentyn Moroz's Letter to his wife

Valentyn Moroz continues hunger strike (started in Vladimir prison on the 1st of July) in Lubianka prison at Moscow.



Still alive. Physically weakened but in strong spirits and morally I remain unflinching. I move under God's banner and God is All-mighty. He will help us destroy this evil standing in front of us as a mountain. Greetings to all my friends, these nearer to me as well as those distant ones, who are so deeply anxious about my fate.

Valentyn

CONTENTS :	<i>James Eayrs (Canada)</i>	
	Moroz: Soviet Political Prisoner No. 1	7
	Ukrainian Injustice	10
	<i>Valentyn Moroz</i>	
	The First Day	11
	Simas Kudirka Released from Prison	12
	<i>Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine)</i>	
	The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire (Continuation)	13
	A Reply to the „Detente“ Fanatics	24
	Serbian Politician Assassinated	25
	<i>Dr. K. Drenikoff (Bulgaria)</i>	
	Subversion Strategy of Action at International Level	27
	Canadian Protest Mushrooms for Jailed Ukrainian Writer	30
	Hunger Strike of Prisoners in the Perm Concentration Camp	31
	<i>Valentyn Moroz</i>	
	Moses and Dathan	32
	<i>LDB d-L (Ukraine)</i>	
	A Silence More Deafening Than Thunder	33
	Captive Nations Week in New York	41
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	46
	Conference For Freedom, National Independence And De-colonisation	

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.

Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice
to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only
with indication of source (ABN-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No. 30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN),
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon: 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.
Verantw. Redakteur Frau Slava Stetzko.
Erscheinungsort München.
Druck: Dr. J. Herp, München.

Prisoners Writing to UN

A group of political prisoners from Ukraine, Baltic States and Caucasus, held at present in concentration camps in Mordovia, sent a letter to the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). A copy of the letter has been sent to the United Nations. Below is an English translation.

"The Constitution of the USSR asserts the sovereignty of the national Soviet Socialist Republics, providing for a number of fundamental statutes to guarantee this sovereignty.

According to the constitutional norms, supreme power both centrally and locally, entirely and indivisibly, belongs to the Workers' Representative Councils, which are democratic, elective and public authorities; and in theory the Supreme Soviet of the USSR upholds a principle that 'among equals one cannot wield power over another'. In practice, however, and apart from the Constitution, the Communist Party of the USSR has become the Sovereign of power. Taking unfair advantage of the constitutional position, i. e. having the right to influence all the authorities through its own party groups within them, the Communist Party of the USSR has reached such a position that it enables it not only to influence the course of the Government policy from within, but also to transfer the supreme power from the democratically elected authorities to purely party organs, in fact — to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR.

The organisational structure of the Communist Party of the USSR, which is meant to subordinate strictly the union Soviet republics to the centre of the Communist Party apparatus (and the latter locally also curtails the power of the elective authorities), reduces the state sovereignty of these republics to nil. Moreover, since the Communist Party of the USSR and its Central Committee are the Communist organs of the Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic (RFSSR) and at the same time are the highest authority for the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the national Soviet republics, the latter in practice are reduced to the level of regional agencies of the Russian SSR.

In its party documents, the Communist Party of the USSR declares its intention to create 'a new Soviet nation' and to educate 'a new kind of man'.

Promulgating a pseudo-popular view that the merging of nations is a natural and irreversible process, the Communists, so to speak, have undertaken merely to regulate this process.

Having the monopoly of power, the Communist Party of the USSR translates its own intentions into a state policy, enforcing it into practice

with all the might of the Government machinery, which treats any dissent and opposition as a criminal offence against the State.

Russification Continues

In their treatment of people individually, they realize their policy of educating 'a new Soviet man' by means of an all-embracing network system of threats, of spying and coercing people, aiming at a complete standardization of views and understanding of the world. And as they head towards their utilitarian objectives of strengthening the monolithic aspect of the society and their own power, the Communists, with their limitless intolerance towards those who think differently, impose their materialistic concept of the world, their socialist ideology as well as their blind adulation of the party authority, flaunting themselves as the only masters of true teaching and incessantly acclaiming their party superiority to the people.

In international relations, the Communist policy is directed towards a speedy merging of other nations with the Russians. Their claim to create 'a new Soviet people' is in practice no more than an old policy of russification, which is now carried out with less brutality and cruelty than in the immediate post-war years, when masses of non-Russian peoples and even entire nations were forcibly transported to remote regions of the Russian SSR; and where having been dispersed among the Russian population and isolated from their native land, they were subjected to assimilation which numerically increased the Russian population. The national regions, that were devastated by the forcible deportation of the indigenous population, were settled by the Russian colonists, who are the only national minority in the USSR that enjoy the right of cultural autonomy outside their national i. e. Russian Soviet Republic; they have their Russian schools, publishers and theatres on the territories of all the Soviet Republics and therefore have no inclination to assimilate with the local population but on the contrary, they exert a strong russifying influence on it.

And now, as the intensified economic exploitation of the peripheries of the native regions is accompanied by an influx of an international labour force that is purposely directed there, the latter, when faced with a choice between the local native language and the Russian language, opts for the Russian language because the industry and its administration are russified. Hence the Russian speaking population of a national Soviet republic grows in number and becomes a powerful means of russifying these regions. The russification of industry, institutes and technical colleges often force the local population to concede priority to the Russian language.

History Distorted

The same conditions are observed in the key industrial concerns operating on the territories of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics, which being under so-called 'all-union control' are not controlled by those republics.

The Russian language illegally became the state language on the territories of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics, giving the Russians a privileged position. Having imposed itself as a mediator of cultural, spiritual and economic interrelations among the peoples within the Soviet Union as well as with the outside world, the Russian language has the advantage of a banker, who in holding the cultural assets of others, filters them in such a way that only that which is in the interest of Russia is allowed into the international cultural life.

All kinds of praise for Russia and for everything Russian is imposed on the young generation through the state education system. In particular, the history of the Russian Empire. In this history the main part is played by Russia and the Russians, whereas the other nations figure in it only as it suits the interests of the Russian State. In the very short courses of history of the national Soviet republics that have recently been allowed, historical facts are also presented in a distorted and biased manner. The Russian conquests of the neighbouring states and peoples and their incorporation into the Russian Empire are always presented as a great blessing for them, while the national liberation struggle of other nations against the Russian Empire is either completely ignored or is presented as a reactionary or conservative movement. At present any movement aiming at national self-determination is branded by the Communists as bourgeois-nationalist and subjected to brutal persecution by the state punitive organs.

It is characteristic that the history of the Soviet prisons for political prisoners records no cases of convicted people of Russian nationality, who fought for the secession of Russia from the USSR, while at the same time numerous representatives of other nationalities who organised national movements for the secession of their nations from Russia are held.

Since we are convinced that the natural and most favourable basis for the spiritual development of man is a nation, united and fully progressive, equal among equals, we protest against the Communist experiments to create 'a new kind of man', against their attempts at substituting purely socialist principles for the national basis of a society. They cannot be justified either by economic achievements or by the state power interest because the only factors that guarantee inheritance and development of spiritual cultural, i. e. of the highest achievement of mankind, are the integrity of a nation, its language and its traditions. Deliberate encroachments on these innate institutions by the Communists and their

attempts at replacing them by abstract and artificial constructions forebode tragic consequences.

Because we are deeply concerned not only about the physical survival and economic well-being of our nations but also about their future progress, we demand that the constitutional norms, which guarantee the future of our nations be strictly adhered to, namely that: —

1. the national languages of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics should be obligatory state languages of these republics;
2. the right of cultural autonomy should be granted and realized to all the minorities outside their national state boundaries, or the privilege of enjoying such rights exclusively by Russians should be abolished.
3. the sovereign rights of the union republics to direct cultural, political and economic relations with the rest of the world should be expanded;
4. the armed forces of the union republics should be re-introduced as provided by article 18-b of the Constitution of the USSR;
5. all the industrial concerns, situated on their territories, should be placed under the authority of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics; this should apply also to the enterprises for the exploration of mineral resources on their national territories and the organisation of economic relations between the republics should be on an equal basis;
6. full power should be restored to the constitutional authorities, i. e. to the Workers' Representative Councils; a clear distinction between state authority and 'party influence' should be defined and State control over Communist Party activities should be constituted.
7. the government's policy of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics must in practice reflect the interests of individual nations; the individual citizens shall have the opportunity of exercising their rights to defend their national interests as stipulated in article 125 of the USSR Constitution;
8. flouting the constitutional and statutory norms which guarantee sovereignty and equality, the policy of the ruling Communist Party that threatens the very existence of our nations, automatically gives us moral grounds to invoke our constitutional rights (article 17 of the USSR Constitution) to undertake a public campaign for the secession of our national states from the USSR. Activities aiming at the implementation of this constitutional right should not be punishable.

Signed: — from the Baltic States: Ziemlis Juris Sylikas Ionas, Jastrauskas Antanas, Astra Gunar; — from Ukraine: Volodymyr Bezhuły, Apolony Berniychuk, Volodymyr Hlyva, Ivan Ilchuk, Levko Lukianenko, Dmytro Pylnyak, Ivan Pokrovsky, Oleksiy Stepanyuk, Andriy Turyk; — from Caucasus: Vaslyan Ovik, Tahayev Mohamed, Ekimyan Hevorkh, Velikyan Valmer."

Ukrainian Information Service.

Prisoners' Letter to European Security Conference

The delegates to the European Security Conference held in Geneva, received some time in June a letter from the prisoners of the Perm Concentration Camp. The text of the letter follows:

„We, people of different nationalities, incarcerated in political prison camps of the Soviet Union are addressing ourselves to you, because we are disturbed by the course of your deliberations. We understand and support the aim of your conference: the establishment of a strong basis for peaceful relations in Europe and throughout the world. However, we cannot remain indifferent to the methods you have chosen to attain this goal.

World peace cannot be guaranteed by unconditional concessions to the Soviet government. We have all the facts to substantiate this statement. We know all too well the price one pays for promises made by Soviet leaders, we know also the price of their laws and of their pretty slogans.

The Soviet government supports the principle of the inviolability of national frontiers. Fantastic! But in 1956 Soviet tanks occupied Hungary and in 1968 Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet government supports limiting the exchange of information to protect national customs and traditions. This is exactly what we have been struggling against for the past 57 years.

On the one hand the Soviet government claims that it strongly supports human rights and is a signatory to numerous pacts and declarations endorsing those rights. On the other hand the Soviet government does not hesitate to arrest those who have the courage to express their opinions and publicly question sacred dogmas, those who struggle for the development of their own national culture, those who try to exercise their right to emigrate from the Soviet Union, those who think differently. The actions of the Soviet government are embodied in a statement of a KGB official: "The Declaration of Human Rights is for Negroes, but not for you."

The laws under which we are incarcerated were written by overseers for overseers. And even those few rights that are formally granted to us, are not implemented in reality.

Soviet officials and all the Western press write a great deal about the prisoners in Chile and the Republic of South Africa. We, who are in

the same situation understand this. World public opinion is indignant because the prisoners on the island of Chason are forced to build their own prisons. For us, this is a daily occurrence and severe punishment is meted out to those who refuse to do this work.

Prisoners on the island of Toremo in the RSA or Chason in Chile suffer from cold and hunger; but in the Soviet Union political prisons are not found on the shores of the Black Sea and a 2,500 calorie daily diet of monotonous and vitamin-free food issued for several years, guarantees each and every one of us gastritis and scurvy.

Of course, now we are not shot without an investigation and a trial, our ribs are not broken and our teeth are not knocked out, as in the times of Stalin. However, the regime tries to break us spiritually, kill us morally and exhaust us physically. We do not have the opportunity to maintain normal contacts with family and friends, we are deprived of parcels and visits. The prison of Vladimir (Bukowsky, Moroz, Vudka) or a psychiatric asylum (Grigorenko, Plyusch, Plakhtoniuk, Lupynis, Shykhanovych) await those who firmly hold on to their convictions, who maintain their dignity. After their release a yoke of hopelessness, deprivation of the right to live in large cities, travel restrictions, denial of work in their field of specialization are all waiting for them.

Under these conditions, when the Soviet government so blatantly violates human rights, the civilized world must not believe the regime's declarations. Today different criteria cannot be applied to the conditions in the RSA, Chile and the USSR. The guarantee of human rights in deeds and not only in words should be a mandatory prerequisite before the signing of any pacts with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, by demanding non-interference in internal governmental matters, is trying to obtain a carte blanche for its own interpretation of human rights. During the fifty years of its existence, a government proud of its power and internal unity has not yet once declared an amnesty for its political prisoners and has incarcerated in its prisons and asylums thousands of people. The governments taking part in the negotiations should demand that the Soviet Union take steps that would indicate its good-will to honour its commitments. One of the first steps should be amnesty for political prisoners. Otherwise the talks will have no real meaning or will provide the Soviet government with a one-sided advantage. In either case they will not help the cause of peace. History teaches caution."

The letter was signed by over 100 prisoners "all Zionists, all known activists sentenced for their democratic convictions, all Ukrainian nationalists sentenced for their political activities." Most of the signers took part in the month long hunger strike in the Perm Concentration Camp from May 12 to June 12 1974.

Moroz: Soviet Political Captive No. 1

"For a number of years, by morbidly reacting to certain shortcomings and giving them one-sided evaluation, I had seen the national position of the Soviet Ukraine in black colours, and permitted myself to make public attacks on the nationalities policy of the Communist Party."

In these words did Ivan Dzyuba — patriot, critic and leading protestor among the people of Ukraine against Soviet attempts to crush their culture and stifle their spirit — confess to the error of his ways. (At the degree of duress by which that recantation was extracted, one dares not even guess).

How dearly would Soviet power pay for a comparable recantation by Dzyuba's successor as the defiant one, to judge from the efforts of its secret police to get one. But from Valentyn Moroz, Soviet Political Prisoner No. 1, no such confession has as yet been wrung. It has not been for want of trying.

History has its housing shortage. Even so, Moroz will have his honoured place. His ordeal has been a saga of the human spirit as noble as that of Socrates, as bold as Joan of Arc's.

But it is not yet as well known in the world as to require no re-counting.

Power and Prestige

Here is a young scholar, feet firmly planted on that ladder that leads from junior post at teacher's college to the power and prestige of a Soviet academician. But Moroz is not permitted to proceed more than a rung or two on the way to the top.

September, 1965: Moroz is arrested, charged with conducting "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda designed to undermine or weaken Soviet power".

The charge against him is as grave as the evidence against him is flimsy. But then the evidence is immaterial. Moroz is singled out by the State as an example — one of a score of scapegoats the regime intends to punish as a warning to prospective dissidents, democrats and champions of Ukrainian autonomy.

The State has misjudged its designated fall guy. Moroz does not go meekly to his fate. The show-trial staged for the occasion is turned upon its impresarios.

From his prisoner's box, Moroz pleads with dignity, conviction and "oderzhymist" — a word for which there is no precise equivalent in

English, connoting a sense of mission, of faith, of total dedication to a cause.

The State has its revenge for this humiliation. Moroz's co-defendants get a two-year sentence. Moroz is given four.

Imprisoned in solitary confinement, an inmate of the Gulag Archipelago or what Moroz will call "the Beria Reserve" — an ironic tribute to Stalin's hateful henchman — he turns to write in protest.

His writing is not anti-Soviet. Unlike Solzhenitsyn; for whom Bolshevism is flawed at the moment of its creation and lies beyond redemption and reform. Moroz is merely anti-Stalinist.

Stalin, he writes with bitter humour, for all his refusal to countenance the science of cybernetics, performed a cybernetic miracle. He invented the programmed men. "Stalin is the creator of the cog".

The cog is the antithesis of the individual. It does not think. It does not feel. It knows nothing of compassion. It is devoid of conscience. "A cog, titled professor or academician, will never say anything new... A herd of cogs can be termed the Red Cross and it will count calories in Africa but say nothing of famine at home."

But the future belongs to the individual, not to the cog. Moroz's Report from the Beria Reserve, like Solzhenitsyn's undelivered Nobel Lecture, closes on a note of ringing affirmation. "A crime is a crime and it is inevitably followed by retribution... He who robbed the robot... (who) robbed him of his soul and dehumanized him, will also have to answer. Truth has long arms."

Released in September 1969, having served his sentence to the full, he is, like other political prisoners returning to Soviet society, denied appropriate employment. He takes up his pen on behalf of the Ukrainian renaissance.

The essay "Chronicle of Resistance", one of three dating from this period is more than a passionately eloquent plea for the preservation of the cultural tradition of the Ukraine. It is addressed to despoilers everywhere.

The village of Kosmach, a Mecca of Ukrainian art and folklore, is desecrated by an oil derrick. "The oldest architectural monuments are snack bars, built since 1948 and plastered on all sides with grey cement — the classic Stalin renaissance." "A wooden crucifix, dating from the fifteenth century, and the oldest in the Ukraine, was pulled down from a height of eight metres to build an automobile parking lot."

Nor is this all. "A new shadow is taking shape over the mountains of Kosmach, the spectre of mass culture... 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."

Lesson not Learned

Soviet power, paranoid and fearful, cannot take such thoughts in stride. It construes them not as the unexceptionable sentiments of sensitive persons in every modern society but as pernicious and subversive doctrines — Aesopian fables, feebly disguising the demand for the Ukraine's independence from Soviet rule.

Never mind that the Ukraine's right to independence is embedded in the Soviet constitution. Soviet power concludes that Moroz has not yet learned his lesson.

In June 1970, he is again arrested, brought to trial once more. Here he does not try to prove his innocence for, as he boldly tells his prosecutors, they know he is guilty of no crime.

Put me behind bars, he tells them, and you only hurt yourselves. "Everything will start all over again: new protests and new signatures; new material for the press and radio of the world. Interest in what Moroz wrote will grow tenfold . . . You are pouring more fuel on the fire which you wish to extinguish." . . .

Soviet power is only too obliging to its victim. Moroz is sentenced to six years incarceration in the dreaded Vladimir prison, to be followed — should he survive them — by a further three years in labour camp and five years in exile.

His treatment while in prison has been inhuman beyond belief. A fellow political prisoner, since released and living now in Israel, glimpsing him briefly, is aghast at what he saw — an inmate as of Auschwitz, "the thin bristly hair, on the fried, pallid scalp, and the greenish, parchment-like skin, as terrifying as that of a mummy . . ."

Poisoned Food

The greening of the skin is the result of the poisoning of the food — a form of "rehabilitation" described by other Ukrainian recipients of such treatment in a letter smuggled to the United Nations Human Rights Commission from their cell. "Ten to 15 minutes after the consumption of food a slight pressure appears in the temples which afterwards turns into an intolerable headache . . . It is difficult to concentrate on anything . . . When reading a paragraph one forgets by the end what was written at the beginning."

Soviet power does not intend to allow Moroz to compose a sequel to his Report from the Beria Reserve.

Soon after his encounter with the eyewitness to his condition Moroz is stabbed four times in the stomach by criminals sharing his quarters. His solitary confinement since is broken only by periodic assaults by other inmates whom prison authorities set to beating him.

Only July 1 this year, Moroz began a hunger strike.

What does Soviet power have to say about this treatment of its prisoner? Speaking through its mouthpiece at the press office of the USSR embassy in Canada, it says: "Moroz is healthy and has no complaints". It concedes that this was not always so, that on October 1, 1973, he complained of coughing. "Cough pills were prescribed".

Cough pills were prescribed. What kind of fools do the spokesmen for Soviet power in Ottawa take we Canadians to be? Never has Auden's depiction of their kind been better justified.

**Across a subjugated plain,
Among its desperate and slain,
The ogre strolls with hands on hips
While drivel gushes from his lips.**

The paid apologist for the tormentors of Valentyn Moroz is Alexander Nikolaevich Yakovlev, the Soviet Ambassador to Canada. His Embassy is at 285 Charlotte Street, Ottawa K1N 8L5. If you'd prefer to picket Ambassador Yakovlev's home, he lives at 390 Lisgar Road in Rockcliffe Park — not, alas, in solitary confinement. **(The Toronto Star)**

Ukrainian Injustice

Despite alternating tactics of persuasion and oppression, the Soviet authorities in Moscow still find themselves stymied by the tenacity of the dissident nationalist movement in the Ukraine, second most populous republic of the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian nationalism has had a checkered history in the twentieth century, bounced as it has been between the forces of German Fascism and Soviet Communism. In recent years, however, it has gained influential champions among the other dissident groups of Moscow and Leningrad.

The current symbols of the Ukrainian campaign against Russian domination are a 38-year-old historian named Valentyn Moroz, reportedly held by the Soviet secret police in Vladimir prison, and 35-year-old Leonid I. Plyushch, a cybernetics specialist associated with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences until his "psychiatric detention" in 1972. Both men were openly engaged in the civil rights struggle which has tied together many of the Soviet dissidents. Such distinguished leaders of that movement as Andrei Sakharov and Pavel Litvinov have repeatedly protested the inhumane and illegal conditions of their detention.

Moroz and Plyushch are not well known in the West, and their plight has attracted little attention outside the circles of Ukrainians in this country and Canada. Perhaps for this reason, Soviet authorities have so far turned deaf ears to pleas in their behalf from international civil libertarian groups. Moscow's policymakers should not be deluded into waiting until some specific outrage against the two Ukrainians makes the protest genuinely universal. **(The New York Times, September 12, 1974)**

The First Day

by Valentyn Moroz

Moroz's deeply moving description of his emotional reaction to his first day in prison, after his arrest on June 1, 1970, in Ivano-Frankivsk.

The first day in prison is eternity filled with agony. Everything: the sounds, odours, dimensions and words are woven from pain.

The first day in prison is like being stripped of one's skin. Each reminiscence is a red hot particle, each thought is an ember.

The first day in prison is a world cut in halves. Every nerve is severed in two. The source of desire is here: the roots with which it clings to the soil of existence are left amputated behind. Familiar desires flow (... vacuum). This is the greatest pain because it is their nature to take root.

The most terrifying is to daydream. Then forgetfulness unites the two freshly-severed ends and desires reach their zenith. But the sudden awakening unexpectedly breaks the thread and pain, which had begun to subside, flares up again.

For the strong it is difficult. All their desires are great, both those that yearn for freedom. No, it is not a duel between desire and duty. It is a struggle between two satanical desires, both strong and frenzied, both nourished by a resilient full-blooded organism.

For the weaker it is easier. Their desires are small and inert. They will never spur a person to act. Sometimes even in them desires flare up, only to subside, hypnotized by the fear of prison. Fearing the bitter, they do not drink to the dregs, and consequently will never experience the full taste.

There will come a time when from the wounded ends new roots will form which will implant themselves into new soil and take in fresh nourishment to sustain the famished human desires. Pain will harden into permanent grief, heavy and black as tar. Each day the tar will become clearer and harder until it becomes transformed into the transparent crystal of expectation. The most enchanting of freedoms is the freedom one sees through its murky thickness.

The axe of time will continue to strike at the crystal gates. Then I am free. But this is not the freedom which shone many, many days from behind the crystal walls. I stand free, intoxicated and confused, and again stripped of my skin. To pass through prison gates, in or out, is impossible without losing one's skin. Each time, be it the hundredth, prison takes its toll.

Then there will be reminiscences, accounts of facts, facts and more facts, amusing and terrifying, repulsive and moving. But prison is not simply a fact. Prison is a person stripped of his skin on the very first day. He who is able to describe this will be describing a prison.

This cannot be told,
But still it will be discussed.
That is how it will be later,
But today it is the first day.

KGB prison, Ivano-Frankivsk

Simas Kudirka Released from Prison

The courageous Lithuanian seaman serving a 10-year prison term for having attempted to defect to a US Coast Guard cutter in November 1970, has been freed, from Vladimir Prison, east of Moscow, on August 23 by a decree of the Supreme Soviet. Washington recognized him as an American citizen last month, American consular officials sought to visit Mr. Kudirka in the Mordovian labour camp where he was being held, citing a 1964 consular agreement that gives them the right of access to any American citizen under detention there. The request was denied.

Mr. Kudirka's surprise release suggested that the Russians might extend the gesture by granting him and his mother the necessary exit visas. The case dates back to November 23, 1970, when Mr. Kudirka, then a radio operator aboard the Soviet trawler *Sovietskaya Litva*, leaped onto the deck of the Coast Guard cutter *Vigilant* as the two ships lay moored for fishing talks off the coast of Martha's Vineyard in Massachusetts.

Kudirka begged for political asylum but, after eight hours, the Coast Guard permitted a Soviet party to board the cutter, beat him nearly unconscious and drag him back to the trawler. Two ranking Coast Guard officers were retired from the service and a third was reprimanded in connection with the incident.

In 1971, Mr. Kudirka was sentenced to 10 years in prison, reportedly on a theft charge to mask the actual reason, although there were varying accounts that he was convicted of "treason". Most recently he was transferred from a labor camp at Potma, in the Mordovian prison complex, to the harsher Vladimir Prison for having joined in a hunger strike.

After his release in Vladimir last Friday, Mr. Kudirka stopped briefly in Moscow but then continued on to Lithuania.

The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire

(Continuation)

The Invincibility of the National Idea

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 national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential question of human conscience... Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself."

The late Vasyl Symonenko, a poet of Ukraine, most likely killed by the KGB ten years ago at the age of 29, called: "My nation exists! My nation will always exist! Nobody will eradicate my nation!", and: "Be silent Americas and Russias, when I speak with you (Ukraine)!"

Lev Lukyanenko, a young lawyer condemned to death (later commuted to 15 years of hard labour), declared in Mordovia (1972): "If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine!"

A young Estonian prisoner in Mordovia proudly said, "Do you know Estonia is one thousand years old. Once, there were sixty Estonians and Estonia survived. Estonia has survived in camps as well." And on one occasion, presenting a bouquet to a representative of the government, which when unwrapped turned out to be a mesh of barbed wire a prisoner shouted:

"Long live free Estonia!" — and then all knew that Estonia was alive. This incident from camp life was related by Prof. Osadchyi, sentenced again to 10 years ("Cataract", 1972).

Or Ali Khashahulhov, a North Caucasian (Ingushet) sentenced as a young boy for anti-Russian nationalist (Ingushet) activity said mournfully: "If our nation does disappear, a skeleton of a wolf will harden high up in the mountains. Of a giant wolf. This will be the last wolf of the world. Wolf means the native land, its symbol, its flag. When the Ingushets were deported to Kazakhstan during the war, the wolves also disappeared from the Waynakh Hills. The wolves would not live without the Ingushets, who were deprived of their fatherland. The wolves did not wish to become a flag for foreigners... If I knew, says Ali, that my language would die tomorrow, I would die today..."

The wolf and the native land... The Russians-foreigners. Where can one find Bolshevik "success" here? These are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of Communist Sovietism and the Russian "older brother" theory.

"If Yurko — the son of Gen. R. Shukhevych — Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — had denounced his father he would be in the Crimea long ago."

"Go away, scoundrel", says Yurko to an overseer from the KGB who tries to talk him into signing a statement renouncing his father, "go away or I'll send you to a mausoleum..." Yurko languished for his father for 19 years already in camps of severe regime (1968). After serving his 20-year sent-

ence, Yurko Shukhevych was sentenced anew on September 9th, 1972, to 15 years!

The young people have revived, have renewed themselves, have gained new life. They have grasped the great idea and revived faith in it.

"A nation is a temple, the desecration of which constitutes the greatest crime... Let the tenth part of a nation remain, but with full-valued spirituality — this is not yet fatal. A whole willow grows from a piece of a full-valued willow twig. We live in the spontaneously irrational, in the depths, by roots alone which continuously sprout but rarely reach normal blossom", says one of the greatest heroes in the field of cultural creativity — Valentyn Moroz, convicted to 14 years of severe regime imprisonment. **"Denationalization is deheroization... de-Christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, mass resettlements from village to city — all this constituted a destruction unprecedented in Ukraine's history of traditional Ukrainian structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed..."**

This formula summarizes the position of the young generation as far as its program and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality. "An individual who respects, knows and loves the history of his nation — lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people, his land... The nation is immortal, it will live... Know yourself in your people..."

The young generation is captivated by the heroism of its ancestors. It gave rise to legends which were revived by the young people: "Legends which cultivate and raise our spirit above this abyss, writes a young author... legends about the transmigrations of souls, contemplation of the soul's immortality, legends about the continuity of the kin, about the immortality of a people... We are speaking about the legend of the nation's eternity..."

The entire class theory, Marxism, Sovietism with its theory of the traditionless "Soviet" people, the world proletariat, of the withering away of nations, the class struggle, are useless!

Bolsheviks Were Unable to Change the Soul of the Subjugated Nations

The struggle is deeply rooted in its ideological and political motivation. It also determines the quality and the substance of freedom toward which the young fighters of the subjugated nations aspire. The struggle is neither being waged from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, nor from positions of philosophical materialism in general, but just the opposite.

I shall not use my own words, but those of representatives of the young generation in relating what they write and say regarding ideological, political and strategic positions. I regret that I am not able to give their names, but some of them have still managed to escape arrest.

This is what the young generation teaches: "God has created man... When there is no God, there are no people... While building the kingdom of God Christians have resurrected the dead spirituality... Happy are those who have God... The basis of morality is the idea of God and the immortality of the soul... Spiritual life is the only genuine life... The Church, the bearer of the spirit, must be preserved... The main thing is to defend the church..."

The young generation has reached the level of ontology. In the face of imposed Marxist materialism it would be a mistake to remain without an answer to the problem of man's origin and being.

Ethics motivated by religion has a lasting foundation. It is not by chance that one underground author in Ukraine writes: "We shall build the holy cathedral, send our spirit to heaven and it will stand for centuries... How much

did our ancestors have to sacrifice while inculcating in their children human ideas, beliefs, selfless love of truth and respect for the God of their ancestors..."

Religion has been placed at the foundation of cultural creativity: "It is impossible to imagine traditional cultural treasures outside the Church... A struggle against the Church means a struggle against culture... How many times was the nation saved by the Church alone... Under the conditions (prevalent) in our countries, the Church was the only force independent of the government..."

"The apotheosis of man as a creature like unto God and not a cog. How can stone-age despotism be ingrained in the soul of a Ukrainian, who as early as the Middle Ages elected and deposed the Cossack chief, 'Koshovyy', and could himself become a 'Koshovyy', who gave birth to the philosophy of Skovoroda — A hymn to human individuality, with the maxim 'know thyself'... philosophy for which the Ego is the basis of everything, even of the kingdom of God, and even God himself is nothing other than the fully developed ego. He who knows himself has found the desired treasure of God... The true man and God are one and the same!"

In the face of these and similar documentary revelations of the point of view of the young generation inside the subjugated nations, the Sovietologists of most of Western research institutes with their thesis about the "new" Communist and later even the "Soviet" man can declare their bankruptcy.

Traditions of the Subjugated Nations and their Own Way of Life

In their literary, historical, philosophical and sociological works, the young persecuted authors express the following views: The past is our greatest treasure, a spiritual shield, a high-

ly tested experience. An individual with just the present is like a tree without roots... We deposit into the immortal national treasury our very best and take from it as much as one can... We pour ourselves as a drop into its (national) sea and think about the eternity of the sea..." And an underground author makes a typical assertion: "Our nation did not follow the older brother (the Russian people - Y.S.)... but chose a difficult, thorn-covered spiritual path — but **its own**..."

The young generation discovers the road of reawakening in the struggle for the assertion of its own values. It declares, "The present events in Ukraine are also a turning-point: The ice of fear which firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking..."

"Spiritual slavery — says another author — is the greatest national calamity; prosperity makes a man neither great nor happy. What is it all worth in comparison with freedom, with life for which you strive, and with the right to think! Wealth is to be found within ourselves, and not in money, property or deeds... **Conscience is the worst torture**..."

"No matter where you go — writes still another author — there are foreign bayonets... The Russians stand in regiments. The stronger think, strive to counteract evil... The weaker — only pray... We have no right to die as long as our people live in slavery... The earth will not receive us, will throw us out..."

In the face of Brezhnev's neo-Stalinist terror, also toward the creators of cultural values, such a mighty: "But, why do they now fear the **Word** more than hundreds of swords?... The bonfires... were turning into ashes, concealing every spark for the conflagrations to come, which will yet raise the flames as crimson banners and herald the great day... All of us are precursors... The messiahs will follow in our footsteps... They cannot help

coming... Nothing is permanent in the world, including falsehood... The Messiah will come soon and through his sufferings save the people and their freedom..."

Persecution, suffering and death is the road which leads toward resurrection.

"Jesus was seized... and crucified... and he rose forever in the hearts of the unfortunate... We are but precursors..." say the unsubdued of our days about themselves. We live in the pre-revolutionary era in the Russian prison of nations and individuals, a colossus on clay feet, a colossus on a volcano.

And today our purpose is to point out its weak spots in order to help liberate the free world from the fear of a rabbit hypnotized by a boa constrictor.

"Tyrants love tears and repentance, while somebody's uncrushed dignity is the same for them as a knife in the heart!"

Just as in the early stages of Christianity, the enemy-tyrant is afraid of the word, that is, of ideas and of the faith backing it. The thermonuclear age is an ideological age and requires an ideological struggle.

The young generation of the subjugated nations has been re-born. It has stood up in ideological and active defence of national traditionalism, of the national heroism of life, of heroic religiosity, and heroic humanity, of the individual.

"It is impossible to break people, to turn them into slaves, until you steal their holy days, until you destroy their traditions, until you trample on their cathedrals...", state the contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals.

And in contradiction to the thesis about the so-called Soviet fatherland, the young generation firmly declares, "one can choose one's friends and one's wife, but not one's fatherland(!; "A human being has but one mother, or none at all!" (V. Symonenko).

After 40 years the nations still hate the collective system which suppresses man's "ego", individualism and creative initiative and transforms people into a flock, the individual into a "small cog" as a well known writer from Ukraine puts it. **One of the young poets — presently in prison — writes: "... and the soil became a torment for Ukraine, just as the kolkhozes a modern compulsory service for a landlord... compulsory service — 3 days, kolkhoz — 7 days; three buckwheat sowers out of three do not sow..."**

V. Moroz, the defender of the national principle of world organization, of traditionalism, of Christian — or rather religious foundations of culture, and the defender of one of the oldest centers of Ukrainian pre-Christian and Christian culture, i. e. old town Kosmach, contrasts Kosmach to Babylon — i. e., the organic, natural, and national concept of world organization to the fusing of nations concept. Megalopolis effaces the individual and kills freedom. As Ihor Kalynets, poet and philosopher, proposes a new model for world order, Moroz, historian, advances a universal conception for saving the world, in another complementary aspect. However, neither of them was offered the nobel-prize so far. Knut Skueniks, a well known Latvian intellectual, staying in the Mordovian concentration camps, characterizes Ihor Kalynets's work as follows: "The Ukrainian, Kalynets, also presents a new world model. He has created it in a suprisingly quiet and profound way. You may enter it and leave it perplexed. You may fail to understand it but you will remain perplexed. You will start looking for something. If you find it — you are lucky; if you don't — you deny, at your pithecanthrope's low level this new world and you brand the poet as being 'antique'. You exclude him from society, but one day your grandchildren will cling to this new world and you will be helpless.

The art must be created and managed

by artists. If some other manager — a dogmatist — takes over the art it will perish. Art does not tolerate ignoramuses — it belongs to the sphere of a jeweller, not an artisan."

"When you enter into literature — clean your shoes" — says Vyshnya (a famous Ukrainian humorist, longtime prisoner of Stalinist prisons). Latvian Knut Skueniks writes: "Art is created by those who have a free mind. An enslaved mind can only create an ingenious model of everyday life in enslavement and reproduce its frame and bars. However, it will never be able to produce an advanced world model, i. e., a model people will understand later on..." (M. Osadchyi "Cataract").

Truth Is Dead without Its Carriers

Truth does not triumph of itself. It triumphs when its carriers are ready to sacrifice their lives for it. **"What is important is to believe, the arguments will find themselves..."** No apostle has ever converted anyone by arguments. Not a single spiritual revolution had occurred without apostles. Contemporary renaissance is also impossible without them..." writes the unbroke Valentyn Moroz.

And Ivan Dzyuba said: "There are epochs when decisive battles are fought in the sphere of social morality, public conduct, when even the elementary human dignity resisting brutal terror can become a revolutionary force. Our age also belongs to such epochs..."

Valentyn Moroz continues: "It is possible to have great spiritual treasures, but they simply will not be noticed if they are not taken by an **infatuated** person and melted down in the furnace of his infatuation... Contemporary Ukraine needs apostles, not accommodators, not realists with their arguments. Not one spiritual revolution has taken place without apostles... If we want to be Ukrainians, let us fear a 'realist' like fire... **Ukraine is a**

flower which has grown among the snows... An idea is not enough. An idea is bare and dry — what is needed is its living embodiment..."

"The truth is known — what is needed is faith... Faith needs absolute truth, dogmas. Dogmas — says V. Moroz — are gladly criticized by all, and this is understandable in our reality, but while pursuing this petty occupation they somehow failed to notice that an individual without any dogmas, an individual who does not believe in anything, has become the main danger. Nihilism has set in — a product of mass culture... In a human being the technical function is being developed hypertrophically at the expense of the spiritual and this for some reason is called progress."

"... Let us look at national history", — writes a young philosopher of history currently in prison — "had not those become its heroes who with a child's smile have passed over abysses and have raised highest the spirit of **national immortality**? Have not the practical, the down-to-earth and the ill-adjusted been forgotten..., who ridiculed the Don Quixotes. For legends are created by a Don Quixote, who glances with a fiery look beyond the summits of life. And the rash Don Quixotes become heroes of folk tales (sagas) and national history... but the people collect the traces of the great, often futile, efforts of a Don Quixote, into a legend singing praises to the madness of the courageous..."

When I. Dzyuba issued a **statement of repentance**, V. Moroz declared to the court: "Well, we shall fight. Just now, when one has signed a **statement of repentance**, another one reclassified himself as a translator — just now it is necessary for someone to give an **example of firmness**... The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind bars is not easy for anyone. But not to respect oneself — this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

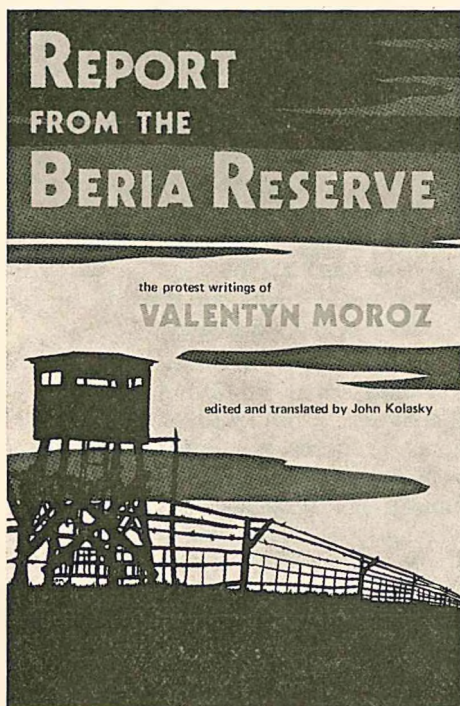
As can be seen from the facts of direct struggle, the subjugated nations possess those who believe in the idea of national liberation, its apostles and carriers. Therefore, neither the idea nor its carriers can be killed any more.

Nationalism — An Unconquerable Force

How inflammatory is the national idea is evidenced by protest self-immolations:

— On November 5, 1968, **Vasyl Makukh**, 50, the father of two children, the fighter of UPA and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), long-term prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself in Kyiv with the exclamation: "Long live free Ukraine!"

— On January 20, 1969, the Czech student, **Jan Palach**, immolated himself in Prague while shouting: "It is better to die in flames than to live under Russian colonial yoke!"



— On February 10, 1969, — the Ukrainian patriot and former prisoner of concentration camps **Mykola Beryslavskyi**, 55, the father of three children, attempted self immolation as protest against Russification, for which he was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment.

— On May 14, 1972, — the Lithuanian nationalist student **Romas Kalanta** burned himself in Kaunas with the exclamation: "Long live independent Lithuania!"

— On May 29, 1972, — Lithuanian worker **Stonis**, 29.

— On June 3, 1972, — Lithuanian worker **Andrus Kukavicius**, 60.

— On June 9, 1972, — attempted self-immolation of the Lithuanian **Zalish Kauskas**.

— The heroic conduct before the court of the Lithuanian sailor, **Simonas Kudirka**, sentenced to 10 years of harsh imprisonment, who greeted his verdict with the exclamation: "I demand freedom for my fatherland, Lithuania!"

— The heroic conduct of the young Ukrainian historian, **Valentyn Moroz**, in a Russian court, with his by now famous expression: "If having placed me behind bars, you were counting on creating something of a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then this is not serious. Try to understand at last: There won't be any vacuum any more!"

The national idea is embodied in concrete action, in direct struggle of the subjugated nations in their native lands and in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger strike in Potma in March 1972, in which the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish and other political prisoners participated; street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; the armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; armed clashes in Erivan, Armenia, also occurring in recent years...

In June 1971, a revolt broke out among the Kabardinians (North Cauca-

sus) in the city of Nalchyk. It was crushed by military units of the Russian KGB, and a woman was even executed by shooting after a closed trial. In December 1972, in Derbenti, in Dagestan (North Caucasus), armed kolkhoz workers forced the KGB to release the head of the kolkhoz, who had given meat to starving peasants. In June 1971, in Tyraspol, the Moldovian students demonstrated for two days for secession of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania... During the 1972 Jewish Passover, the KGB organs provoked racial disturbances between the Kabardinians and the Jews in the course of which the KGB killed 8 Kabardinians and two Jews in Nalchyk.

In Estonia, there appeared the renowned letter of the representatives of the Estonian intelligentsia defending the right of the Estonian people to independence, and threatening that the time will come when the tanks will not be marching on Prague and Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

In Turkestan, in May 1969, the Uzbeks shouting "Russians get out of Uzbekistan" revolted in the concentration camps. These disturbances spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The famous struggle of Crimean Tartars, defended by Ukrainian General Hryhorenko, is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups, "Shand", ("in the name of the fatherland") and "Paros" (torch) fought in 1919/70 for independence and unity of Armenia, publishing a periodical and leaflets. Its members included students and workers.

The heroic national and religious efforts and decisive resistance to Russification are renowned throughout the subjugated world. Lithuania has not and never will put down its arms in its struggle for independence and the Christian religion.

In Byelorussia, the writer Bikov strongly protested against the Russi-

fication of the country. Byelorussian youth raised its voice in protest...

An underground organization was founded by the Latvians in 1962 called the "Baltic Federation". Its aim was to fight for independence of the Baltic nations — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — and to jointly counteract the Russian occupants...

In Bulgaria and Rumania, national resistance is constantly growing. In Hungary, there were new student disturbances in 1973! In Poland a revolt by workers, in 1971 was responsible for the toppling of Gomulka.

Is it possible to stop the process of disintegration of world empires (the number of United Nations members which has tripled proves it) for any inconceivable reason whatsoever at the frontier of the totalitarian, antireligious Russian empire?! The fundamental contradictions of the empire and the system are realized and felt by the subjugated nations every day as they are no longer illiterate but, on the contrary, every average person is highly educated, all the more so as these captive nations (such as Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Armenia and others) are in possession of ancient, over a thousand-year-old cultures. Does the permanent Soviet and Communist propaganda with respect to the attributes of sovereignty for the newly created states, e. g. on the African continent — as armed forces of their own, separation from the "metropolis" and from the empire, sovereign foreign policy, withdrawal of imperialist armies from the former colonies etc. — not remind even a pupil of a primary school in Byelorussia or Azerbaijan, Estonia or Latvia of the complete contradiction between windy rhetoric and the reality, i. e. the colonialist situation of those nations which are constantly exposed to the Russian KGB, Russification, the Russian occupational army, the lack of any sovereignty as to decisions concerning their own affairs etc.?! In the mentality of even

the subjugated nations' children the question of national independence is always on the order of the day, even being supported by official propaganda. When attacking the Western states' nonexistent colonialism and imperialism the Russian occupants are employing a two-edged sword.

Consequently, liberation nationalism of the subjugated nations in the cruelest Russian empire is not only stimulated by the inborn striving towards the creation of their own way of life but it is also conditioned by international development. The national principle as opposed to the imperialist one is the slogan of the present era.

V. A. Kapshytser, a recent Jewish emigrant from the USSR to Israel, writes: "One of the major questions facing us is the national question... The national forces are breaking the Communist empire apart..."

Brezhnev denotes "local patriotism" as related to "nationalism" in the economic sphere. After the mass arrests in Ukraine the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Shcherbytskyi, the successor of Shelest, stated during the April assembly of the CC of Ukraine in 1973 that many authors revealed national conceit and limitation, idealized the patriarchal system, interpreted the history of Ukraine in the light of depraved ideological views on "originality". The party secretaries of Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Uzbekistan, Armenia and other pseudo-republics were removed from their posts because they had not been successful in fighting their nations' liberation nationalism. The "Ukrainian Historical Journal" (No. 3, 1973) states in the essay entitled "Anti-Sovietism — the Chief Trend of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalist Subversive Activity", that nationalism cannot be repressed. The author, V. P. Cherednychenko, is quoting from Lenin: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two slogans which irreconcilably op-

pose each other expressing two policies (rather: two world outlooks) with respect to the national question". In order "to overcome any manifestations of nationalism in the economy" the Russian imperialist leadership is also forcefully unifying the economic geography according to the Tsarist model. The theoretically existing sovereignty of the "republics" being violated, seven economic regions have to be created: The Far East, Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Northern Centre, Volga-Ural, Central Asia and the South. The so-called "Ug" (South) of the USSR exactly corresponds to the "Ug" (South) of Tsarist Russia. It includes among others Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and North Caucasus. The food shortage in Ukraine (1973) — the richest European country — proves the bankruptcy of the system as well as the imperialist extermination and exploitation policy. So does the purchase of grain in the USA or Canada and even Germany.

The empire is undergoing a period of economic recession, too.

W. Kollarz says "Nationalism is a kind of explosive against Communism" and "finally Communism may capitulate before nationalism at the international scale" (see "Communism and Colonialism", London/New York (1964), p. 13).

Popular Movements (Nationwide)

It must be stated that the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are popular movements, in which an active part is taken not only by students and intellectuals, but also by workers and collective farmers.

According to Andrei Amalrik, out of the 134 signatures appearing under one Kyiv protest letter in defense of prisoners, 25 % were those of workers of the Kyiv factories.

The strength of our movement was always to be found in the people, who

continuously produced ever new heroes.

It is significant that the city is also becoming a part of the liberation struggle. This is an important phenomenon. The countryside was the mainstay of the OUN-UPA to the greatest extent. It is a good turn of events that the city is taking over its due role. To demoralize the village is the enemy strategy. Ukraine's reply: while defending the village, a successful advance upon the city. The intellectual elite, the students, the workers are standing on the frontlines... Not only an ideological but also active struggle has developed, e.g. the actions of students and workers. The same things are occurring in Lithuania (Kaunas), Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Croatia, North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The so-called Samvydav (self-publication) from the subjugated countries, widely known in the world, is proof of this. The **Ukrainian Herald**, an uncensored publication of the Ukrainian patriots, besides political statements and documentation, also carries literary works while the **Chronicle of Current Events** limits itself only to an informative content. The **Exodus**, dealing with Jewish affairs, and other periodical and non-periodical publications outside censorship published in Estonia, Lithuania (**Lithuanian Herald**), Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan and Latvia reveal a similar purpose as that of the **Ukrainian Herald**.

What is the heart of the matter? Yuriy Yofe — an emigrant from the USSR to Israel — stated: "The Democratic Movement (in Russia) is a purely intellectual phenomenon, which was never so popular as, for instance, the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement..."

We repeat: A characteristic trait of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations is its nationwide scope. In connection with the occupant's total offensive upon the entire

contents and way of life of the subjugated nations, a massive counteroffensive is being waged. This means that there is in progress a struggle for a farmer's right to the private ownership of land, at least for an increase in size of so-called private plots of land, versus the collective system imposed by force and terror; in contrast to compulsory socialist realism, i.e. the cultivation of the reality of slavery in spiritual creativity, there is a return to the national traditions, to the individual sources of spirituality of each nation; in opposition to militant atheism there comes the cult of the ancestral religion, the millennial or centuries-old traditions; against the Orthodox Church subservient to the Kremlin regime, which serves the atheist government and whose mission it is to become the third Rome, each nation's own religious traditions combined with the national idea are fearlessly defended. Side by side with the ideological, cultural, intellectual, literary and artistic struggle in the sphere of the humanities which encompass the entire complex of spiritual creativity; side by side with philosophical idealism, with so-called historicism — i.e. the cult of great national figures of the age of national independence and historic grandeur of past centuries — there come the student rebellions (Tahanrih), in which the students openly take an anti-government stand at seminars; there are disturbances among the peasant youth, as confirmed by the Soviet press, while revolutionary attitudes become rampant among former prisoners ("Izvestia"). In the Chernihiv region, collective farmers refused to give up their private plots of land, winning an increase in their size ("Izvestia"). In some state farms of the Kazakh SSR, the workers systematically reduced their time of work ("selskoe khozyaystav"). In some Ukrainian regions the miners forced the management to increase their wages ("Pravda Ukrainy"). In Dniprodzer-

zhynsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning with 1955 and up to 1974, there are countless such examples. What is the heart of the matter?

The decisive factor, it must be emphasized, is that various strata within the subjugated nations have joined in the struggle. They are fighting to fully realize their idea of the substance of each sector of life. Such a fulfillment can be achieved only in their own independent states. A precondition of essential changes in every sphere of life is each nation's own government in its own land. Without the sovereign rule of a given nation there is "no land and no freedom". Therefore the new slogan is not "Land and Freedom", but "Sovereign Rule, Land and Freedom". This is self-evident to all strata of the subjugated nations. Without a political revolution, that is without the assumption of power by those staging it, i.e. the subjugated nations, there is no fulfillment of the aspirations of any stratum of a people. The essence of the present stage of the liberation struggle is a spontaneous and systematic mobilization of the broad circles within the subjugated nations in order to reach the zenith — the renewal of national statehood, which only then will make an all-round development of a modern nation possible. The slogan, "freedom", alone is insufficient. Freedom is a framework which must be filled with the contents. Freedom is a prerequisite, an opportunity to make a choice among diverse values. It is mandatory to clearly define for what values, for what qualities does one stand. The peoples have been deceived for many decades. A struggle for justice, for lawfulness — this is a revolutionary slogan which mobilizes the moral sentiments in a system of "legalized" lawlessness and disfranchisement. Political self-determination — we underline — is not a mobilizing slogan, for

Lenin even added "including secession" to it, yet he was able to deceive the people. Therefore, the only rallying cry is national independence — complete separation from Russia. There is no other alternative. The disintegration of the empire and the reestablishment of independent national democratic states is an attractive goal. A struggle is being waged for sovereign rule, for freedom and justice, for the realization of the nations' own ways of life in their own states. In this aim there are simultaneously concentrated the definition of the contents of every phase of national life, the principles of its organization, for never in the history (e.g. of Western empires) was there a situation where a subjugated nation had to fight not only against military occupation and economic exploitation, but also against a hostile spirituality, sociality, a contradictory way of life, an entirely different system of life and beliefs. Bolshevism, Communism, Sovietism, the Russian way of life, the spiritual, cultural and religious Russification are neither a Lithuanian, nor a Georgian, nor an Estonian, nor a Byelorussian, nor a Turkestani, nor an Azerbaijani, nor a Jewish, nor a Ukrainian way of life. A characteristic phenomenon of the contemporary era of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations inside the Russian empire and in the Communist-dominated countries is that hand in hand with the direct forms and methods of struggle, such as demonstrations, strikes, revolts, mass actions and armed clashes, goes the ideological, political, cultural and religious struggle, a struggle of two opposite concepts of life — the Russian, Bolshevik, Communist concept and that of the subjugated nations. It is a clash of total national organisms, of the captor and his captives, who are not only physically oppressed and economically exploited, but attempts are also being made to deprive them of their national soul. And this is es-

sential in that struggle, the struggle for the souls of nations!

And the greatest achievement of our liberation struggle, a guarantee of our victory is the fact that the struggle for the soul of the subjugated nations was taken up by the young generation, which at times was born of parents already grown up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation which has never seen the free world, but to the contrary, was reared in an atmosphere hostile to its own nation, in the spirit of the occupant.

The banner of traditionalism of a millennium, the primacy of the spirit, the immortality of the soul, the banner of the nation, of the eternity of a nation was raised by the generation of the sixties and the seventies, was carried by sons and daughters not only of inmates of prisons and concentration camps, but also of average workers, collective farmers and even technocrats.

This is the greatest blow suffered by the Communist ideology and system of occupation, in recent decades.

For this reason, it will be impossible to crush the national aspirations. As a rule, the revolution of soldiers was preceded by the revolution of poets and creators of spiritual values.

The ideological, spiritual, moral and political revolution, is a precondition of armed revolution. The creativity of the young generation has a clear national political aim: The national state.

Revolution Possible

In the thermo-nuclear and the ideological age, the most timely and real is the liberation, revolutionary, insurgent concept which will destroy the empire and the system from within. In the fall of 1970, manoeuvres of MVD forces took place near Moscow under the slogan, "Suppression of Uprisings in Concentration Camps..."

The uprisings of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Armeni-

an, Byelorussian and other prisoners in concentration camps in 1953-1959, the disturbances and revolutionary upheavals in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechia and Slovakia, the nationwide insurrection in Ukraine in 1942-1953, the partisan warfare in Lithuania have established that revolutionary struggle is possible, even in the totalitarian, Russian, imperialistic system. The courageous acts of Croatian nationalists have proven the weakness of Yugoslavia as an artificial, forced, colonial structure in Europe.

Simultaneous and not separate, isolated revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated peoples are the surest road to liberation. The occupational regime will be powerless when confronted with them for it will not be able to use nuclear arms, this being self-destructive (also because of radioactive fallout). Moreover, the administrative machinery itself is infiltrated by anti-imperial and anti-Communist elements. The Soviet Army is composed not only of Russians but also of soldiers from the subjugated countries, while the satellite armies — as shown by the Hungarian Revolution, the disturbances in Poland and the events in Czechia and Slovakia — will not take a stand against their own rebelling compatriots, but to the contrary will themselves rise against the occupant. What is more, the soldiers of the Soviet Army, which is based on universal, compulsory military service, are tightly bound with their nations, living by the same ideals as their fathers and mothers.

It is not an isolated incident that four years ago, on August 31, 1970, in military court of the Baltic Military District there ended a trial of an underground organization inside the Army which had its branches in Poland, Azerbaijan and other places. The resonance of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will be heard in the armed forces. Neither the KGB nor the Party are able to pro-

tect it against this, since the soldiers of the Soviet Army are an inseparable part of the nations from which they come. It was not a chance occurrence that in the first half of 1973 over 15,000 young Ukrainians of military age were thrown into punitive detachments along the Sino-Soviet border.

Not only the captive nations' aspiration of freedom and independence makes them strong but also the fact that their fighters dispose of technological weapons as well, including the

most modern type thereof, as it is impossible to exclude over 200 million of captive nationals from technological production. It is the unsolvable contradictions of the imperialist Russian and the Communist system that constitute a decisive weakness on the part of the subjugator. Openly turning to Russian chauvinism and attempting to completely Russify the captive nations proves the weakness and bankruptcy of Communism in the USSR.

(To be continued)

A Reply to the "Detente" Fanatics

In several West European capitals the "detente" fanatics are still in the majority although they cannot substantiate their arguments. Only the constantly growing strong minority is realistic enough to declare to listeners that:

Detente is practiced exclusively in compliance with Moscow's conditions, i. e. as a contribution to the consolidation of Communist rule without any other result having ensued therefrom so far.

Secretary General of NATO, Joseph Luns, disregarding the fact that he incurred the wrath of the entire Eastern Bloc, said the following:

"The Soviet Russians have perhaps started to speak more gently; however, they are carrying a stick which is getting thicker and thicker (referring to the ever growing armament of the Warsaw Pact countries)."

Secretary General Luns has the best possible insight into the ratio of forces between the two military blocs, screening day-by-day Western Secret Service evaluations. Secretary Luns must also evaluate such statements as made by "turncoat" major-general Sejna!

"The Soviet Union has been planning a generalized attack on West-

ern Europe since 1963. Within three days they intend to reach the Rhine River and within one week the Atlantic without sparing the neutral countries. The tasks of the individual units have been laid down in detail. Mayors, country wardens, polit-commissaries, police chiefs and judges have already been appointed to take over the rule over Western Europe on day X. Food-ration cards, daily orders and posters have been printed in German and French. 10,000 people are at once to be arrested in Germany, France and Switzerland and shall be sentenced within 24 hours in view of already existing "black lists". Emissaires whose task it will be to render train stations, bridges, broadcasting and television stations inoperable and take them over are already present at the places of their operation."

What sort of governments are those cognisant of NATO security matters but nevertheless, doing nothing decisive to protect the population entrusted to them? What sort of governments are those which have been careless enough for many years to allow the stated opponent to post a master spy next to the government chief.

Lenin himself shows that the idea of peaceful coexistence is a lie. His bio-

graphy written by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reads as follows:

"Our understanding of the core of this question is different. **The Marxists-Leninists regard peaceful coexistence as a form of class struggle, the struggle of Socialism against Imperialism in the political, economic and ideological sphere. A peaceful coexistence between Socialist and bourgeois ideology is**

impossible without betraying Communist interests. Peaceful coexistence does not mean dispensing with the struggle between the two opposite ideologies. The conditions of peaceful coexistence rather create more favorable possibilities for the development of the proletariat's class struggle in capitalist countries, for Democracy and Socialism, for a new impetus to the national liberation movements of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries."

Serbian Politician Assassinated

Another man has been assassinated in Munich. Serbian journalist and former Consul General Yakob Lotich, editor of the anti-Communist newspaper "Spark", was found strangled in his apartment.

On July 10, 1974, at approximately 1:00 p. m., a friend came to see Yakob Lotich, who was widowed and lived alone. After ringing the door bell several times and receiving no answer, his friend called a janitor, fearing that something may have happened to the elderly Lotich. The janitor's grandson gained access into the apartment through an open window and unlocked the door from within. The visitors were faced with the horrible picture of the strangled 79-year old Lotich lying on the floor of the vast room. It was speculated that he was murdered on July 8th or 9th, the last time the "Spark" editor was seen. A chair had been overturned and papers were scattered on the floor, apparent that Lotich had attempted to defend himself beforehand.

Political Reasons

Lotich edited the newspaper "Spark" which criticized the prevailing conditions in Yugoslavia. The editorial staff

is composed of Serbs only. The former editor of the "Spark", Radko Obradovych, was shot five years ago on a Munich street.

The anti-Communist newspaper "Spark" was one of the objects of attack by the Yugoslav Titoist press. Staff members and supporters believe that Yakob Lotich's assassins tried to acquire his notes about his connections with other emigrants. Milorad Petrovych, one of Tito's four Yugoslav consuls, issued the following statement: "Lotich proved to be unequivocally opposed to the general political trend in Yugoslavia."

Lotich lived alone in his Schwabing apartment (a district in Munich). According to police reports, nothing of value was missing, including his precious stamp collection. His friend described Lotich as politically involved, but very gentle and even-tempered.

Murder Commission Chief, Hans Fischer, gives the following explanation for their failure to uncover the murders committed against Serbs and Croats in exile, numbering six since 1969: "The main difficulties are due to three factors: the assassins are not amateurs, but cold-blooded professionals; when the victim is found, his assassin is already far away in most

cases, and thirdly, according to "Interpol" statutes, we do not get any support for political cases."

The Murder Commission Chief did not want to draw premature conclusions as to why Lotich should have been assassinated for political reasons. From his professional point of view, he cautiously expressed his uneasiness: "Should this be the case (political reasons) prospects are rather remote, as in the other cases also."

Police authorities are offering a DM 2000,— reward for any information leading to the arrest of the assassins, realizing they have been successful in removing all traces of evidence.

Serbian emigrant circles in Munich assert that Yakob Lotich was preparing a compilation of materials dealing with the "Yugoslav Gulag". In circular letters, he called upon Serbian emigrants to report all known encroachments of Communist partisans in Yugoslavia during and after the war. The Serbian emigrants are convinced that "radical" agents of the Yugoslav Secret Service assassinated Lotich for this reason.

Exiled Croat nationalists state that several years ago, Croat priest Krunoslav Gragonovich had also been preparing a compilation of materials about the fate of Pavelich's Army, the Croat army which the British surrendered to Tito after the German capitulation in Carinthia, Austria. Of the several thousand soldiers, only a quarter of them could save themselves. At that time Serbian and Slovenian anti-Communists also fell into the hands of the red partisans. Dragonovich disappear-

ed without a trace and suddenly appeared in Yugoslavia. The manuscript of his book and the collected materials had also disappeared. It is presumed that he is presently living in a monastery.

The editor of a reliable German newspaper stated that the Germans, ignorant of Balkan reality and mentality hold that the assassins had no choice but to kill Lotich for deteriorating German-Yugoslav relations. If 79-year old Lotich was such an important figure for the Social-Democratic Government to consider his death brought about by professional assassins an illegal infringement of the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany, this is certainly not the case now.

Shelepin, who is responsible for the assassination of Stepan Bandera, was invited last year and again this year by German trade union leaders to visit Germany, although the sentence rendered by the Supreme Federal Court "catalogued" him as a criminal. It was also "conveniently" forgotten that two murders organized by him and proved by court proceedings, had been carried out on the territory of the sovereign Republic of West Germany.

How could the assassination of Lotich possibly deteriorate German-Yugoslav relations? On the chess board of "international big interests and affairs" the assassination of an activist constitutes a very insignificant episode which does not affect any further dealings. Such cynicism towards ethical principles and law is characteristic of our transient age, and concessions towards assassins who were convicted and sentenced are being made. Lotich's assassin, however, has not been convicted or sentenced.

Without formalities and investigations, politically atuned people know whose hands killed Lotich. With good reason those attending his funeral vowed that they would unceasingly continue collecting materials about the "Yugoslav Gulag".

**Save us unnecessary expenses!
Send in your subscription for
ABN Correspondence
immediately!**

Subversion Strategy of Action at International Level

History will register the year 1945 as one of miscarried peace. At the end of WW II we perceived the first premonitory signs of Cold War.

With great generosity and incredible ingenuity the United States refused the responsibility incumbent on them as chief, or rather sole victorious power of the Anti-Comintern Bloc. The United States which did not adhere to the League of Nations, discarded all previous League experiences, believing that all world problems would be solved by some magic through the "improved model" of the newly created international organization. They did even more and gave Soviet Russia three votes, the two additional ones belonging to Ukraine and Byelorussia, who are deprived of their national independence and have no active or passive diplomatic representatives. The world considers these two countries presently enslaved by Russian Bolshevik tyranny.

Satisfied that Soviet Russia accepted her role as one of the founding states of the United Nations, the United States agreed to finance one-third of the new organization's expenses. As a permanent member of the Security Council, the USSR has the veto vote and, not surprisingly, has used it extensively thus paralyzing the activity of the organization. However, the USSR never abandoned or denied its primary vocation of spreading the proletarian revolution throughout the world.

The Bolshevik policy has slowly and patiently been pushed towards its goal. The initial handicap due to the West, a West having no ideal and having abandoned its moral principles devoting itself entirely to the benefits of the consumer civilization, has been overcome in the process.

Lenin maintained that as soon as eager capitalist countries out for gain entered into trade relations with Communist countries, they would no longer be in danger and that, on the contrary, Capitalism would in this way put out money for its own ruin. In 1945 this idea might have sounded paradoxical, but since that time those who have been alert have seen it become a reality.

Today, after nearly three decades, the situation does not look promising for the West. If the West has the desire to survive, the time has come for definite action. Bolshevik ascendancy today has assumed such proportions that quite often the Kremlin must restrain the excessive zeal of its "officers". Facing the paradox head on, brings us to the realization that we ourselves are laying out the capital for the advance of a World Revolution. Our rulers, having failed to realize the true weight of the enemy and being overly preoccupied with electoral terms, are governing from "hand to mouth". They resolutely close their eyes even to the near future adhering to the old principle of "après nous le déluge" or not caring about what will happen when they are gone.

The western states are in a defensive position and like a condemned man in his despair, they cling to the idea of coexistence, which in its present form is nothing but a step towards unconditional surrender. For instance, why does the West not realize that international organizations created and financed by the West are at the service of World Communism today?

The United Nations willingly agree to discuss apartheid practiced in the Republic of South Africa, but remain deaf mutes when it comes to racial discrimination and cultural genocide in

the USSR and Yugoslavia. The United Nations votes for the independence of African tribes which never constituted a nation, but why does it close its eyes when the self-determination of peoples of whole nations living under the yoke of Tito or Brezhnev is at stake? The United Nations carries motions in favor of liberation movements supported and instigated by third world powers, but they take no notice of the liberation movements and aspirations of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Croats, Balts, Georgians and a long list of other subjugated peoples.

The situation is by no means better at UNESCO, where the Marxist doctrine is propagated to satiety with the "dirty money" supplied by Americans and other capitalists.

Recently, a simple telegram noted the existence of Guinea-Bissau, and that it has become an elected member of a world organization. Is anyone aware of the composition of this self-appointed government and is the hotel address of this self-appointed government known? Has Portugal, a founding member of the United Nations, been consulted, Guinea-Bissau de facto and de jure being an integral part of Portugal's territory? However, no notice is taken of Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian and other exiled governments having been chased from their countries by the Red Army.

Two recent and quite significant events passed nearly unnoticed, which provide another example of Communist ascendancy over world organizations. Quite recently, Mao's troops, with an overwhelming number advantage, disembarked on the Parcel Islands and after a bloody battle, forced the South Vietnamese forces to retreat. This is aggression in every legal definition of the word. Although it was performed on a small scale, the facts do not change. For two days the world press reported these events and then tapered off to nothing. The government of the Republic of Vietnam, at

the time of the aggression, withdrew its complaint submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations. The Council refused to act because from the 15 members of the Security Council only five were prepared to vote in favour of including the Vietnamese complaint in the agenda, the five being the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Costa Rica and Austria. Maoist China, the USSR, Byelorussia, Irak and Indonesia exercised their veto rights, and the five remaining members actually countenanced the Communist group by abstaining. From this we can conclude that the world organizations are using two different categories of wisdom and circumspection. This particular case opened the way to legal aggressions and an unpunished and consented annihilation of the free world.

The second example is quite different. It is also highly significant as it shows the offensive and aggressive tactics of Communism. The world briefly reported this event, but failed to give it proper recognition as an important happening. The tactic in question concerned the legitimacy of the Republic of Cambodia, which was submitted to the United Nations for approval. The simple fact that the question was actually submitted to the United Nations shows a radical change in Communist politics. Thus far, the Communist countries of dubious legitimacy, have carefully avoided discussing the question, considering it an interference in the internal affairs of the respective states. Certain that they are now in the majority, they are beginning to attack. Of course one cannot expect that they are going to discuss whether the government of Cuba or that of Hungary is legitimate or not. It is the legitimacy of Cambodia which is in question. This country succeeded with a national start, to eliminate Communist interference, but as a free country was exposed to a concentrated effort to render it dependent through civil war, poverty and destruction. The fact

that the question has been discussed is very significant. Having failed through armament, the Communists are trying to pass a resolution in the United Nations, entitling them to openly occupy Cambodia militarily or, in popular Communist terminology, to „liberate“ Cambodia. By following this line of thought, we shall soon reach the day when a qualified majority of the United Nations can demand a change of government in Belgium, Turkey, Great Britain, Brazil and even in the United States.

International organizations with government representation are falling into such a pattern. However, the situation is not foreign in other organizations where the Communist countries are gradually positioning themselves for eventual takeover.

Politics play a definite discriminatory decisive role. For instance, the Soviet football federation refused to send its national team to play the second game against the Chilean team to qualify for the World Championship. The Soviet Russians perhaps feared that its team would be defeated in Chile, which had successfully eliminated a pro-Communist regime that, within a short period of time, had reduced the country to a state of poverty, while the USSR preferred to give priority to political considerations.

Abundant hypocritical tears have been shed for the victims of the Chilean national revolution. The number of these victims in fact does not exceed a few hundred, a derisive amount if compared to the hundreds of thousands of victims of the purges carried out by the Soviet Russian regime in Southeast European countries. Is Soviet Russia morally entitled to give us a lesson? Did it ever protest against the concentration camps of Mordovia or Gulag Archipelag, which in other respects, are better organized than a temporarily fixed penalty area in a stadium within eye sight of the world? The international football federation

(FIFA) did not succumb to blackmailing for the sake of its own honour and that of its president, Sir Stanley Ross, and Soviet Russia was forced to pay a \$ 200,000 fine to its Chilean colleagues. The FIFA leaders were able to stand firm, and strictly observed the regulations without mingling sports and politics. Another news report from Tokyo, where the Asian table tennis championship took place from April 2 April 15, 1974, showed a different official stand. What appears astonishing when reading the official championship communique is the fact that South Korea, South Vietnam, the Republic of Khmer, Laos and Israel were not allowed to participate, and in their place the Khmerian, Vietnamese and Palestinian rebels were invited.

The seams of our system are splitting. This is no one's fault but our own, because of our disunion, immobility and our defeatism. This state of mind is however, familiar to those who in principle, are fighting for freedom and for the protection of human rights. For instance, the big West German Party organizing a so-called European conference, where coexistence has precedence over freedom and where the oppressed nations cannot freely express their opinion and condemn "one way" coexistence. There can be no coexistence as long as national and human rights are not respected in Europe as well as on other continents. Freedom is an irreversible movement moving along history's path. No ruler of any country will ever be able to effectively halt this movement, because freedom is indestructible and will never die.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

Canadian Protest Mushrooms for Jailed Ukrainian Writer

Protest action in support of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian writer imprisoned in the USSR for alleged anti-Soviet agitation, is gathering momentum across Canada.

Five hunger strikers outside the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa today entered their fifth day of protest. It is a gesture of contempt against the treatment of the 38-year-old dissident who preached at his trial that ideas cannot be held behind bars.

In Winnipeg five students are staging a hunger strike outside the Manitoba legislative building. The Toronto headquarters of the Campaign in Defence of Valentyn Moroz has been promised similar support in Montreal and Vancouver.

As a weapon formed by the Toronto-based World Congress of Free Ukrainians, one of the committee's prime functions is to co-ordinate the protest activity in Canadian cities and to call on support from South America and Europe.

They say Moroz's plight is only one example of Soviet repression and they condemn the persecution of all intellectuals in the USSR.

The demonstrators, who are taking only water and salt and vitamin tablets, have announced that they will remain

on strike until Moroz, serving a 14-year sentence, is released from Vladimir prison where he has been on hunger strike since July 1st. He demands release from a strict isolation cell. Otherwise, he has pledged, his fast will continue until death.

In 1966 Moroz was arrested and tried for possessing anti-Soviet propaganda and imprisoned until September, 1969. His freedom lasted nine months. He was arrested again in 1970.

The Canadian protest movement has taken a lead in demonstrating support for Moroz. Political science graduate Marta Volycka, the committee's Ukrainian-born executive secretary, believes the organization has the support of 70,000 Ukrainians living in Toronto (the third largest ethnic group in the city), who are concerned for the political injustices in the Ukraine.

In the hope that the Soviets will become sensitive to adverse publicity, the hunger strikers will continue indefinitely. When the present five are taken to hospital, they say, they will be replaced outside the Soviet Embassy by the next five volunteers on the list.

The protestors are trying to arrange a meeting with Prime Minister Trudeau and External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp.

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

Hunger Strike of Prisoners in the Perm Concentration Camp

The West has received documents about a month long hunger strike of many political prisoners in the Perm Prison Camp VS 389/35. The hunger strike was announced on May 12, 1974, by Simon Gluzman, a Kiev psychiatrist. Its aim was two-fold: the defense of the Ukrainian intellectual Evhen Proniuk, a former researcher at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and the protest against cruelty and lawlessness in the concentration camp. The following people took part in the hunger strike: Lychak, I. Kandyba, I. Svitlychny, Zakharchenko, Horbal, Marchenko (Ukrainians); S. Gluzman, Alman, Butman, Mishener, Khnoch, Yahnan (Jews); Nezaminov (Tatar); Pavlenkov, Afansyev, Chekalyn (Russians); Danne (Latvian); Chantyresshvili (Georgian); Sharkhwerian, Budahian (Armenians); Waldman (Estonian). During the time of the strike a Ukrainian, Sylka, died, while Onasenko, who only had three years of his twenty-five year sentence to serve, committed suicide, leaving a note: "I have no more strength for suffering. Damn you! Snakes!"

On June 16, 1974, Simon Gluzman sent a memorandum to the CC of CPSU, stating: "On May 12, 1974, I was forced to undertake a drastic measure of protest: "I had to go on a hunger strike. The reason for this was the unfounded deprivation of the next visit for the prisoner Proniuk, who has not seen his family for more than two years. From May 12 until today the prisoners of VS 389/35 have sent out over 200 statements, complaints and protests to different socialist organizations and administrative offices. The case of Proniuk is not the only reason for this active and massive dissatisfaction among the prisoners. The reason lies in the constant high-handed-

ness in the interpretation and execution of laws by the administration of the penal colonies."

In his twelve points Gluzman cites a whole series of examples and abuses, stating that the administration of the concentration camps uses "brutality, blackmail and terror" in their dealings with prisoners; prepares false reports about the prisoners; does not allow the prisoners rights to correspond, sometimes does not deliver them letters for months." S. Gluzman cites the case of Ihor Kalynets whose poetry was confiscated by the administration during his absence and never returned; without the last page, which contained the court stamp and the signature of the judges. The prisoners are deprived of visiting privileges for no reasons. S. Gluzman himself was deprived of a visit, for the sole reason that he was sitting on his bed. Almost all the permitted visits have become a mockery of the family of the prisoners, who are submitted to a body search. S. Gluzman illustrates high-handedness in the concentration camps by examples, citing appropriate Soviet laws which forbid this. His statement ends with the following words: "I inform you that in case the practices of lawlessness and high-handedness continue in camp VS 389/35 I will make all possible efforts, using all the means at my disposal, to call the attention of the authorities and the state organs to these conditions."

**To him whose heart is aching,
the whole world seems to be in
tears.**

**You serve yourself best when
you walk firmly on the road of
common sense.**

Hryhoriy Skovoroda

Moses and Dathan

(Excerpts)

How dull the world would be if your rosy schemes were really "historically inevitable". What would there remain for a person to do if progress were inevitable, "if paradise were guaranteed and everything were known in advance?" Under those circumstances would a person be a person, an autonomous being, who alone in this world has the capacity to make decisions? A human is the antithesis of automatic programming. There is no inevitable progress. A person is a person because he is on constant armed guard against permanently-existing evil, because history is not programmed, because he has the possibility to change the world to coincide with man's purpose...

Truth is concrete as are the concepts of good beauty. Truth is also national. It is the same for all, but it has a million facets. For each nation it is reflected through one of these unique facets. The mission of each nation is to recognize its own facet, which only it can discover, and thus enrich mankind... It is not enough to introduce Marx into Byelorussia. In order for him to become meaningful for you, he must be perceived through Byelorussian eyes... If you think he can simply be borrowed from Moscow you are greatly mistaken... Marxism, (and any ism for that matter), brought into Byelorussia, is only the comb which must be filled with Byelorussian honey...

I do not know why Byelorussia exists. But I am absolutely certain that a Byelorussian who says "Why do I need Byelorussia?" is morally dead. Why is there a Byelorussia? There is no answer to that question. When one speaks of that which is sacred, logic does not apply. The most sacred is the nation. The nation is the synthesis of all the spiritual values acquired by a

people. Shevchenko, a Christian, regarded the nation as higher than God (the formal, dogmatic God. The real God was the nation)...

There is no future which will automatically guarantee a nation's right to exist. A nation can exist only when there are people who are prepared to die for it, only there are Byelorussians for whom the question: "Why is there a Byelorussia?" does not arise; only when its sons believe that their nation is chosen by God and regard their people as His highest creation. I know that all people are equal. My reason tells me that. But at the same time I know that my nation is unique... My heart tells me so. It is not wise to bring the voices of reason and of emotion to a common denominator. The voice of reason is indispensable. But a person whose heart has been destroyed by reason is an empty shell. Superiority of reason does not always indicate spiritual superiority...

Love, and friendship are possible between equals. But is what you call love, really love? Love between whom? Between the hunter and the hound? I can love Russia. But I do not feel inferior to a Russian. You cannot love Russia, because you look up to Russia...

Through a thousand years of oppression, a sense of Byelorussianism has crystallized in the soul of the Byelorussian. It is impossible to destroy it... It can be lulled to sleep, but this hypnosis does not last forever. In times of mighty upheavals, when even the mountains tremble, it will instantly dissipate.

A Byelorussian can develop friendship for a Russian, but only upon attaining his full stature, only by acquiring full national consciousness, and only by passing over you!

"A Silence More Deafening than Thunder..."

"A silence more deafening than thunder... only a submissive Moroz would prove useful to you, for by 'confessing' he would repudiate himself. But for a Moroz of that breed you have to wait forever... I am being tried behind closed doors; but your secret trial will 'boomerang' regardless of whether I am heard, or whether I remain silent, isolated from the world in a cell in Vladimir prison. There is a silence more deafening than thunder and it cannot be muffled, even should you destroy me... Liquidation is an easy answer, but have you ever considered the truth — that the dead often count more than the living? The dead become a symbol — they are the substance that nourishes the will and strength of noble men... ("Instead of A Last Play")

And the secret trial of Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz has indeed boomeranged. Since his first arrest in August 1965 to his present internment in the notorious Vladimir prison, Moroz continues his fight against the violation of his human and national rights guaranteed under the Soviet Constitution and the Soviet Criminal Code. Despite the inhuman conditions in which he is incarcerated and his poor state of health, morally Moroz has not broken under the pressure of prison guard tortures. Physically he does not resemble the man he once was, but his commentary on the phenomenon which permits the Criminal Code to override the Constitution reflects his illegal sentencing and his present state of mind: "People convicted for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda are people who think differently or think at all, and whose spiritual world cannot fit into the Procrustean bed of Stalinist standards which the KGB defends so assiduously. They are men who dared to claim the rights pro-

claimed in the Constitution and who raised their voices against the shameful oppression by the KGB. They are men who do not want to accept the double-bottomed wisdom of slavery which directs that the Constitution be read as: "keep quiet while you are still alive..."

On July 1, 1974 Valentyn Moroz began a hunger strike until death. Despite numerous pleas from his wife Raica and his 12-year old son, Moroz was resolved to continue the hunger strike. He pointed out to his family that he "must remain faithful to his convictions and beliefs". When his son said, "Father, you must live for all of us", Moroz replied, "It seems that I must die in order for all of you to live".

And the boomerang spread to all parts of the world growing with each new day, spreading news about Moroz, the inhuman treatments he, as well as other prisoners are receiving, and the total disregard for those basic human rights and individual freedoms which are so essential to the well being of every living creature on this earth.

CANADA

On July 15, 1974 the boomerang's new effect was felt as a group of young Canadian Ukrainians began a hunger strike in solidarity with Valentyn Moroz in front of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. The group announced that they would hunger until Moroz was released from the notorious Vladimir Prison where he is being kept in strict isolation, and is transferred to a concentration camp.

At the same time the boomerang's momentum increased as hunger strikes commenced in Winnipeg, Washington D.C., New York, London, Paris, Buenos

Aires, Sydney, Sao Paulo and Bruxelles. Telegrams were sent out to leaders of all these countries urging support for the strikes. Just previous to this, press coverage surrounding Moroz' hunger strike was intensified. "The Citizen" on July 2, 1974, informed the Ottawa public that the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz had commenced an extended demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy. The twelve members of the committee handed pamphlets to drivers in passing cars and pedestrians, sang Ukrainian folk songs, carried placards and marched their symbolic wooden prison back and forth in front of the Soviet Embassy.

The strikers appealed to the general public to express their concern to Soviet representatives by telegram and telephone calls and to join them in "an hour of solidarity", demonstrating with them. In another article, "The Citizen" on July 15th published an extensive article on the four hunger strikers, joined by three others later that day. "The Citizen" reported that the strikers, subsisting only on water, were concerned about the health of Moroz, worrying that after being stabbed four times, beaten several times, and now being held in solitary confinement, his health was steadily deteriorating since their last reports from physicist Andrei Sakharov. "The Ottawa Journal" of July 15th reported that the four strikers expected similar strikes to commence in other countries which would also last until Moroz was either released or ended his own strike.

On July 16th press coverage expanded to two other Canadian newspapers. The "Montreal Gazette" published a picture of the strikers in Ottawa handing out leaflets and pamphlets to motorists and pedestrians urging greater support for Moroz.

"The Globe and Mail" on July 16th also reported the widespread campaign for Moroz' release, publishing a large

photograph of the Ottawa strike. "The Ottawa Journal" reported on the evening of July 16th that External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp cannot and will not intervene with internal Soviet politics. Minister Sharp felt that the Canadian government's position was such that they could only keep Soviet officials abreast of Canadian reactions to the solitary confinement of Moroz and nothing else. Two male strikers, A. Bandera and Semotiuk, while passing Prime Minister Trudeau on his way to a morning cabinet meeting, requested that he bring the Moroz case before the cabinet. The strikers announced that they would subsist on water, salt tablets and possibly vitamin tablets. Plans for a candlelight vigil on the evening of the 16th were being made by strikers and sympathizers.

On July 17th at 1:50 a.m. a telephone conversation again took place with physicist Andrei Sakharov who reported that although Moroz' wife had visited Vladimir Prison, she was not allowed to see him. Sakharov stated that Moroz is in a grave situation and the most effective defense on his behalf should be conducted on a state level, since appeals to the conscience were not effective. He urged the Prime Minister to write a personal letter on behalf of Moroz, and urged that the heads of State of Canada and other countries support Moroz. Sakharov feels that those heads of state having relations with the Soviets bear personal responsibility, and in order for relations among nations to develop normally, they must come to the defense of such individuals as Moroz and others. Sakharov informed the strikers that he was with them with all his heart and urged statesman to support their noble deed.

Another press bulletin was released on July 17th informing the press that five Canadian Ukrainians had commenced a hunger strike in Winnipeg in front of the Manitoba Legislative

Building. The strikers announced that they would continue "indefinitely" until news of Moroz' improvement was heard. As the Ottawa strikers went into their third day, about thirty mothers and children joined them for an hour in front of the Soviet Embassy, placing flowers in front of the symbolic prison. The strikers informed the press of their attempt to speak with the warden of Vladimir prison, and after great difficulties contacted the prison only to be informed that first, all questions must be put into writing, and then that no such person was interned in the Vladimir prison. Minister Sharp expressed concern for the health of the strikers and felt that the Soviets would forcefeed Moroz. He stated that he would continue to support Moroz on "humanitarian grounds" but felt that he could do nothing personally. The Honorable Stanley Haidasz, Minister responsible for Multiculturalism, joined strikers in front of the embassy and gave his support to the strikers for their efforts.

On July 18th, Minister Stanley Haidasz signed a petition calling for the release of Moroz and stated his plans for trying to arrange a meeting for the strikers with Prime Minister Trudeau and Minister Sharp.

The "Toronto Sun" of July 17th and the "Globe and Mail" of July 18th both reported the action which was being carried out in front of the Soviet Embassy. "The Gazette" of Montreal on the evening of the 18th carried a report that 50 women and children, most of them third and fourth generation Ukrainian Canadians, paraded silently in front of the Soviet Embassy to pledge support for the wife and child of Moroz, who have not seen him for over a month. The "Ottawa Journal" also reported that more than 75 persons attended a candlelight Hour of Solidarity on the evening of the 16th, and a larger group was expected on the evening of the 17th. Local support for the campaign

to free Moroz from his solitary confinement has grown immensely in the past two days. The "Ottawa Citizen" on July 16th, "The Toronto Sun" on July 16th and the evening publication of "The Ottawa Citizen" all reported about the progress of the strike action, as well as Minister Sharp's official position with respect to Soviet officials.

The Toronto "Globe and Mail" reported on July 18th that the hunger strike, in its fourth day was progressing well. "The Citizen" of Ottawa and "La Presse" of Montreal both reported that the Reverend Patrick Byce of Niagara Falls had joined the hunger strike, and that a prayer service was held outside the Soviet Embassy. Telephone calls and telegrams were steadily streaming into the Soviet Embassy. "The Citizen" reported that the First Secretary to the Ambassador had stopped to debate with the group insisting on the futility of the hunger strike, insisting that the young strikers take care of their health instead.

John Woychysyn, the Ukrainian physician attending the strikers daily, reported that the strikers, on their diet of water, salt tablets and vitamins A, C, and D can last a week — "maybe two weeks and more". In Winnipeg the strikers entered their third day and spokesman for the group, Stephan Welhasch, informed the press that there were no adverse reactions to their demonstration from the Manitoba government and that they were — "just practicing their civil liberties, their right to demonstrate and protest".

Many citizens of Ottawa and political figures have visited the strikers and have expressed their personal support. On Thursday the 18th, eighteen black carnations were delivered to the Soviet Embassy, each symbolizing one day of Moroz' hunger strike. Representatives from such national groups as the Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Czechs, Slovaks and Hun-

garians have participated in the candlelight vigil held in front of the Embassy. Early on the morning of July 19th Ed Broadbent, interim leader of the NDP, visited the strikers and said that he would do all he could in support of Moroz. "The Tribune" of Winnipeg reported on July 19th that five youths were camping on the Manitoba Legislative Grounds in a solidarity hunger strike with Moroz. They stated they would consume only water unless ordered differently by a physician who will periodically visit them. One of the strikers, Stephan Welhasch, was participating in his second strike, the first one in 1972 for a similar cause. The "Winnipeg Free Press" reported on July 19th that the official position of the Canadian and US governments in the case of imprisoned Soviet intellectuals has been non-intervention in the affairs of another state. One of the strikers mentioned that these governments intervened whenever they felt like it, as in Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. They stated that these governments will not intervene because, "... it's not beneficial to our government. They just aren't important enough...", making reference to all the imprisoned Soviet intellectuals. The "Toronto Sun" on July 19th published an article in full support of the hunger strikes throughout Canada. The delicacy of the Soviet Embassy was releasing, exposing Moroz as a "dangerous criminal". They fully realize that publicity in the West is the only weapon that victims of Soviet oppression have. The "Sun" went on to say that Moroz personifies all those who are imprisoned on the basis of human rights. It was stressed that if all people, not simply Ukrainians, Balts, Czechs, Hungarians and Poles were to express concern, a greater impact would be felt. Although urged to give up their fast by Minister Sharp for the sake of their health — the fast continues. The "Montreal Gazette" and

"The Winnipeg Free Press" both reported on July 19th about the progress of the nationwide hunger strike, restating the reasons of these actions.

On July 20th, the "Winnipeg Free Press" released news that telegrams from various parts of Canada were being sent to heads of State requesting intervention in favor of liberating Valentyn Moroz. Msgr. Basil Kushnir, President of the World Free Congress of Free Ukrainians sent a telegram to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, requesting UN intervention on behalf of Moroz. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Winnipeg sent a similar telegram to Prime Minister Trudeau on July 17th. Archbishop Maxim Hermaniuk, the Ukrainian rite Metropolitan of Winnipeg sent a protest wire to Trudeau on the 18th of July, also requesting intervention on behalf of Moroz. The "Winnipeg Free Press" reported that unconfirmed reports indicated that a meeting had taken place between Prime Minister Trudeau and officials of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

On July 20th the "Toronto Sun" and "The Spectator" carried wide coverage about 300 demonstrators from the Toronto and Ottawa area who joined the five hunger strikers outside the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. The demonstrators marched, sang Ukrainian freedom songs and listened to speeches calling for the release of Valentyn Moroz. Senator Paul Yuzyk (PC-Sask) congratulated the five hunger strikers who had not eaten for six days and added his signature to a poster supporting Moroz. "The Spectator" of July 10th reported that a Niagara Falls priest has joined the strike without the knowledge of his parishioners. The presence of Rev. Byce added weight to the protest and the strikers were "heartened and spirited" by the priest's presence. At this time, the length of Rev. Byce's fast was not known, and he was expected to return

home on Sunday morning to conduct normal liturgy services.

On July 21st, the 7th day of the hunger strike, artist Stephan Bidniak was hospitalized for fear of permanent body damage. He however declared that he would remain in Ottawa to paint and would donate proceeds to the Moroz Defense Committee. That same day the strikers received a telegram of support from Nobel Prize winner Heinrich Boell, who had received Solzhenitsyn upon expulsion from the USSR, stating that the Moroz case among others, was a case for the Conference on European Security in Geneva, in order that European security be safeguarded. Sunday dinners were foregone in sympathy of the strikers and proceeds were donated to the Moroz Defense Committee. On July 21st and 22nd the Toronto "Globe and Mail", the "Toronto Sunday Sun", "Le Droit" of Ottawa, and the "Ottawa Journal" all reported about the progress of the strike, and that the fast was taking its toll, referring to artist Bidniak. The media also informed the press about the growing support of political figures such as Senator Yuzyk, and Senators Eugene Forsey and Renauld La Pointe.

On July 23rd, a letter was released to all Liberal Caucus members of Parliament asking for further intervention into the Moroz case by the Canadian government. The appeal consisted of an explanation of the white paper policy adhered to by the Canadian government, stating that one of Canada's main goals in foreign policy is the promotion of social justice in the world and to strive for a free-flowing of ideas between East and West. Because of this white paper policy on foreign affairs, the Defense Committee appealed to the government in the name of "humanitarianism" which did not constitute meddling in the internal affairs of another state.

On July 23rd Mr. Peter Worthington reported his views on the Moroz solid-

arity hunger strike. According to Mr. Worthington, Moroz is one of those unique individuals who is prepared to suffer for his belief in the abstracts of freedom, justice and human dignity. The oft-heard criticism of "leaving old animosities behind" when they come to Canada, according to Mr. Worthington, although understandable, is superficial and disturbing in its ramifications. If the public were to accept the view that anything the Soviets do is an internal matter and no one else's business, the world would return to the time of the 1930's when Hitler's Germany was allowed to introduce any policy with impunity because no one was interested. Nazi prejudice against the Jews evolved into gas chambers; world apathy towards arrests of dissenters led to experimental surgery and "euthanasia" of those who politically disagreed with governments; and apathy towards Moroz? Where will this lead to? Dissent in the USSR today officially constitutes "schizophrenia", punishable under Soviet law to an indefinite prison term and torture, whatever the officials necessary. Unfortunately, the UN accepts Soviet definitions, and it has been left to individual medical bodies in countries like Canada, to protest Soviet misuse of psychiatry. In this, Canadian doctors are ahead of Canadian political leaders, who continuously choose to ignore violations of human rights. Mr. Worthington firmly believes that the Balts, Ukrainians, Jews, Czechs, etc. who demonstrate against Soviet policies, all Canadian citizens, are showing solidarity for compatriots who cannot freely leave their country. When there is no violence involved, there should not be a desire on the part of governments to discourage demonstrations of conscience simply out of concern for the feelings of Soviet representatives. Although there are too few Canadians demonstrating their disapproval of what the Kremlin does, Mr. Worthington states that it does the

Soviets no harm to know that adamant disapproval exists in Canada and that Canadians are not indifferent. The Red Army chorus, the Soviet Hockey team, the Moiseyev dancers, the Bolshi gymnasts and the Moscow Circus all constitute propaganda weapons of the Soviet State. Mr. Worthington also states that a main concern of the USSR is that emigrés abroad remain divided, continue to push individual causes and do not unite. The fight for human rights in the USSR is broad and non-partisan. Ukrainians fight for Jews who fight for Balts who fight for Byelorussians. The "spirit of the camps" must be reflected among emigrés abroad, thus resulting in greater potential for influencing Western politicians. And this, Mr. Worthington says, is what the hunger strikes are all about!

On July 23rd, the "Winnipeg Free Press" reported that 400 people attended a prayer vigil near the Taras Shevchenko Monument on the Legislative Building grounds in support of the hunger strikers.

The Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz released an urgent press bulletin on July 24th containing a transcript of a telephone conversation with Dr. Andrei Sakharov. He stated that he believed Moroz was be-

ing forced, but had no further information about him. Sakharov is convinced that violations of human rights cause international distrust, and since we are all interested in maintaining international trust, which is the basis of peace, an approach on humanitarian grounds would be most effective. He also stated that during such a large campaign concerning the fate of Moroz, the world should also remember that many are suffering from political repressions. It is important for the world to know that Ukrainian activists are concerned about justice for other nations as well, as for example Mustafa Dzehemilov and Igor Agustov, who was tried and sentenced for 15 years imprisonment and five years exile for the same reasons Moroz was tried for. Agustov was subjected to the inhuman conditions of a mental prison without any diagnosis or without permission of qualified bodies. During his first seven years in Vladimir prison, he was not allowed any fruit or vitamins, and was not allowed to serve the remaining eight years of his sentence in a labor camp. He is striving for the same ideals as Moroz, their fates are very similar! Dr. Sakharov states that it was good that the young people had telephoned Vladimir prison, and that they should con-



Demonstration In Ottawa, August, 1974

tinue to make inquiries at all Soviet embassies. He also stated that the release of Gregorenko prior to President Nixon's visit was due to support from all corners of the world and to the intervention of the United States. Dr. Sakharov agreed with the young strikers that the punishment of Moroz and members of other minorities is so extreme because they are raising the national question. Sakharov said that he would relay to other people what the young people were doing for the defense of all persecuted intellectuals and expressed his desire to embrace all those young people whom he called "great fellows".

On July 25th the "Toronto Sun" reported that Toronto lawyer Andrij Semotiuk was sent to the hospital late Wednesday evening, the 24th, the second of the hunger strikers having to end his fast on account of medical dangers, after a nine-day hunger strike outside the Soviet embassy.

"The Toronto Sun" on July 26th, reported that the Ukrainian community in Canada was expected to ask Prime Minister Trudeau and the Department of External Affairs to table the Moroz issue at the United Nations, since efforts by the campaign committee protesting Moroz' imprisonment to arrange a meeting with the Prime Minister had been unsuccessful. The committee also informed the press that Premier William Davis, in a letter to the Prime Minister, had urged the federal government to make representations to the appropriate Soviet authorities. Over 1000 leaders and representatives of the half-million strong Ukrainian community in Canada will join the strikers with a demonstration on Parliament Hill during the week-end of the 27th, to press the government into action. The "Toronto Star" on July 26th reported that two of the original five strikers continued their vigil outside the embassy. The strikers said that they were not certain if Moroz was still alive. At the same time,

the embassy issued a statement on Moroz, in fact, charging his Toronto supporters with false advertising. The news release also claimed that Moroz was "justly imprisoned for stirring up nationalist strife" among the Ukrainians and teaching them to hate Russians through his teachings and writings.

Toronto's "Globe and Mail" on July 27th reported that External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp has pledged to tell Soviet officials of "a growing concern of the Canadian people" for Valentyn Moroz. Minister Sharp is also to inquire into the health of Moroz. Following the meeting with the Minister, striker Andrij Bandera said he appreciated the government's help, but that the strike would continue until Moroz was released or until the group was taken to the hospital. Former Prime Minister Diefenbaker praised the striker's idealism and courage as he met with them on the 26th of July outside the Soviet embassy. He said, "while the Government has been pussy-footing and procrastinating, this little group sitting here has been able to represent the thoughts and aspirations of Canadians everywhere". On Thursday, the 25th, five Cabinet members met with the strikers on Thursday in a senate room to show their support for the Moroz issue. Multiculturalism Minister Stanley Haidasz, Paul Martin government leader in the Senate, Labor Minister John Munroe, Consumer Affairs Minister Herb Gray and Minister Sharp met with the group on Parliament Hill. The "Toronto Star" also reported on the 27th of July that Minister Sharp had pledged to inquire about the fate of Moroz.

On Tuesday July 30th, the "Toronto Star" reported that Prime Minister Trudeau had interceded with Soviet officials on behalf of Moroz on Friday July 26th. Trudeau told Soviet officials about the growing concern among Canadians over Moroz' plight.

On July 31st, "The Toronto Sun" re-

ported that the two remaining strikers were rapidly weakening from their 16-day hunger strike. Both strikers stated that they were rapidly reaching the end, and blood tests had shown possible deterioration of their systems. A doctor said that they would have to receive hospital treatment by today at the latest. The "Sun" also reported that Prime Minister Trudeau had informed the Soviet Ambassador, A. Yakovlev, that Canada recognized the Moroz issue as a Soviet internal matter, but expressed concern on humanitarian grounds. Inquiries into the health of Moroz were to be made through diplomatic channels. On the 31st, the "Toronto Sun" also reported that two days after ending his hunger strike, Toronto librarian Mykola Lypowecy, was rapidly recovering from his 13-day fast. The fast was his way of turning the public eye towards Moroz. Lypowecy believes Moroz' persecution to be the worst of all the writers and intellectuals in the USSR. Lypowecy was told to end his

hunger strike in order to prevent irreversible damage to his health. He refused to be hospitalized, preferring to make his recovery at home, insisting that hospitals were already short of beds and that the strikers were being offered the worst rooms in the hospital. Lypowecy stated that the strikers were driven to the extreme by what they considered to be a desperate situation. Moroz, said Lypowecy, would have done the same for him. The "Sun" reported that "whether or not he dies, the name Moroz has become a household word, particularly in Ottawa and Toronto, the cities which have most shown their outrage".

On August 4th, the "Toronto Sunday Sun" reported that Andrij Bandera and Lida Hirny, both of Toronto, were the last of the five Canadians to give up their hunger strike, after 17 days of fasting, despite possible permanent damage to their bodies. What the strikers have accomplished, according to Bandera, is to probably ensure that Moroz won't be allowed to die. "The public awareness of the issue wouldn't allow it because the Soviets like to have a favorable image abroad", said Bandera, the father of two. "However, all they can hope for now is that the Soviets will be sympathetic."

On Thursday, August 8th, the "Toronto Star" published an extensive article written by Prof. James Eayrs, Department of International Relations at the University of Toronto. According to Prof. Eayrs, the Soviet Power has not yet wrung a confession from Soviet Political Prisoner No. 1. Moroz carries on his ordeal... "a saga of the human spirit as noble as that of Socrates, as bold as Joan of Arc's". Prof. Eayrs further recounts the saga of Moroz, an ordeal which is not yet so well known in the world.

"... while Moroz, a Soviet victim, humanity's hero continues his fight", the boomerang moves on to the United States, Europe, Great Britain, Australia...



Captive Nations Week in New York

According to public Law 86-90/1959 the third week of July is designated as Captive Nations Week in USA. A special Committee in New York with American Judge Matthew Troy as Chairman, Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN as Exec. Vice Chairman and Mr. Michael Spontak — Ukraine as Secretary organized the Observance of the Week.

On July 10, 1974 in the Ukrainian Institute on 79th Street, New York, a special reception was held in honor of the Press. Dr. Ivan Docheff conducted the official part. He introduced



**Former American President
Richard Nixon meeting
AF-ABN Chairman Dr. Ivan Docheff**

the representatives of the AF-ABN Organizations attending as Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Cubans, Croats, Hungarians, Cossaks, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Germans, Rumanians, American Catholic War Veterans, Leaders of the Conservative Clubs and other guests. Mr. Michael Spontak introduced the Ukrainian leaders attending.

The New York Daily News, for their continued interest and support of the cause for freedom of the Captive Nations, was awarded a Special Plate, which was presented to the Exe-

cutive Editor of the paper Mr. Floyd Barger by the Chairman of the Committee Judge M. Troy. On behalf of the Captive Nations Leadership, addresses were delivered by Mr. Harry de Cobot — Cuba, Mr. John Kosiak — Byelorussia and Mr. Walter Dushnyck — Ukraine. Mr. Barger delivered the acceptance address.

In the musical program Miss Penka Lamar — Bulgaria performed several songs. At the piano was Miss F. Tanner — Estonia.

A buffet and refreshments were served at the conclusion of the official part.

On July 14th, 1974, was celebrated the Opening Day of the Week with Holy Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Celebrant was the Ukrainian Rt. Rev. Patrik Pashak, who also delivered the sermon. Thousands attended the Church service. After the Church services an impressive parade on 5th Ave. was held. It was led by the Catholic War Veterans of Queens and members of the Committee, followed by AF-ABN Organizations of Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Cubans, National Chinese, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Cossaks, Germans, Rumanians and Ukrainians with their youth units and large numbers of members.

At noon in Central Park, Band Shell, an open rally took place, in which over 2,000 attended. Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN — was master of ceremonies. Albert Mannari opened the ceremonies with the Pledge of Allegiance to the American Flag. Miss Penka Lamar — Bulgaria, performed the American National Anthem. At the piano was Miss Fredrika Tanner — Estonia. Judge Matthew Troy, Chairman of the Committee delivered the opening remarks. Mr. Anderson, and special representatives of Governor Wilson, read and presented the Governor's Proclamation. Miss Regina Zimantas — Lithu-

ania, Mr. Nixon's Proclamation. Speakers were Mr. Elmar Pleer — Estonia, and Mr. Michael Pizniak Ukraine. Dr. Anatol Bedry delivered the address on behalf of the World President of ABN Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko. Mr. John Kosiak offered the resolution, which was adopted with acclamation. In the folklore program, participated the Croatian Dance group with its president Rev. Cuvalo and the Bavarian Dance group with its president Jerry Hugel.

On July 17th, 1974 a special meeting for the presentation of the Mayor's Proclamation took place in City Hall. The meeting was very impressive. A colored guard of young ladies in national costumes and men carrying the national flags of Bulgaria, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Hungary, Latvia, Cuba, Estonia, Lithuania and Georgia

brought a spirit of solidarity in the struggle for freedom. Deputy Mayor Gibson, read and presented the Mayor's Proclamation. Judge Matthew Troy, as Chairman of the Committee accepted the Proclamation. Dr. Ivan Docheff, as Chairman of AF-ABN introduced present leaders of the Organizations of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Cubans, Hungarians, Cossaks, Croatians, Germans, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians and spoke on behalf of all in reply to the Mayor's Proclamation. Mr. Karbonsky, as Chairman of the Assembly of the European Captive Nations, also delivered the address.

The observance of the Captive Nations Week this year was more successful and the press and TV gave much more coverage than in the previous years.

RESOLUTION

of the captive nations week meeting in Central Park in New York City July 14, 1974

Communism at this time is keeping in severe oppression and captivity many formerly free nations, namely: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, China, Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, East Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel Ural, Kuril Islands, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, North Caucasus, North Korea, North Vietnam, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tibet, Turkistan, and Ukraine.

The totalitarian governments of the communistic empires, Soviet Russia, Communist China and Communist Yugoslavia, are mercilessly oppressing, exploiting and denationalizing the nations subjugated by them. The resources of the Captive Nations are used for feeding the Communist metropolises and their expansionist policies. Russification of non-Russian subjugated nations is pressed by Soviet Rus-

sian government in the most ruthless way to melt all these nations into one Soviet Russian nation.

Soviet Russia was instrumental in establishing the Communist system in Yugoslavia, Mainland China, Cuba and other small countries. Using Communism as an advantageous instrument Soviet Russia is pursuing expansion on a global scale. She is causing very dangerous international tensions with the possibility of provoking the next World War. Russia is the number one enemy of free humanity today.

At this time Soviet Russia wants to reinforce its own economic, technological and military position by acquiring scientific and technological achievements of the Western countries, and especially those of the United States; she wants to receive huge financial credits and the status of the most-fa-

vored nation, giving in exchange smiles and diplomatic receptions.

On the other side Soviet Russia wants to weaken and disarm the western countries, and to receive an unconditional approval of the existing status quo for all her territorial conquests up to date.

The recent visit by President Nixon in Moscow at the end of June, achieved nothing in the field of strategic arms limitation. Foy D. Kohler, former Ambassador to Moscow and an expert on Soviet Russia, recently told the House Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs that the Soviet version of peaceful coexistence "sounds more like the western definition of cold war". And further, in a paper written to the University of Miami, Mr. Kohler stated that he has found "no evidence that agreements reached at the Moscow and Washington summits of 1972 and 1973, or the general relaxation of tension between the United States and the USSR have brought any changes in Soviet positions" with respect to the "further development and possible utilization of nuclear weapons".

The Soviet Russian sword of Damocles is rapidly growing larger and it is a direct threat to the rest of the free countries.

Only the liberation of the Captive Nations can bring Soviet Russia to a reasonable and harmless position.

Therefore, it is resolved to condemn vehemently the present communistic colonialism as the shame of the 20th century;

It is further resolved to support the liberation of all Captive Nations from Communist colonial bondage and restoration of their independent states;

It is further resolved to ask the American President to bring the problem of contemporary communistic colonialism on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which will take place in New York City in September of this year.

Croatian Independence Day.

On April 20, 1974, at the Croatian Hall on 40th Street in New York, was celebrated the Croatian Independence Day. Master of ceremonies was Mr. Miro Gal. Main speaker was Dr. Durakovic from Canada. Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN was guest speaker. The Croatian Dance Group with President Rev. Cuvalo performed Croatian folk dances.

German-American Day.

On June 2, 1974, in Schutzen Park, N. J. was celebrated the German American Day. There was a parade of the flags and ceremonies. The representatives of AF-ABN Organizations from Bulgaria, Cuba, Ukraine, Rumania, Croatia and others participated with their national flags. Master of ceremonies was Mr. A. Baersdorfer. Main speaker was Mr. Hannan, President of the German American Congress of Chicago. Guest speaker was Dr. A. App. A special award was presented to Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN for his outstanding work for the liberation of the Captive Nations. Dr. Docheff delivered the acceptance speech. Croatian, Estonian and Bavarian dance groups participated in the folklore program.

Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty in New York.

During the month of June, the Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty visited New York. He was welcomed at the airport by hundreds of Hungarians in national costumes and with national flags. Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, was one of the high officials who greeted the Cardinal at the airplane steps.

On June 16, 1974, in the Hungarian Church in Passaic, N. J., Cardinal Mindszenty had a Special Church Mass and delivered a speech, in which he declared that he is still Primate of the Hungarian Church and will

continue to fight Communism for the freedom of the Hungarian people and Church as well as for freedom of all the captive nations. After the Church service a special reception was held, where Dr. Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN delivered the greeting speech

to the Cardinal, delegations of the AF-ABN Organization of Bulgaria, Ukraine, Croatia, Rumania, and Cuba were present. The honor guard was formed by Hungarian organizations, led by Cap. Zoltán Vasváry, in uniforms and with their national flags.

CONTENTS OF THE 7th WACL CONFERENCE

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

1. Resolution calling for ideological victory over Communism.
2. Resolution urging achievement of US military strength.
3. Resolution on the need for anti-Communist action.
4. Resolution on food for freedom.
5. Resolution on the need for unity among free peoples.
6. Resolution on loyalty to friends and allies.
7. Resolution on totalitarianism.
8. Resolution against the disarming of a free citizenry.
9. Resolution on the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism.
10. Resolution favoring concentration of propaganda on "World Freedom".
11. Resolution in favor of the liberation of Byelorussia and all other captive nations.
12. Resolution urging further consolidation of Free World regional security organizations.
13. Resolution on withholding technical and financial aid from the Communist Empire.
14. Resolution in support of the governments of Southern Africa's fight against Communist trained terrorists.
15. Resolution urging the dissolution of the United Nations and creation of a new federation of nations.
16. Resolution opposing the Chinese Reds for their smear-Confucius campaign.
17. Resolution supporting admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations.
18. Resolution urging support of a trouble-free Indian Ocean.

19. Resolution supporting the free flow of information and the freedom of travel.
20. Resolution supporting the free flow of information and the freedom.
21. Resolution on the use of the Spanish language at WACL conference.
22. Resolution urging superior nuclear forces for the USA.
23. Resolution urging that the export of food should be used as a strategic tool against Communist tyranny.
24. Resolution urging humanitarian aid to Khmer Republic.
25. Resolution urging support for "Khmer Youth For Freedom".
26. Resolution against Communist aggression against Khmer Republic and for support of "Khmer League for Freedom".
27. Resolution in support of Anti-Communist governments.
28. Resolution supporting the Anti-Communist governments of Asia.
29. Resolution against Castro's Cuba.
30. Resolution for support of and participation in Captive Nations Week.
31. Resolution urging free nations to step up cooperation and development for higher economic growth rates.
32. Resolution urging heightened vigilance against the Communist offensive of "smiling diplomacy".
33. Resolution on the Common WACL belief that peace must be with freedom and justice for all.
34. Resolution accusing Moscow for its suppression of human rights and banishment of intellectuals.
35. Resolution calling for release of two Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet jails.
36. Resolution supporting Ukraine's struggle for national independence and protesting the persecution and repression of Ukrainian intellectuals.
37. Resolution in defense of Ukraine's struggle for national independence.
38. Resolution urging the union of all peoples, all religions, all occupations and all freedom-loving people of all nations to fight for freedom and mankind.

Washington D. C., from 8th to 11th April, 1974.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ESTONIA

Novel by Refugee Author becomes Popular

A novel by exiled Estonian author, August Mälik, is the second most popular novel in occupied Estonia. This novel, "Taeva palge all" (Under the Skies), was first published in 1937 during Estonia's independence. The popularity of this novel was established in a joint study carried out by the Literary Museum and by the Inspectors of Libraries, in order to discover which books were most widely read. The summary of this study has been published in "Sirp ja Vasar" no. 15, 1974, the organ of the Ministry of Culture in occupied Estonia. The novel most often borrowed from libraries was "Primavera" by Lilli Promet, a Soviet-Estonian author. The plot developing in Italy, is basically apolitical and has been described by literary critics as "a work for intellectual drawing-rooms".

August Mälik, 74, escaped to Sweden before the onslaught of the Red Army in the autumn of 1944, at a time when the Nazi occupation authorities no longer bothered preventing people from escaping. At that time ten prominent Estonian writers succeeded in reaching Sweden safely.

Mälik and the other exiled writers were banned for a long time in occupied Estonia and their works were removed from the libraries. Although these tactics have officially been revised, most of the works by exiled writers are still banned and unattainable in Estonia. Mälik's novel "Taeva palge ale" is one of the few exceptions which was reissued in 1971 without the author's permission and without any royalties paid to him.

Typewriters Registered

The Estonian refugee newspaper "Eesti Päevaleht" in Stockholm reported on April 27, 1974 that all typewriters in Estonia, including those in private homes, have been registered and that the KGB holds three samples of typescript from each machine. Copying machines can only be owned by public agencies and can be used only in the presence of at least two officials. When it is not in use, it must be locked up.

Private citizens and less important agencies in Estonia and the other Baltic States find it almost impossible to obtain typewriters with a Latin key board. They are not on sale and must be ordered, the waiting list being as long as for an automobile, i. e., a few years.

Young Estonian Workers to Railway Construction in Siberia

The Russian Second Secretary of Komsomol in occupied Estonia, Yevgheni Doronin, addressing a group of young workers recruited to enlarge the "Red Kunda" Cement Works, at a reception for Komsomol Youth said: "Recently we sent 15 capable youths to build the main Baikal-Amur railway line. Our young people have worked everywhere the Komsomol has sent them." (Noorte Nääl, May 7, 1974)

The Cement Works at the mouth of the Kunda River in northern Estonia was founded in 1872. During Estonian independence the plant and the raw material mines, producing Silurian Clay and limestone, were transformed into a modern industrial complex. Now, under the Communists, the complex has been renamed "Red Kunda" and is continuously being expanded. At pre-

sent the fourth technological line is under construction.

Cement from Kunda is now a Soviet export commodity, transported via the port of Tallinn to Sweden, the Netherlands and other European countries as well as to Ghana and Nigeria. The ice-free commercial ports of Tallinn and Riga are also Soviet export ports for West Africa.

Light Industry in Estonia

The Russian Council of Ministers in Tallinn demanded that the Ministries for Light Industry and for Forest and Timber Industry cover in the second quarter of the year the deficit of consumer goods in the first quarter. The factories for outdoor clothing and for knitwear, Baltika and Marat, the footwear factory Kommunaar, the furniture factories in Tallinn and Narva and "Several other factories" have not fulfilled the orders made and paid for in advance by the commercial network, according to the Council of Ministers. They also complained about the poor quality of actual goods delivered.

(Rahva Hääl, April 30, 1974)



LATVIA

More Ideological Training

An editorial in the Russian-language Riga newspaper "Sovietskaia Latvia" demands CPSU and scientific Communism should consistently influence study in other fields at universities. The editorial further states that party organizations in establishments of higher education should actively contribute to the ideological, methodological and atheist indoctrination in the studies of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and other subjects. Lessons of Marxism-Leninism in establishments of higher education have improved, teachers of social sciences are working under the leadership of party organizations and almost all higher schools have now introduced a new

course entitled "Some Problems of the Current Stage of Ideological Struggle." Teachers who arrange lectures and seminars at the Revolutionary Museum and at the Museum of Latvian Red Light Infantry are especially praised.

Courses in social sciences are obligatory to all students, and teachers urge them to compose competitive essays on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, scientific Communism, etc. At the same time the paper criticises the low level of the lectures and seminars describing them as being too theoretical and not linked to topical problems of everyday life.

(Sovietskaia Latvia, April 7, 1974)



LITHUANIA

Five Lithuanian Intellectuals on Trial

It is a criminal offense punishable by law, to think well of the Swedish co-operative movement, according to the organ of the Lithuanian CP, Tiesa, which recently reported on the trial of five Lithuanian intellectuals: S. Zukauskas, a medical student, A. Sakalauskas, a university lecturer, V. Povilonis, an engineer, A. Mackevicius, an ethnographer, and Dr. I. Rudaitis, a retired X-ray specialist. All except Dr. Rudaitis were young men, but it was he who was charged with the worst offense of allegedly listening to foreign broadcasts of the BBC, Rome, Voice of America and other "freedom senders" on a regular basis, making notes of the broadcasts and then disseminating this information to others. Tiesa complained that "He has never been in Sweden. But he is deeply convinced that agricultural co-operatives there are functioning better than the kolkhozes in Soviet Lithuania." (Tiesa, April 17, 1974, No. 64). Consequently Dr. Rudaitis was charged under Article 68 of the Penal Code for engaging in hostile propaganda and defaming Soviet reality. The bulletin gave no further information on his trial or the sentence passed.

Underground Publication from Lithuania

The struggle of Lithuanian Catholics for human rights and religious freedom during 1972, leading to the collection of 17,000 signatures, to the self-immolation of 19-year old Romas Kalanta, and to large scale disturbances in Kaunas has not abated. These events have been reported in the underground publication "Lietuvos Kataliku Baznycios Kronika" (Chronicles of the Lithuanian Catholic Church). The first issue of this publication appeared in connection with the above mentioned events, and the remaining nine issues published to date, appeared at irregular intervals. At the beginning of the year the Lithuanian security organs carried out large scale investigations and house searches attempting to catch the editors and publishers of this underground publication, with no success. The last three issues appeared immediately after a major wave of arrests, each reporting in detail about the great number of violations of human rights, placing greater emphasis on denial of religious freedom. Material for these chronicles are collected from all parts of the country and then grouped into six dioceses. The last issue was more than 50 type-written pages long.

The Chronicles reach the Western press via foreign correspondents in Moscow. The Lithuanians in the free world now intend to compile the existing issues of the Chronicles into a major volume and to translate it into English and other languages of the world, while the Rome-based "Elta Press Bulletin" has already printed an Italian translation.



Sakharov Appeals to the World Congress of Mathematicians to Save Leonid Plyushch

Academician A. Sakharov has sent to the World Congress of Mathematicians

a letter appealing that the participants of the Congress demand the release of mathematician Leonid Plyushch. The text of Sakharov's letter follows: "I am appealing to all the mathematicians assembled at the World Congress, to express sympathy for the fate of their colleague, the mathematician Leonid Plyushch. Plyushch was arrested in January 1972 and, after a year of incarceration in an investigation prison, he has spent last year and half in the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital belonging to the MVD of the USSR. Plyushch is being punished for his public statements, which were filled with the spirit of humanitarianism, desire for truth and justice. Plyushch's statements and details relating to his case were published separately in the West and are available to you. I am appealing to the Congress to pass a resolution defending Plyushch and start all possible actions for his release.

August 2, 1974

Andrei Sakharov, Academician

P. S. — I ask that the Organizational Committee of the Congress bring this appeal to the attention of all the participants.

The World Congress of Mathematicians was held August 20-30, 1974, in Vancouver, at the University of British Columbia, Ukrainian mathematicians from the US and Canada also participated in the Congress: Dr. O. Andrushkiv, the President of the Shevchenko Ukrainian Scientific Society in the US, Dr. R. Andrushkiv, Prof. W. Vozhakivsky, Prof. I. Derchko and others.

Doctors Appeal in Defense of Plyushch

On August 5th, 1974, the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America has sent to Dr. R. James, the head of the Organizational Committee for the World Congress of Mathematicians to be held in Vancouver, B. C., a letter informing him about the fate of the Ukrainian

mathematician Leonid Plyushch, imprisoned in a Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital. Referring to the appeal from Academician A. Sakharov, the Ukrainian Medical Association also strongly supported all the internationally based efforts to obtain the release of L. Plyushch. In their letter, the Association emphasized the illegal use of medicine and drugs in the repression of the movement of opposition and in the physical and psychological destruction of dissidents. During World

War II such methods were used by the Germans who experimented on the inmates of the concentration camps. The same methods are being used today by the Soviet government against individuals who are being used today by the Soviet government against individuals who are demanding only basic human rights.

The letter was signed by Dr. G. Kushnir, the President of the Association and Dr. S. Voroh, Chairman of the committee of public relations.

Conference For Freedom, National Independence And De-colonisation

The European Freedom Council — co-ordinating body for a number of anticommunist organisations in Europe — held a Conference for Freedom, National Independence and De-colonisation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 12 and 13 October 1974 in Zürich, in connection with the European Security Conference now sitting in Geneva.

25 years ago the Russians saw imagined danger to world peace in the British, French, Dutch and Belgian colonial empires on the Indian and African continents, and demanded their dissolution. Today the EFC recognises the real threat to European and world peace in the continuing militarily imposed and maintained Russian colonial empire in Europe and Asia, and urges all Western Governments through their Ministers in Geneva to regard the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire/USSR as of overriding importance to the establishment of lasting peace and security in Europe. With de-colonisation of the USSR and a return to the 1918/19 re-establishment of national states in Europe and Asia, the EFC believes there will be an end to nuclear and conventional military confrontation, and the consequent immediate lessening of tension in Europe.

Since Russia has been a consistent advocate of national independence for all former colonial peoples, the EFC urges upon Western Governments the necessity of adopting the same approach to all countries now under Russian colonial rule. With de-colonisation would come also the disbandment of concentration and labor camps, the end of russification, religious and political persecution and the need for constant political warfare, and the restoration not only of a free voice in world forums for the subjugated nations but also their constitutional and human rights, namely, their independent, national democratic statehood. EFC supports national independence for all nations in Europe and Asia, and condemns the continuing efforts for further Russian colonisation. As an example

of one instrument of Russian colonisation, EFC cites and condemns the notorious Ribbentrop/Molotov Pact.

The European Freedom Council therefore urges Western Governments to examine closely the implications for lasting peace and security in Europe embodied in the foregoing proposals, with particular reference to their domestic and foreign policies in the light of the present economic crisis — deriving from Russian-provoked energy and other shortages, deliberately fermented industrial unrest, violence, air piracy and the wholesale moral degradation and depression presently afflicting European and indeed, world populations.

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.

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

**UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM**

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**
Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**

GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by
Prof. Vasyl Plyushch

Order from: Press Bureau of ABN, 8 München 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



DEMONSTRATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN IN DEFENCE OF VALENTYN MOROZ

CONTENTS :	Valentyn Moroz Continuing Hunger Strike	3
	Telephone Conversation with A. D. Sakharov	5
	Strokata, Svitlychna, Kalynets Ailing and Mistreated	7
	<i>Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine)</i>	
	The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire	10
	<i>Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang (WACL - Honorary Chairman)</i>	
	The Evil Fruit Of Détente	16
	Conference for Freedom, National Independence and De-Colonisation	19
	<i>Donald A. Martin (Great Britain)</i>	
	Communist Economic Warfare	20
	<i>Dr. Margarith Ausala</i>	
	Baltic Nations Versus Russification	27
	Bulgarian Memorandum	29
	<i>Georg Bensch</i>	
	The Prisoners in Honecker's Jails	32
	<i>Rev. J. Yariba (Lithuania)</i>	
	How long Have They to Remain Slaves?	33
	<i>Dr. N. Theodorowich (Byelorussia)</i>	
	Religion and Atheism in the USSR	34
	"World Freedom Day" Observance on January 23, 1975	39
	From the Activities of AF - ABN Organisations in USA	41
	Captive Nations Exhibit in London	42
	Full Text of Raisa Moroz's Open Letter	43
	<i>Michael Lohaza, M.D.</i>	
	Letter to Henry T. Jackson	44
	From Behind the Iron Curtain	45

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.

Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice
to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only
with indication of source (ABN-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No. 30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN),
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon: 44 10 69

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.
Verantw. Redakteur Frau Slava Stetzko.
Erscheinungsort München.
Druck: Dr. J. Herp, München.

Raisa Moroz's Desperate Plea

**"If Moroz dies, it will be on the conscience of all people",
says Dr. Sakharov**

"Moroz's situation is desperate. Articles and editorials throughout the world might generate a deluge of telephone calls, telegrams and letters — to Moscow, to Washington, to Vladimir Prison. The press has the power to promote, reveal, destroy. It might be able to save the life of Mr. Moroz, who symbolizes the agonies of countless others — and then save those others as well."

Jeri Laber

a writer on Soviet affairs, a member of Amnesty International
(The New York Times, November 9, 1974)

Raisa Moroz, now herself risking arrest and incarceration, has appealed to President Ford and other leaders of Western countries to intercede with Soviet authorities in behalf of her husband who is slowly nearing death as a result of both cruel treatment and the self-imposed hunger strike as a protest against it.

The tortuous sight of her ailing husband still fresh in her mind, Raisa Moroz, has made the direct plea despite KGB orders to the contrary. She is now herself at the mercy of Soviet Secret Police who can evict her and her son from the one-room flat in Ivano-Frankivsk and arrest her for "loitering". And if dismissed from her job — another threat levelled at her — she can be charged with an even more serious "crime", that of "parasitism" which entails even more severe punishment. These are the trappings of the Soviet system, "the most humane, the most liberal, the most benevolent", and a few other "mosts".

It is in light of this threat to her own person that Mrs. Moroz's plea should be understood and acted upon. Hers is an outcry of a woman who is totally devoted to her maligned husband and who is determined, at the risk of her own life, to pursue every possible channel to obtain his release or at least alleviate his ordeal. She now stands at the edge of her own precipice.

It can hardly be assumed that the walls of the White House, or the Government Buildings in Ottawa, or Bonn, or Paris, or London, or the Vatican are so impenetrable that the men inside failed to hear 11th November radio broadcasts of Raisa's plea. Or that of Dr. Andrei Sakharov, a man accustomed to harsh reality whose imploring words were printed on more than one occasion by this and other countries' major newspapers.

"I think that every honest man must be shaken by this cruel treatment of an honest man — Valentyn Moroz. And unless world opinion

comes to his defense, he will perish. If he dies, it will be on the conscience of all people -- and this would be unpardonable."

Assuming that there is some conscience left in this world, it cannot remain unmoved now.

Stefania Hurko

TO VALENTYN MOROZ

(July, 1974. Ottawa — During a hunger strike outside the Soviet Embassy)

I always waited for you, Valentyn,
At the crossroads by the crucifixes
Or in the wilderness of some foreign land
Carved with roads of loneliness.

Among the snows of human indifference
Among the cold rocks veiled in ice
At the edge of a fearful precipice
Above the inglorious tomb of dead souls.

In the dense shadow of hopelessness
You lit the new Promethean flame
The sparks of dreams invading weak hearts
The funeral pyres of faith aflame with ideal.

And now I fear not in foreign lands
To burn like a beacon in the fire of your light
For I know that in our dear fatherland
Our hope has grown and bloomed.

Yet in some dark cell of stony Vladimir
You, Valentyn, are tortured for us all!
And your words, like rays of sunlight,
Illuminate the world, as the glory of Ukraine
Lives with you.

Translated from Ukrainian by P. Korniylo

Valentyn Moroz Continuing Hunger Strike

Valentyn Moroz was reported to have continued his hunger strike — as of October 17th — in the Vladimir prison where he was still being confined despite earlier rumours that he had been transferred to the Lubianka Prison in Moscow.

This news was relayed to the West by a spokesman for the Moscow based Initiative Group for Human Rights in the USSR in a telephone conversation with a member of the Toronto based Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. The conversation took place on Thursday, October 17, at 4.30 p.m., said the Moroz Committee which released the English language transcript of the exchange.

Among the most noteworthy members of the Initiative Group for Human Rights in the USSR are Dr. Andrei I. Sakharov and Dr. Leonid Pliushch, the latter currently incarcerated in a Soviet insane asylum.

The spokesman for the Moscow group confirmed that Moroz was still in Vladimir and that his wife Raisa expected to be able to see him on November 4th. "They permit a visitation every half year and November 4th will be a half year since she saw him last," said the spokesman.

The news of Moroz's alleged transfer to the Lubianka Prison was attributed directly to the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko who was to have stated that to Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Allan MacEachen, when the two met at the session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York. The news was reported by the Montreal Star of September 27th.

Considering the latest information passed on to the Toronto based Committee in Defense of Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian dissident-historian is today on the 125th day of "refusing to voluntarily accept food."

Below is the full transcript of the telephone conversation in English translation.

Q. Do you have any news concerning Moroz?

A. Here is the following news about Moroz: His wife was inquiring about the state of his health and was told that he had been examined by a team of specialists, who found him to be suffering from a chronic gall-bladder condition. This was not explained any further. It is also not known what kind of specialists examined him. It was further stated that his condition is complicated due to the fact that he was continuing his hunger strike. This is all she was told.

They should have a meeting on November 4th. They permit a visitation every half year and November 4th will be a half year since she saw him last. Of course, she will go to the prison, but most likely the meeting will be forbidden because he is on a hunger strike.

Q. Is Valentyn still in Vladimir prison?

A. He is still in Vladimir. I know that there were rumours that he had been transferred to Moscow, but we have no such information. I think that (information) was incorrect.

Q. Have you heard that Raisa Moroz is in her home...

A. Just a minute. I can't hear anything. Please repeat your last words because there are people talking here...

Q. We have received news that Raisa is persecuted in Ivano-Frankivsk, that they hurled rocks through her windows. Have you heard of this?

A. Yes, yes. She was here in Moscow and left the day before yesterday. She came to Moscow in order to see the chairman of the KGB, to complain about KGB officials in Ivano-Frankivsk, who were creating difficult conditions for her... what you mentioned. But she was not given an appointment again when in fact she shall visit her husband.

Q. What do you suggest we should do? Do you have the name of the doctor who is taking care of him?

A. They don't tell you that. They write he was examined by specialists. But what specialists? What are their names? Where do they work? Also, the illness — what does chronic condition of gall-bladder mean? There can be many diseases of the gall-bladder. We don't know which. Therefore, this is not a competent diagnosis, not a serious diagnosis. But she cannot learn anything more. His wife is very worried because this is the first time they have admitted that he is ill. They continuously stated that he had been feeling very well. She knew that this was not the case, but, the fact they admitted that he is ill, now, causes her to think that his condition is worsening. In his way they are preparing her for the fact that he is a very sick man. Do you understand? Therefore, she is very worried about this letter from the prison authorities. On the fourth of November, she will go to Vladimir. She will see the prison warden and will ask for a meeting with her husband. She will try to find the specialists who made the diagnosis, but at this point, one does not know what she will be able to achieve. She is in a desperately bad situation. She was very depressed when she left (Moscow). It is difficult for her in Ivano-Frankivsk because of the tense situation there. They call her in for interrogations, they threaten her, they spread vicious rumours about her among her friends, etc. Life is very hard for her there.

Q. We shall do all we can here in Canada...

A. I very much hope so.

Q. ... that Valentyn Moroz should be visited by a specialist from Canada.

A. Yes, yes, yes! This is an excellent idea. It would be wonderful if this could be done. It would be wonderful if this could be done. It would be a deliverance for him.

Telephone Conversation with A. D. Sakharov

Wednesday, November 6, 1974, 1 : 45 p. m.

Q. Andrei Dimitrovych, we're calling from Canada. We spoke to you yesterday...

A. Yes, I can give you the information now:

Raisa Moroz (Moroz' wife) arrived in Moscow last night. She had a meeting with Valentyn Moroz which lasted one hour and fifteen minutes. At first, Moroz was permitted to see his father, then his wife with their 12-year old son. Moroz looked extremely weak — he had lost more than 20 kilograms (approx. 40 lbs.) and now weighs 52 kg. (approx. 104 lbs.). After force-feedings he urinates blood. Do you hear me?

Q. Yes, we can hear.

A. He is experiencing great pain in the area of his gastro-intestinal tract and stomach. They are planning to stop force-feeding him through his mouth and to begin intravenous feeding; this would probably aggravate his condition. He is having heart seizures, he requires medication for his heart. The hunger strike is taking its toll; his face was jaundiced, his eyes were deeply sunk. He looked very bad and his wife was unable to talk when she first saw him — she choked at the horrible sight. The guards screamed at her to speak louder. When she gained control of herself, she began to speak up, but it was obvious that this was difficult for her. Moroz told her that he expects to be able to continue the hunger strike for two months or until the end of the year. He expects to be able last that long, but not any longer. He stated that he is finishing himself off; he used the words "self-immolation" or "slow death", whichever comes first. He was hoping for the better and yet he was bidding farewell to his family — he is putting his trust in God but bidding farewell to his family. He kissed the hand of his son. At that moment the guards jumped the 12-year old child, thinking that Moroz passed something on to him with mouth. After a scuffle, the meeting was terminated. Such a horrible scene...

The meeting was held under highly unusual circumstances: it was not held in the usual place for such visits, but in a room next to the warden's office. There was soft, upholstered furniture and a television set — highly unusual for prison conditions.

Throughout the meeting, some man was taking photographs. They said that this man was a reporter for "AP". We suspect that this will be used as some kind of deception in the West — what a good environment Moroz has and how he is able to meet with his wife beside a television set and all that...

But the last scene — when they were pulling the boy away — was not photographed. The reporter turned away.

Moroz stated that if there was any hope for a compromise he would cease his hunger strike. As it stands, he has been ordered to discontinue his hunger strike unconditionally. He is now in such a state that he cannot possibly be transferred to a labour camp. It is essential that he be set free and taken to a normal hospital. Otherwise he will die . . .

Q. Is he now in the prison hospital?

A. He is not even in the prison hospital. He is confined to the cell in which he is conducting the hunger strike, isolated from everybody, where he is daily force-fed through a tube. But this method cannot be continued much longer because they have scratched his oesophagus and possibly his stomach.

Q. In a week we will have a meeting with External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen and will request at that time that the Prime Minister again intervene on behalf of Moroz.

A. This is absolutely necessary because only the most determined pressure on Soviet authorities will change this situation. Moroz is now on the verge of death, he simply cannot continue any longer and may finish himself off within two months. In other words, his determination is also declining.

His wife went to the Moscow KGB. They told her that they will not promise him anything nor help him. They said that the fact that he continues his hunger strike is his private affair. Most importantly, she was threatened by the KGB, and now she has to be defended. They threatened her and accused her with the responsibility for passing materials to anti-Soviet television — to our enemies abroad, giving material to the CBC. She replied that the material was regarding the hunger strike of her husband. She now also needs help. One month ago she was threatened by the KGB in Ivano-Frankivsk and this threat was supported by a huge stone thrown through her window, which hit and wounded her in the head. Now she is threatened by a court action.

Q. Would you like to make a statement for the press? We may have a press conference today.

A. I want you to tell the press what I just told you. I think that every honest man must be shaken by this cruel treatment of an honest man — Valentyn Moroz. And unless world opinion comes to his defense, he will perish. If he dies, it will be on the conscience of all people and this would be unpardonable.

Q. Thank you very much, we will pass this on to the press. As we told you we are having a demonstration tonight in front of the Soviet Embassy where they will be holding a reception for diplomats to commemorate the October Revolution. We will call you again in two weeks if you permit.

Strokata, Svitlychna, Kalynets Ailing and Mistreated

The Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz released a transcript of a phone conversation in late October between a member of the Committee and a representative of the Moscow-based Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. The conversation took place before the latest developments in the Moroz case, specifically, Raisa Moroz's visit to Vladimir Prison.

The Committee learned that Nina Strokata, Nadia Svitlychna and Iryna Kalynets are all in the same labor camp and all are suffering from gynecological illnesses. They are also reported to have lumps on their breasts that could be malignant.

The representative of the Moscow group further informed the Committee that Ihor Kalynets and Ivan Svitlychny are holding up very well though they are frequently punished in the camp prison. The camp administration has

exhibited exceptional cruelty in its treatment of Oleksander Feldman of Kyiv, who has spent eight of the ten months of his imprisonment in solitary confinement. He has been beaten, all of his letters and papers have been taken away. His health is very poor.

The Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz also learned about the many attempts by the wife of Leonid Plyushch to have her husband released. All have been futile.

The representative of the Moscow group called upon people in the West to continue their protests over repressions in the Soviet Union and to write letters to those kept in prisons, labor camps and in psychiatric hospitals, in order to let it be known there that these prisoners have not been forgotten and that the West knows about them.

The full text of the phone conversation is given below:

Q. (Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz): Good evening!

A. (Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR): Good evening!

Q. Forgive me for calling so late.

A. Well, yes, that is nothing.

Q. I could not reach you sooner. I phoned you on Saturday. I asked you if you had any new information about Moroz.

A. Unfortunately, there is nothing more known about Moroz... except for the report on September 30 that he...

Q. That is all that there was?

A. Yes that is all there was.

Q. But isn't he in Moscow? You know, at the United Nations in New York Andrei Gromyko stated that Moroz is in Moscow.

A. That is possible, he knows more.

Here such... (conversation interrupted for a few moments)... you understand, it is almost impossible for us to find out.

Q. Well, you see, he said that he (Moroz) is in Liubianka, but we could not verify this information... (pause)... Do you hear me? Hello!

A. Yes, yes.

Q. It seems that they are disconnecting us. I did not hear you... Do you hear me? Do you have any information about Nina Strakata?

A. The only information available about Nina Strokata is that she is still in the camp, that the state of her health is very poor, and that twice they took her to Rostov for tests... That's all there is. She has some sort of gynecological ailment, and it was for this reason that they took her twice to Rostov. But still, the state of her health did not get any better after this... That is all that is known.

Q. We had information here that she had breast cancer...

A. Well, you understand cancer or no, but there is some kind of a lump. What it is we do not know. Nadia Svitlychna has the same thing...

Q. Is Iryna Kalynets also there with them?

A. Yes, Iryna Kalynets is also with them. All of them — obviously from the existing conditions — have developed some sort of gynecological ailments and for that reason all of them do not feel well there.

Q. Is it possible to send parcels from abroad?

A. You know, it is permissible to send parcels, but they don't let them have them. You see, we have set regulations here, let's say, one parcel every half-year... Do you understand?

Q. But I had in mind (a parcel), without (food) products?

A. Still, it makes sense to send them... At least it is evidence that someone is concerned about them.

Q. Yes, I understand this.

A. Sending letters is also very good. They don't receive them either, but try to send them nevertheless.

Q. Is it better to send them straight to the camp or to a Moscow address?

A. Straight to the camp — this is sure evidence for the camp that someone is thinking about them, (that someone) knows. And home, a home parcel will in any case be received. So you can try both. Let us say that you may write letters to the camp, or send small packages, and home (you can send) some parcel with ordinary things, with a request to deliver, possibly, some products... But the quantity and assortment that they allow to deliver is very limited here. And all this is very difficult. But if, let us say, it is not sent to them, then the family can use

it. I believe there is sense in sending. It is true, naturally, some of us are afraid of receiving parcels because this also sometimes results in undesirable consequences. Nevertheless, try.

Q. We will be trying.

A. I wanted to tell you about a Ukrainian man, Oleksander Feldman.

Q. What is his last name?

A. Feldman.

Q. Oh, Feldman. Yes, from Kyiv.

A. Yes, yes. Well. October 18 was the anniversary from the day of his arrest — one year since he was arrested. Of the ten months that he was in the camps, he spent eight months in the punitive isolation cell, in the lock-up, the camp prison. That is the way he was punished. And as a result, his health is very shaky. Here is the latest information about him. Even the camp administration itself has become concerned. He was to have been transferred on the orders of the administration to a hospital on October 3, but yesterday we learned that he was still in the camp, but has not been placed in a hospital. Unless, possibly, they sent him to a hospital yesterday — as of yesterday, he was not there. Besides the fact that his health is very bad, in addition, they beat him up; there is a letter about this. They took his personal effects, and some of his things he saw on one of the prisoners. During the beating they broke his glasses; he is very nearsighted, without glasses he can barely see. But during the beating, they broke his glasses. It is possible that they sent him to a hospital now — this was promised, many times, but whether this actually was done is not known. Still, no one knows with certainty whether they sent him or not.

Q. And about Semen Hluzman — he was in the Perm (Region) camps? Is there any information about those who were on the hunger strike? Did they transfer them all to Vladimir?

A. No, Hluzman was sent to the camp prison. That is the latest that we have.

Q. And is Svitlychny there, and Ihor Kalynets? Are they in prison or in a camp?

A. In a camp. But they constantly transport them, either to the lock-up or the so-called camp prison, because they have not reconciled themselves to the lawlessness that reigns there, they are not conciliatory towards it. And Svitlychny's friends speak very highly of him, his friends' responses to him are very good — that he is so manly, such a wise person, conducts himself very well there, speaks very ably with the administration — but, all of this notwithstanding, they frequently punish him.

Q. But he also is ill, is he not?

A. Yes, there is suspicion that he was again punished, just now. But it is impossible to verify this because when they punish, letter writing is stopped and it becomes impossible to learn anything.

Q. Is there anything new about Plyushch?

A. About Plyushch it is known only that his wife again tried to submit a statement with an appeal for his release, with (the stipulation) that she would leave with him somewhere... The organs of the KGB reply that this is not within their realm, that this case has no relation to them, that they do not handle such cases, that she should address her appeal to the Ministry of Health. She went there and they told her there that they do not know anything and sent her to another organization... Special psychiatric hospitals are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and not under the supervision of doctors. She turned to them there, but there they state that they can do nothing, that there should be a commission, that a commission should decide whether he is healthy or ill. If he is healthy, then she can

petition for his release. But she must demand his release now, while he is still alive, before he is crippled by them. But concern must be shown about Plyushch anyway — he needs parcels, and letters should be sent to the hospital; there is no doubt that he will not be able to answer them, they won't deliver them to him, but still it will be known that, people know about him and have not forgotten.

Q. You know that in Canada at the International Congress of Mathematicians...

A. I know this... this is very good... We know about it here. Still other measures must be taken, because as soon as some kind of solicitations begin from you, this has its effects.

Q. And do you need any help? What if we send a parcel to you?

A. No, thank you, I do not need anything...

Q. I thank you very much. I wish you everything good. I will call you again sometime. Do you have any unpleasanties?

A. No, not for the time being. But in general they like to censor this kind of conversation here. You probably know this.

Q. I am extremely grateful to you and forgive me that it is so late.

A. Well, that's nothing. I understand these complications.

Q. (I wish you) best of everything.

A. Good-bye. Greetings to all of you.

Q. And greetings also to all of you.

**Save us unnecessary expenses!
Send in your subscription for
ABN Correspondence
immediately!**

The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire

Can one expect of any self-respecting nation, even the most insignificant one, to idolize its subjugator and exploiter as "elder brother" as the Russifiers are constantly demanding and repeating? The young Ukrainian intellectual Ivan Dzyuba dared to describe and condemn this situation in his work "Internationalism or Russification?", published in English by Weidenfeld and Nicholson in London, and in other languages as well.

It will be interesting to know that Prof. Sakharov writes in his book on the renewal of Russian chauvinism and the hostilities of the Russians to the non-Russians: "Russian anti-Semitism is an example of this".

The Russian occupants and their serfs are frightened by the fact that American and British intellectual elites are beginning to understand and appreciate liberation nationalism. Nationalism is not Nazism, Fascism, imperialism, colonialism, anti-Semitism and the like, but their opposite ideological and political philosophy. It implies the independence of each nation, patriotism, true democracy residing in the nation and including the entire people — not just stratum, class or group; it also means to respect the right of even the smallest nation of the world to independence and abolish exploitation of any nation in the world; it is an anti-Communist and anti-totalitarian ideology stressing heroic humanity and social justice, idealism, anti-Marxism, the primacy of the national and social elements over egoism, and of national heroism of life. Therefore, nationalism frightens Moscow. An American sociologist, quite often referred to by Bolshevik theoreticians, Hans Kohn, says that nationalism is a

social phenomenon "wherein all problems of recent and contemporary history are condensed". The well known English economist investigating the problems of international politics, Barbara Ward, maintains that "nationalism is undoubtedly the most powerful political force today" ("Five Ideas That Change the World", New York (1959), p. 19). The former executive director of the CIA, L. Kirpatrick, Jr., shares this view; in 1969 he wrote: "We no longer doubt that nationalism is the most powerful explosive force in world society..."

All these quotations have been taken from Soviet journals, which show that Moscow is afraid of possible Western interest in liberation nationalism.

By means of brutal terror — hundreds and thousands of patriots and cultural workers being its victims — by throwing them into mental asylums, using chemical and medical devices for breaking man's will power, assassinating fighters for national independence, applying national and cultural genocide, Russification, another artificial famine in Europe's richest agricultural country, imposing a phantom-like concept of a Soviet people, artificially creating and imposing a new unified system of economic geography in the empire, intermixing the nations — by mass deportations — the Russian usurpers are trying in vain to counteract the liberation nationalism of the captive nations.

The Road to Liberation

The spiritual and moral revolution is a real fact. It is a precondition of a political revolution. The national political revolution is unconquerable provided it grows out of the traditional

original elements of spirituality and sociality of a given nation. Synchronization of the national and social revolution is a guarantee of its success.

Now a particular struggle is being waged in the cultural sphere, for it is a battle for the national and human soul. Before the soldiers take to arms, a revolution is staged by poets and artists.

A consequence of this is the inclusion of the spokesman of the extensive police and terror apparatus, Andropov, and that of Bonapartism, Marshal Grechko, in the highest Party organ. The presence of Gromyko in that body testifies to the success of the policy of weakening the West. This policy also furthers the intensification of terror inside the country. Brezhnev (Party) and Kosygin (Administration), Andropov (KGB), Grechko (the Military), Shelepin (Trade Unions) and so forth — all organized forms of violence are united in the highest body of the Party. Their chief aim is to save the empire from revolts of the subjugated nations. Re-Stalinization, intensified Russification, mass imprisonment of fighters for national and human rights, national and cultural genocide, linguicide, modernized methods of terror, psychiatric clinics, chemical and medical means of breaking an individual's will power, the use of arms in crushing national and social resistance, as well as open revolt of the masses (e.g. Lithuania) — all this characterizes the era of Brezhnev.

Counting for national and religious rights on reformism, evolution, the "human" face of Communism, constitutionalism and democratization from above has proved disappointing. Those who fought for the fulfillment of rights guaranteed by the constitution are behind bars.

There is noticeable one basic difference between dissidents and fighters for national rights, between reformists and nationalists. The former strive to repair the existing empire and system;

the latter wish to topple it by re-establishing independent national states. For this reason many of the former belong to the so-called third Russian emigration, while the latter are either executed or languish in concentration camps for 15, 20 and some even for 35 years, as the Ukrainian nationalist Oleksa Bil'skyi, imprisoned since the age of 19, now in Potma, who went blind while in prison. Oleksa Bil'skyi, 55, is suffering imprisonment solely for his nationalistic views, for which he refuses to repent.

The underground organizations continued to exist and still exist. Some were short-lived, others not. The OUN in Ukraine and anywhere else where Ukrainians live is consistently active in the underground.

If the essence of an underground revolutionary organization is primarily ideological unity and political guidelines for action, and afterwards only in the last rank technical contacts for the sake of following these guidelines, which to a large extent can be done openly, then it is impossible to destroy it. If our concept of liberation is not a palace revolt but a general revolt of nations, then the guidelines for their mobilization must be transmitted openly. A description of mass armed action in Novocherkask, Nalchyk or Tiflis broadcast over the radio constitutes a guideline for analogous actions in Dnipropetrovsk, Tashkent or Kaunas and vice versa. In such actions, new leaders emerge. Underground organizations provide an **alternative authority** to that of the occupant. It is also created by **leaders** of spirit and action who have come to the fore openly. This results in the occupant's attempts to force statements of repentance and to discredit the underground as a foreign agency in order to do away with **symbols**, with **alternative leadership**, with the **alternative of the subjugated nations' sovereign rule**.

In order to prevent the enemy from resorting to his wicked techniques of

deception, the Lithuanian heroes took out medical certificates prior to their self-immolations attesting that they are mentally healthy. Such instances of courage as that of the young student worker Kalanta, or student Palach, or the fighter of UPA-OUN Makukh are rare in history.

"Glory! Glory! Glory!" shouted the crowd which filled the entire Pekarska Street in Lviv (this occurred throughout the five days). Flowers were tossed to us. They fell on the metal roof of the car, through a crack in the door upon us. When we proceeded to the court building, we walked on a carpet of fresh spring flowers..." writes M. Osadchyi about the trial of the cultural leaders of Ukraine (Cataract, p. 42).

Vasyl Symonenko points to armed struggle as the only road to liberation. "Oh Kurd, save your cartridges, but do not spare the life of the killers!... **Converse with them with bullets...** Oh, Kurd, save your cartridges. Without them you won't be able to protect your kin!"

There is no path to liberation other than the simultaneous national liberation revolutions of nations subjugated in the USSR and the guerrilla strategy is the only realistic one. Nuclear bombs cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, for this is tantamount to the occupants' committing suicide. The greater the growth of classical military technology, the greater becomes the significance of armed people, the "primitive" method of warfare. On the heels of the general call for further development of conventional arms, there will come a time when voices will be raised in support of uprisings inside the empire of tyrants, as a way of avoiding a nuclear war.

In the nuclear age ideological, psychological and political warfare is becoming more intensive. In military technology and strategy, this is reflected by guerrilla warfare. Both Moscow and Peking are aware of this. This

awareness, however, is still lacking among the official circles of the West.

The processes of development inside the subjugated countries normally proceed along the lines of popular uprisings and a joint front of the captives against their captors. It was not by chance that while in a concentration camp, a young Ukrainian poet dedicated his poem "About a Virgin Killed by the Occupants in Golden Prague" to Jan Palach.

Another dedicated his poems to Georgia, Latvia, Moldavia, Byelorussia, and still another wrote:

"If you want your nation to be free, express solidarity with those who are liberating themselves and you will find support among them..."

The invincibility of the spirit and a joint front of struggle of the subjugated is a guarantee of victory.

An Appeal from the Underground

An Appeal from Ukraine, smuggled to the West, appeared in "The Daily Telegraph" on the 16th of August, 1973:

"Our front is compelled to act illegally, and that is why we mail this appeal without signatures. We appeal to the public opinion of the world to raise its voice in defense of the Ukrainian people, and against Russian despotism.

"The UN Charter and Declaration of Human Rights, which were also signed by the governments of the USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, guarantee to each and every nation the right to national independence and individual freedom. However, the Party and Government of both the USSR and Ukrainian SSR completely disregard their own laws. The latter is, actually, the colonial administration of Ukraine receiving direct orders from Moscow.

"The government of the Ukrainian SSR did not even obtain the privilege for Ukrainian convicts to serve their sentences on Ukrainian territory, for here

they are citizens and here they could obtain better assistance from their families. For attempting the realization of just rights, Ukrainian community leaders were punished, some by death (L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba who had their sentences commuted to 15 years of prison and concentration camps of severe regime); for attempts to free cultural creativity and for opposing Russification, several hundred cultural workers, poets, artists, scientists and scholars (such as V. Moroz, Y. Sverstyuk, V. Chornovil, I. Svitlychnyi, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, W. Stus, Iryna Senyk, Mykhaylo Osadchyi, I. Hel and others) were punished by heavy sentences of up to 15 years of imprisonment in concentration camps and exile; for protesting against unlawful court proceedings and for the defense of the rights of individuals, punishments in the form of unspecified terms within special psychiatric asylums under KGB supervision were passed (L. Plyushch, professor of cybernetics, A. Lupynis, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and others); for religious convictions beaten to death were I. Moyseyev, Mykola Khmara and others, or were sentenced to long years of incarceration (priest V. Romanyuk to 10 years, and others); for refusing to denounce his father, Yuriy Shukhevych was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, after he had previously served 20 years; for defending her husband, the microbiologist Nina Strokata-Karavanska was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment; for defending the rights and freedom of their nations were executed A. Oliynyk, P. Kovalchuk, I. Chayka and others; and tortured to death were M. Soroka, V. Malchuk and others.

"For defending the rights of the Ukrainian, Tatar, Jewish and other nations, S. Karavanskyi, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and Ivan Dzyuba were punished with extreme severity.

"For defending the discriminated Jewish people, Petro Yakir, and others, were again put behind bars.

"In order to break the will of resistance, the KGB are using modern chemicals and medical drugs manufactured by their professional staff, or are systematically poisoning foodstuffs (P. Starchyk, I. Dzyuba, V. Moroz, L. Lukyanko, I. Kandyba and others).

"Through the application of modern methods of breaking the will power of a human being, the terror of Brezhnev-Andropov surpasses that of Stalin-Beria's type.

"We warn you that if national rights and freedom of individuals, freedom of creativity and religion are not defended not only by us, who are suffering at present persecution and cruel treatment, but also by the entire cultural world — then a massive and intensive terror will gain the upper hand in the whole world, for Russian chauvinists and Communists will not come to a standstill and will not be satisfied with what they have conquered.

"We call upon workers, writers, artists, scholars, students and young people, women and Churches and all people of good will to demand the immediate abolition of the use of chemical and medical means and the application of malpractices including psychiatric methods, and furthermore the release of all political and religious prisoners, the liquidation of concentration camps, the end of Russification, and the realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." **The Front of National Defense of Ukraine**, July 1973.

And at the end, I would like to express our bitter disappointment. Only a few people in the West raise their voice in defense of nations and human rights, for the freedom of religion and cultural creativity of members of subjugated nations: Ukraine or Latvia or Lithuania or others. Neither the press, nor politicians, nor governments, nor the Vatican, nor Churches, humanitarian or judiciary institutions do this

— they all remain silent and do not condemn the draconic sentences of Moscow against one of the most famous cultural leaders of Ukraine, Valentyn Moroz, who is sentenced to 14 years' severe regime, or the Lithuanian Simas Kudirka. No one from the Western publishers published the works of Valentyn Moroz or Yevhen Sverstyuk or Ihor Kalynets or Vasyl Stus, whose works are of great artistic value, but on the other hand they publish Solzhenitsyn, Medvedev and Sakharov. The reason for this is that the authors from Ukraine or Latvia stand not only for human rights, but also for the rights of nations.

It is a kind of "decline of the West" when it defends the representatives of the ruling Russian nation and not the subjugated nations. Therefore, I am seriously afraid that such ignorance of Ukraine and other subjugated nations may bring some representatives of these nations in the free world to desperate acts, but for this the West will be responsible. The West is indifferent to the lot of hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples and dozens of subjugated nations. This is only our warning.

Urgent Action Needed in Defense of the Persecuted

In news just received from Ukraine we have learned about a new Russian-Bolshevik crime: "At present Svyatoslav Karavanskyi (writer and literary critic, sentenced to 25 years of concentration camps, released 1960, but again arrested in 1965 to serve the rest of his sentence; in 1970 his term was prolonged for another 5 years of imprisonment is serving his unlawful imprisonment in a political concentration camp of an especially severe regime. Such a concentration camp, where people are buried alive, could only have been thought up by the devil himself. In this concentration camp the prisoners constantly live and work under lock, without any fresh air, because they are never taken out for exercise.

"In this concentration camp the prisoners are forced to work long hours in glass-grinding workshops, from which dangerous dust unceasingly penetrates the lungs of the undernourished prisoner and seriously threatens his life. This threat is increased also by the fact, that the glass-grinding workshops are situated in the same buildings adjacent to the prisoners' living quarters. The cells, polluted by this poisonous dust, are also a hazard to human life. This dust is everywhere: in the air, on the beds, in the clothes, and in the food. The prisoners regard that in comparison with this death-dealing prison the Vladimir prison was a real blessing."

Another report from behind the Iron Curtain says that three prominent Ukrainian women, Stephania Shabatura, Nina Strokata and Iryna Kalynets, imprisoned in Soviet Mordovian prisons, have appealed to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, by letter dated 10th May, 1973, in which they protest against the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation, and demand for themselves an open trial in the presence of a UN representative. The text of their appeal is as follows:

"To the Secretary General of the United Nations

An Appeal

Stephania Shabatura, born 1938, sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in camps and 3 years' forced exile, an artist from Lviv.

Nina Karavanska-Strokata, born 1925, sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in camps, a scientific worker from Odessa.

Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv, born 1940, sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment in camps and 3 years' forced exile, a poetess from Lviv.

The day 12th January, 1972, was the beginning of a new wave of repression against the Ukrainian intelli-

gentsia. We are being persecuted and imprisoned simply because we, as Ukrainians, stand for the preservation and advancement of the Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine. All arrests, conducted during that year in Ukraine — are violations of the Declaration of Human Rights by the Soviet authorities.

We are defenseless before the Soviet unlawful court. We are tried illegally and at present are serving our sentences in the Soviet political camp No. 3 in Dubrovlag, Mordovia. We refute all the charges that were brought against us. We are not asking for a favour, only for a normal, fair and open trial in the presence of a representative of the United Nations. 10th May, 1973. **Stephania Shabatura, Nina Karavanska-Strokata, Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv.**"

During his last months in prison Anatoliy Radygin (his memoirs entitled "Episodes from Mordovian Concentration Camps", Nagaria, Israel, October 1973) repeatedly asked Valentyn Moroz what message he could deliver to the free world. Pain-stricken as he was Valentyn Moroz frowned and repeated insistently:

"Let people know only one thing: I am being retained together with insane people and my life is like hell! They are trying to make me mad just like those who are thrown into my ward. They are assassins and cannibals! I do not have any air to breathe!"

Radygin, the author of the memoirs, adds the following:

"Thus I repeat, too: one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion approaching insanity. His present existence comprises a frightful mixture of hungry life in jail and the miserable existence in a room of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have completely lost their human look and have no distinguishing national or social features whatever. Valentyn Mo-

roz is being physically and morally tortured day by day.

"Remember this!" — the author concluded this passage.

Appeal to the Conference

In view of these alerting reports, we ask the Conference to:

Severely condemn and together with us urge the liquidation of all concentration camps!

Demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political and religious convictions!

Demand the termination of the application of chemical and medical means of breaking the will power of political and religious prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them!

Vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights in insane asylums!

Demand an end to persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes!

Demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from the Russian-subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites!

Demand a return of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellites, as well as for those nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia!

Without national culture there is no world culture!

If you don't want to see a KGB gun and the law of the jungles prevail in the world, fight for humanism and for morality based on religion!

We ask you to join in the protest against Russian and Communist crimes for the defense of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights!

(the End)

The Evil Fruit Of Détente

(Excerpts)

This decade of the 1970's is a crucial one to decide whether the world is to be safe or remain in danger and whether mankind will have happiness or meet with calamities. Despite certain free nations' attempts to talk with the Communists in pursuance of a policy of détente, the tense situation of international confrontation has not been mitigated. On the other hand, the anti-Communist awakening of free peoples is now shaping up as a main current of the time, and the change of America's administrative leadership is attracting worldwide attention. The international situation has thus entered a new stage of development.

As we examine the new development of the present world situation we are immediately aware of these distinctive characteristics: the full exposure of the evil fruit of appeasement, the new unity and growth of freedom forces through a new process of anti-Communist awakening, and the severe test that faces the UN policy of détente with the Communists.

Ebb Tide for the Dark Current of Appeasement

Early in the 1970's the free world was fatuously absorbed in a pursuit of peace. Taking advantage of this state of mind, the Russian and Chinese Communists launched a peace offensive of smiling diplomacy and, under the protective umbrella of international appeasement, proceeded with the destruction of the united free world camp. The world was thus plunged into confusion. The disappearance of moral courage from the international scene created gaps for the violent onrush of the dark current of appeasement.

At the same time, however, the rampant foul air of appeasement led to the

startled awakening of the free world to the threats of Communist aggression and brought about a new awareness of the need of anti-Communist unity. This and the heightened national spirit of free peoples as well as the progress of democratic administration and promotion of social welfare served as effective deterrents against Red expansion and aggression. Moreover, the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain, stimulated by free world happiness and prosperity and supported by the free people at large, have been rising for a succession of struggles for freedom, making the tyrannical Communist rule shakier than ever with each passing day. The present international situation is that the forces of Communism are well advanced on a downward path and the dark current of international appeasement is at ebb tide.

Ani-Communism for the Removal of Calamities and Attainment of Happiness

Both history and the present situation have clearly testified to the fact that Communism has brought to mankind nothing but hatred, hunger, slavery, violence, terror and fighting. All the criminal cases of infiltration, subversion, insurrection, kidnapping, skyjacking, dope-trafficking and assassination that have plagued the free nations in recent years were masterminded and pushed directly or indirectly by the Communists.

Anti-Communism for us is to combat the wicked Communist thinking, stand against the Communist system of enslavement, strike at Red tyranny and dictatorship, foil the Communist attempt to communize the world, and frustrate the misdirected Communist ambition to enslave mankind.

Our endeavors must be on the basis of respect for human dignity and determination to uphold man's freedom, world peace, national independence and principles of social justice. We are to free all the enslaved nations and peoples. **We are to create a human society of national independence, political democracy, and social well-being.** What we are striving to realize is an era of freedom and peace for all mankind.

Anti-Communism involves mankind in a decisive battle to eradicate calamities and bring about happiness.

Firm Anti-Communist Stand for Struggle in Unity

We strongly advocate the following:

— The results of Communist aggression are never to be accepted as **fait accompli**.

For the Communists of every country, the standard approach to political power has been through infiltration and subversion of the most sinister king. By creating and expanding wars and social upheavals, they also have been attempting to fulfill their ambition of world communization. The Communists will never deviate from class struggle, enslavement of people, and the goal of world revolution.

Most unfortunately, however, certain free nations have been mistakenly attempting to reach settlement through talks with the Communists. What this amounts to is not just to fall into the trap of the Communists who are determined to bury the free world but also to recognize the results of Communist aggression as **fait accompli**. We must call upon all the people of the world to thoroughly discern the Communist schemes of aggression. We are firmly of the opinion that peace is not to be gained in the form of a short-lived fool's paradise or protracted humiliation. Furthermore, we should never compromise or back down in the face of Communist forces. We should never entertain any idea of coexist-

ence with aggressors. Instead, genuine peace can be gained only through bringing forth moral courage, uniting all the freedom forces, and striving together for the reversal of the results of Communist aggression.

— The existing state of enslavement under the Communists is by no means to be tolerated.

We should by no means tolerate the continual existence of the enslaved people's state of misery. Instead, we must provide the peoples behind the Iron Curtain with spiritual encouragement and substantial support so that they can continue to rise, wherever they are, to destroy the enemy from within, tear down the Iron Curtain, to disintegrate the Russian prison of nations and restore freedom and national independence to all subjugated nations.

— The Communists are never to be permitted to destroy man's culture.

Anti-Communist struggles are in a way cultural struggles in opposition to Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and Mao Tse-tung's evil thoughts. The Cultural Revolution launched by the Maoists was mainly to eliminate China's traditional culture. The international cultural patterns of mankind.

We must continue to glorify the outstanding humanitarian culture of the East that is characterized by loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, fidelity, righteousness, harmony and peace. By doing so, we should at the same time strive for an ideological unity with the Western humanitarian concept of freedom, equality, and fraternity. This way we shall conquer the evil Communist forces that go against humanity, against time, and against culture. Superior cultural patterns will thereby be preserved as man's spiritual heritage.

— The Communist autocracy of force should be vehemently opposed.

Using the florid name "socialism", the Communists have been perpetrating autocracy through the application of force.

The Need of the US to Revise Its Policy Toward the Communists

The world situation has entered a new stage and the lines are increasingly clearer between freedom and slavery and between the enemies and the allies, hopes are truly ardent that the United States will really do something for the free world. We earnestly hope that the United States will do the following:

— Suspend the policy that seeks „normalization of relations“ with the Communists.

— Examine the policy of détente toward Communists.

America's policy of détente toward Communists was conceived for the sake of turning enemies into friends. The result, however, has been confusion of enemies with friends. On the Communist side, enemies are forever enemies. Communists classify their enemies into groups and, in accordance with priority of necessity and strategic factors, pit these groups against one another. Major enemies are thus defeated, and this is followed by individual conquest until all the enemies are annihilated. In the eyes of

Communists, enemies thus can never turn into friends.

The American tactics for détente have aroused suspicion in many free nations and made them waver and lose confidence in the United States. The entire free world unity has thus been dampened and injured.

America's faithful allies have been tormented by deplorable consequences, and America has as a matter of course found itself in an isolated position. This is a crisis that should be thoroughly examined and dealt with.

— Abandon power politics and secret diplomacy.

Speaking before a joint session of the US Congress, President Gerald Ford said on August 12, that international affairs should be handled openly and honestly. This attitude has attracted worldwide attention. We sincerely hope that in dealing with international affairs, the United States will draw a clear line of demarcation between enemies and friends and refrain from power politics and secret diplomacy.

— Consolidate the unity of the free world camp and support the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations for their independence and freedom.



A long term hunger strike in Washington which began 22nd July, 1974

Conference for Freedom, National Independence and De-Colonization

On the 12th and 13th October 1974, the European Freedom Council (EFC) held its Conference titled "Conference for Freedom, National Independence and De-Colonization", in Zürich, Switzerland. Since the President of the EFC, Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo was unable to attend the Conference because of illness, it was opened by EFC Chairman, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. President Ivan Matteo Lombardo, sent his most cordial greetings to the Conference and wishes of success were received from Honorary President of EFC, Minister Ole Björn Kraft, who due to prolonged illness was unable to participate.

After his opening address Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko asked Mr. Donald Martin, the Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, to preside the Conference. The first speaker was Dr. Peter Sager (Swiss), Chairman of the Swiss Institute for Eastern European Studies. His speech was entitled "On the De-Colonization of Soviet Europe". Further main speakers of the Conference were Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko (ABN President, Ukraine), whose theme was "The Subjugated Nations — the Neglected Super-Power". Madame Suzanne Labin (France) spoke on "L-Europe Malade". Dr. N. Theodorowich's (Bye-

lorussia) speech was entitled "Religion and Atheism in the USSR". Mr. Donald A. Martin (British League for European Freedom, England) spoke on "Communist Economic Warfare".

Besides those main speakers who dealt with specific problems, the national representatives gave short speeches on the situation in their respective countries and their struggle against Russian colonialism. These speakers were: Y. Puksor (Croatia), Dr. A. Gerutis (Lithuania), Dr. A. Ausala (Latvia), Colonel D. Kosmowych (Byelorussia), Wolodymyr Kosyk (Ukraine), Karl Grau (East Germany), J. Myslivec (Czechia), E. Rigoni (Hungary), Dr. B. Mailat (Rumania), Dr. I. M. Bankovski (Bulgaria), G. Beguiachvili (Georgia), Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan).

Discussions followed all the main speeches and short addresses. In the discussions participated: Lady Jane Birdwood (England), Mr. Y. Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), Mme S. Labin (France), Dr. M. Ausala (Latvia), Prof. Dr. S. Halamay (USA), Dr. A. Gerutis (Lithuania), Mr. E. Rigoni (Hungary), Colonel D. Kosmowych (Byelorussia), Mr. Meister (Switzerland), Mr. Zwicky (Switzerland), Mrs. Martin (England).

Rep. Sarbanes Requests President's Aid for Moroz

Congressman Paul S. Sarbanes (D.-Md.) sent a telegram to President Gerald Ford, asking that the U.S. government make efforts to save the life of Valentyn Moroz.

"I am prompted by deep concern over the fate of Valentyn Moroz to urge that immediate and forceful representations be made to the Russian government concerning his health and the conditions under which he is be-

ing kept in prison," wrote Rep. Sarbanes.

The Maryland legislator suggested that the President instruct U.S. representatives in Moscow to "take up this pressing matter through the appropriate channels."

"At stake are the life and health of Valentyn Moroz and the most fundamental humanitarian principles," concluded the telegram.

Donald A. Martin

(Chairman of The British League For European Freedom and National Director of The British League of Rights.)

Communist Economic Warfare

"The Communist Union delegate... knows that the mass in factories, which in his opinion is an ignorant mass, can be moved into strikes only by the promise of increased wages. But this is only a means to a Communist end. For a Communist leader, every strike is a military manoeuvre for a civil war. He knows that the Union will not be able to pay sufficient allowances to strikers, that their families will suffer hardship, but this is just what he wants, for the hardship will excite hatred... the hatred kindled by the strike will be turned against the whole system. A Communist leader must nurse hatred in the minds of working people, for without deep hatred he will never be able to bring them into civil war..." thus spoke Mr. S. Lovosky, former head of the Soviet Information Bureau, Communists and Trade Unions.

Those words are very chilling when we look around Europe today and see a continuous line of strikes. My own country Britain has been very badly affected over recent years. It also shows that to the Communists — no matter which country of the world they operate in — inflation and increases in prices are weapons to be used to exploit the free world and create such chaos that the very fabric of society can be changed. They are quick to advocate — together with their friends and dupes — more government controls, thus destroying the basis of a free society from within.

Communist activities in Trade Unions is not something new, it has been going on for years, slowly undermining the basis of free societies. It is but one part of Communist economic warfare.

However, if we are going to be able to understand Communist Economic Warfare, it is necessary to define what is meant by war. War to many people is a matter of armies marching, planes dropping bombs and submarines sinking shipping.

War has been more correctly defined as "the pursuit of policies whereby one side can impose its will on the other side". This is of course very true. The Communist objective — whether of the Russian or Chinese brand — is world domination. This has always been their objective and there is no concrete evidence to show that there has been any departure from their aim. We may not like it — but these are facts of life that we either face or we perish.

Warfare — and in particular — Communist warfare can be divided into three divisions. Psychological, economic and military. The Communists hope to so undermine our will to resist by propaganda, brainwashing and other psychological means; disrupt and confuse us economically that the military conflict can be avoided or reduced to a minimum, such as guerrilla activities as in Vietnam and Africa. It should also be remembered — for example — that the Americans were not driven out of South Vietnam, but persuaded to leave in particular by a tremendous psychological warfare battle instead the USA.

However, whilst referring to the inter-relationship of the three divisions of warfare, it is my duty at this conference to deal in particular with the aspect of economic warfare.

Communist economic warfare must be considered in two parts. Firstly, activities in free world countries — part

of which I have already dealt with, and secondly the internal situation inside Communist controlled countries.

In examining the second part first, it must be realized firstly that the whole Russian economy is geared to a war footing. They are at war with us, even if we don't recognise this factor. But what is not always recognised in the West is the now established fact that if it wasn't for assistance from the West there would in fact now be NO Russian threat to world peace and there would in fact most likely be no Russian Communist Empire. Now this is not to say that the capacity to produce what is required in the modern state is not there in the Soviet Union. What I am saying is that there is no incentive or initiative to be found when you have a Captive People behind an Iron, Bamboo or Sugar Cane Curtain.

Possibly one of the greatest experts in this field is Dr. Antony C. Sutton who wrote three volumes on 'Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development'. His book 'National Suicide' is very revealing. Dr. Sutton undoubtedly stunned the Republican Party of the USA when he testified before their Subcommittee VII of the Platform Committee at Miami Beach, Florida on the 15th August, 1972. He told them quite clearly that "there is no such thing as Soviet technology. Almost all — perhaps 90-95 percent — came directly or indirectly from the United States and its allies. In effect the United States and the NATO countries have built the Soviet Union. Its industrial and its military capabilities."

Dr. Sutton's seven point summary of his conclusions should be known by every anti-Communist in the free world, who should then make every free-world politician take note and act. Dr. Sutton's seven points are as follows: —

One: trade with the USSR was started over 50 years ago under President Woodrow Wilson with the declared in-

tention of mellowing the Bolsheviks. The policy has been a total and costly failure. It has proven to be impractical — this is what I would expect from an immoral policy.

Two: we have built ourselves an enemy. We keep that self-declared enemy in business. This information has been blacked out by successive Administrations. Misleading and untruthful statements have been made by the Executive Branch to Congress and the American people.

Three: our policy of subsidizing self-declared enemies is neither rational nor moral. I have drawn attention to the intellectual myopia of the group that influences and draws up foreign policy. I suggest these policies have no authority.

Four: the annual attacks in Vietnam and the war in the Middle East were made possible only by Russian armaments and our past assistance to the Soviets..

Five: the worldwide Soviet activity is consistent with Communist theory. Mikhail Suslov, the party theoretician, recently stated that the current detente with the United States is temporary. The purpose of the detente, according to Suslov, is to give the Soviets sufficient strength for a renewed assault on the West. In other words, when you've finished building the Kama plant and the trucks come rolling off — watch out for another Vietnam.

Six: internal Soviet repression continues — against Baptists, against Jews, against national groups and against dissident academics.

Seven: Soviet technical dependence is a powerful instrument for peace if we want to use it.

In his book he makes it quite clear that we have helped the Russians with everything from building tanks to the manufacture of explosives.

There are two lessons to be learnt from this trade apart from the moral

question. Firstly it helps the Russians to devote their time and energy to controlling their captive peoples, something which would be more difficult if not nearly impossible except for the aid from the West. Secondly it makes more and more sections of the free-world economy dependent on the Communist market and therefore vulnerable to economic-political influences.

There are some who say that the damage is mostly done by the Americans. This is simply not true. The whole of Western Europe is becoming more and more dependent on the Communist market. To give you some idea what I mean allow me just to deal with some examples concerning my own country Great Britain.

We have just had a general election in Britain and once again we have a Socialist left-wing government. Fortunately with only a small majority so it will have to listen to the people a little. It is a generally held view that all the bad things in government are done by the left-wing socialist governments. This again is just not true.

The last Conservative — supposedly anti-Communist — Government was elected to office in June, 1970. Just over six months later in Moscow there is an announcement that a United Kingdom/USSR Inter-Governmental Commission for Co-operation in Applied Science, Technology, Trade and Economic Relations has been formed. Just one week later on the 16th January, 1971, we see in 'The Times' of London a picture of a smiling British Minister, Mr. John Davies (the then Secretary of State For Trade and Industry) talking to Mr. Vladimir Kirillin, the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology at the second plenary session of this newly established Commission.

Under a so-called anti-Communist government this UK/USSR Commission is talking about co-operation on

thermonuclear power and electricity transmission; the design of aircraft; production of protein from paraffins and the design of plant for this; automated sprinkler irrigation systems for grain and fodder crops; and articulated lorries powered by gas turbines. This latter project is separate from the proposed Kama River plant, on which Mr. Sarillin said, there was immediate scope for British welding and painting techniques and probably wider participation.

Within a few months the British Government is busy persuading the American Government that it would be quite alright for the British to export computers to Soviet Russia. They have, of course, received the usual assurance that these computers would not be used for military purposes. Apparently government officials have learnt nothing from the long line of broken Russian promises and assurances.

In March 1971 the 'wicked capitalist' London Chamber of Commerce is entertaining a delegation from the All-Union Chamber of Commerce of the USSR in London to mark the 50th Anniversary of the signing of the first Anglo-Soviet trade agreement. In April, 1971, we read in "Commerce International" an article extolling the virtues of all this long established trade and looking to further increases. This increased trade is welcomed in spite of the increased trade reported in the same article, between the USSR and Japan, West Germany, Italy and France.

The stupidity of the trading pattern is further shown up when the same article in "Commerce International" reports British exports of leather footwear to Soviet Russia yet by the 1st November, 1972, the British Footwear Manufacturers Federation is complaining about cheap footwear flooding the British Market from East Europe at unrealistic low prices and thus threatening jobs and the very existence of British shoe factories. All it now needs to help finish off the British Footwear in-

dustry is for the Soviet Union to suddenly stop buying. The Communists have used this weapon before to undermine the free world.

Economists and politicians, in particular in the English-speaking world, talk about the Communist countries as countries with "controlled economies". What these polite economic terms really mean is that there is not necessarily any relationship between the cost of producing an article and the price that has to be paid for it. As far as the Communists are concerned it is a matter of making all trade serve one or several political, as distinct from trade, objectives. It may be to gain foreign

What is not faced by Western politicians is that trade with the Communists and in particular the Russians means engaging in economic warfare. At the moment most business men in the West do not really recognise the political aspects or they do not care so long as they are making a profit. Lenin was therefore quite right when he said that the decadent capitalists would sell the rope with which they would be hung — provided they made a profit. It is up to all of us who are politically aware to bring this to the attention of businessmen as well as politicians.

There are of course many other examples that could be cited such as the



England — A protest march in Keithly on the 11th August, 1974

exchange in order to obtain something else that they are incapable of producing themselves. It may be to make a country dependent on a Communist country for trade and maybe its economic survival. It may be to undermine certain industries in a country so that the Communists and their leftist friends can then exploit any suffering and hardship in the country concerned. I saw a lot of this when I was working in the Chamber of Manufacturers in Australia.

wheat deals with the USA, Australia, Canada and Common Market countries. Perhaps some of the most stupid are those of the European Commission of the European Economic Community who not satisfied with selling cheap butter, then cheap wheat but have now added cheap meat to make sure that the Soviet Russian jailers of the Captive Nations and the Red Army are well fed and not at the mercy of the unrest and falling production on the collective farms.

This now leads me to the second aspect. The question of the internal economies of the free world.

Communists from Karl Marx, Lenin to the Marxist professors in Western Universities always say that the capitalist system has the seeds of its own destruction. In certain respects they are quite right. But they do not then say that the whole international Communist programme is engaged in watering and caring for these seeds to make sure that they grow and strangle the free world. They claim that historically the Communists are the only people with the answers; but this is simply not true. Where have they solved any problems without imposing slavery on the population? The answer is nowhere.

The Communists have in fact no economic answers at all. They are content to sit back and exploit democratic societies saying that the capitalist system is incapable of solving these problems whilst the leftist and Marxist economic advisers in the West are constantly suggesting that the free world should democratically introduce more and more controls to try and solve the problems. But the Marxists knew full well that one set of controls only leads to the next set of controls which they know must ultimately lead into the hands of the Communists to use and exploit at whatever time may suit them.

Inflation is undoubtedly the most serious problem facing the free world. Hear what former Communist and British Socialist politician J. Strachey had to say on this problem. He said that inflation is "an indispensable step in the right direction... the fact that the loss of objectivity, and the intrinsic value of the currency which is involved will sooner or later make necessary, on pain of ever-increasing dislocation, a growing degree of social control... for the partial character of the policy will itself lead on to further measures. The very fact that no stability, no permanently workable solution can be

found within the limits of this policy will ensure that once a community has been driven by events to tackle its problem in this way, it cannot halt at the first stage, but must of necessity push on to more thorough going measures of re-organisation."

Now you may say that I am painting a very black picture. But surely this is reality, this is what is happening in the world at this very minute. This situation then gives to the Communist and leftist trade union officials a very powerful weapon to exploit. This again we know to be true. When I was professionally engaged in industrial courts and commissions I often used to say to union members "why do you elect these Communist union officials, when you and I know that you are anti-Communist?" The reply was always that these leftist and Communist union officials worked very hard and usually obtained better conditions and increased wages. It was claimed that they didn't like their politics but they got results. On the surface this may appear to be true.

The Communists and their leftist friends know how to exploit the free societies in which they live. They know where they are going. They want more controls, more chaos, more friction in society, then more controls until a civil war can be produced or a dictatorship of the left or so-called right.

Where is the anti-Communist and free world answer? Do we have the same clarity of thought? Whilst some people have this clarity of thought I suggest that the majority do not. Here is the weakness or Achilles Heel of the anti-Communist forces of the free world.

It is of no value to point to our economic aid to the Russians and Chinese and others and the Communists in trade unions and say how terrible it all is unless we can provide answers to these problems.

The question of trade with Communist controlled countries is fairly easy to deal with because the free world is basically economically independent. Here it is basically a matter of political will and stopping a lot of stupid policies such as buying chrome from the Russians whilst refusing to buy the chrome from Rhodesia which is holding the front line against Communist subversion on the African continent.

The problem of dealing with the internal situation, such as inflation, is not so easy. It is so true that often the problem that is closest to you is the hardest to see. It is also made harder by the deliberate policy of economists, particularly the leftist and Marxist, of using complicated language to make it sound that economics is too hard to understand.

I could of course spend another whole paper tracing the origins of certain economic policies that are basically Marxist which now come from most of our schools of economics. Whilst this is valuable background material it is not essential to an understanding of the real nature of our problem and where we should look for an answer.

We must explode certain myths. Firstly it is claimed that one of our problems at the moment is that there is too much money available and we therefore need to either increase taxes to soak up this surplus money — this is basically the leftist approach — or we need to restrict the money supply — a supposedly conservative approach. This last policy also creates unemployment for the Communists to exploit. Both are wrong. What has not been challenged is whether the basic statement is correct. There is in fact a chronic shortage of consumer purchasing power. You can easily test this for yourself by asking your audiences and friends if they are one of these people with too much money. I can never find these people; they certainly seldom seem to be among the anti-Communists!

Test this matter another way. If we believe in the law of supply and demand, then if there is too much money around how is it that interest rates are so high? The leftist economists will not give you a straight answer to that question. The truth is that all this new money is only coming into existence by the banks lending more money to industry to pay increased wages and by government borrowing for either capital expenditure or to finance a deficit budget. Either way the money and interest has to be paid in increased prices or increased taxes at some time or another. This surplus money is what I call "Funny money" for when the banks or governments want it back and call it in, it is no longer there. Rather like the Cheshire cat in the English fairytale "Alice in Wonderland" — now you see it and now you don't see it.

The real position is that over 90% of all new money in the free world comes into existence as an interest bearing debt. We are all individually and collectively being taken further and further into debt by the current system. If we were to stop everything now and use all the money in the world to pay off all our individual, corporate and government debts we would use up all the money available and still have a large debt. The Communists understand this and like us to rely on their markets to get a surplus of exports over imports, knowing that not every nation can achieve this, thus giving them a certain power unless we call their bluff and explode the myth.

The second and final myth that I wish to deal with is that prices and/or wages being increased are the cause of inflation. The leftists blame the capitalist exploiters for increased prices and profits being the cause of inflation. On the other hand the so-called capitalists — big or small — and many conservatives blame the workers — particularly the unions — for forcing up wages and thus causing inflation. This

keeps a sort of class warfare going with one side always blaming the other. The truth is that neither are the cause of inflation, they are merely manifestations of the effects of inflation.

If the problem is put another way round we find that employer and employee both have the same problem. The employer would rather his costs went down so that he would not have to increase his prices and thus create consumer resistance. He would rather like his costs to go down so he could put his prices down and sell more and thus obtain a higher turnover. On the other hand the employee or worker would rather that the money that he already receives increases in value and thus allows him to buy more, than have increased wages. He would get increased purchasing power.

Recently a number of accountants in England stated that it was an accounting factor that was one of the causes of inflation. They invited an accountant to come forward and give his evidence on oath that they were wrong, giving reasons. So far no other account-

ant has come forward. This is a very encouraging sign.

We have to find a new way of introducing money into the system, other than an interest bearing debt, so that costs can be reduced and purchasing power increased, all based on the productive capacity of the whole community. It is therefore quite clear that suggestions along these lines are being put forward by the Premier of the Australian State of Queensland. This again is a very encouraging sign.

If action along these lines can be initiated, we will destroy the strength of Marxist materialism and put them onto the defensive. We would then solve our own internal economic problems and be in a position to use our vast economic strength as a weapon against Russian colonization and Communist expansion anywhere in the world.

Here is the challenge and here is the answer to Communist economic warfare. It is up to us to find the political will. For without a vision a people perishes.

Rep. Charles Mosher Queries Dobrini on Moroz

Congressman Charles A. Mosher (R.-O.) wrote a letter to Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Anatoli Dobrynin, asking about the health of Moroz and charging that "the imprisonment of Mr. Moroz violates the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which the Soviet Union is a major signatory."

In the latter, dated October 16th, Rep. Mosher wrote that Moroz was in the Lubianka Prison, probably basing his information on the false rumor circulated by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

Rep. Mosher is a co-sponsor of House Resolution 1436, which calls on President Ford to "express the concern of

the United States government for the safety and freedom of Valentyn Moroz."

This resolution was originally sponsored by Robert A. Roe (D.-N.J.), and now numbers 23 other congressional co-sponsors (as of Nov. 15, 74).

Rep. Mosher pledged to continue to support efforts taken here in behalf of Valentyn Moroz."

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

Baltic Nations Versus Russification

Before the very eyes of the free and prosperous nations of Europe, according to a set plan, the extermination of the Baltic nations goes on, and it is a matter of maybe two decades before the plan is completed. In that case Kaliningrad will be joined soon by Breshnevgrad, Kosynggrad and perhaps even Serovgrad, whereas Riga, Vilnius and Tallinn would disappear from the map of Europe together with the nations, who have been there for many thousand years. It is not a strange tale from the dark ages or from the dark continents, but it is taking place in the middle of the 20th century and in Europe.

What did the Baltic States mean to Europe, and what would Europe lose with the extermination of 7 million fellow Europeans?

The Baltic countries always comprised a consolidated **ethnic majority**, endowed with stability of social relations and, a good basis for a contemporary **national culture**. The Balts are known as hard workers with a distinct sense of private enterprise and social balance, and they had the highest percentage of academics in Europe. This provided the countries with the necessary network for an **independent economy**, based upon modern agriculture and light industry. Having one of the highest rates of home consumption in Europe, they were successfully competing in the world markets with countries like Denmark. According to the Yearbook of Statistics for 1939-1940 issued by the League of Nations, the three Baltic countries exported together goods at the value of 65.8 million gold dollars during 1938, which was approximately half the exports of the vast Soviet Union, with its enormous resources for the same year.

In politics the Baltic States kept to a strict neutrality. In their internal politics all minorities in the Baltic States had state subsidized schools (where children were taught in their

own language), theatres and newspapers. They also had their own representatives in parliament.

From a **military** point of view, the Baltic States had a key position among the so-called buffer states, which were created after the first World War from Finland in the North of Europe to Rumania in the South. For two thousand years those nations had been fighting against the persistent onslaught of the Russian aggressive imperialism. The thousand years old defence line of the Baltic unearthed now by the archiologists in the East part of that area is more impressive than the Stalin Line, but, ironically enough, in the same place. Where is this defence line now? Over Lower Saxony.

The importance to Europe of this area for military security and aggression and then trade was recognized by Peter the Great. For the same reason Stalin brought about the Molotov Ribbentrop agreement in 1939. With crude sarcasm Molotov denied rumours of this agreement — USSR does not need the small gardening plots of the Baltic States. Nevertheless another secret protocol was signed by Molotov and the German Ambassador Count Schulenburg on January 11, 1941. The Germans renounced a strip of Lithuanian territory and the USSR promised to pay for that to the Germans 7.5 million gold dollars in non-ferrous metal deliveries and gold.

The economic independence was destroyed in the Baltic States by the collective farming system. The imposed heavy industry made the Baltic countries fully dependent on raw materials from the USSR.

The Russian Communist imperialists have set a threefold plan for the slow extermination of these nations.

1. **Russification** is carried out in all schools, all forms of communication, press, administration etc. Half of the books published and half of the newspapers are printed in Russian. Two-

stream schools and two-language schools turn out to be only Russian. With the loss of the national language goes the loss of culture and the national identity.

2. **Depopulation** is progressive. Every year a certain number of skilled and academically educated people are sent for jobs into other republics.

3. **Colonisation** brings in thousands of Russians for the army, party, civil service, trade, heavy industry, press, schools etc. The low standard of living and the unproductive system of collective farming makes people leave the otherwise non-Russian districts in the country and move to the towns. From depressed areas in the Soviet Union Russians move in. Year by year the statistics, even with the low birthrate,

show the growth of the population. But only the percentage of Russians grows. In the towns they constitute more than half of the population.

The Western stronghold in the North-East corner of Europe is being destroyed both by history, by the systematic and persistent planning of the Soviets, and by the systematical and persistent ignorance and apathy of the West.

If this should reach a tragic end, every page of the European history will accuse the West of letting the extermination of the three Baltic nations happen. For everyone of us is responsible, as Alexander Solzhenitzyn says, before the judgement of history.

Margarith Ausala D.Litt., H.L.D.

Kudirka Terms Soviet "Hell" After Arrival in US

After two days in the United States, Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian seaman who tried to defect to the US four years ago, said in a recent interview with a New York Times correspondent that "It is as if I left hell and arrived in a sunny new land".

Mr. Kudirka, his wife, two children and his Brooklyn-born mother were given an exit visa by the Soviet authorities under the condition that he would "not defame the Soviet Union". In a press conference held at the Waldorf-Astoria Mr. Kudirka said he felt compelled to tell that "the conditions in the labor camps are terrible".

Mr. Kudirka was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. He served four of his 10 years at the Kuchino prison camp in the central Urals region, after he had unsuccessfully tried to escape from a Soviet trawler where he worked as a radio operator. During his imprisonment, Mr. Kudirka said he knew nothing of the efforts to gain his release by the Lithuanian Americans and other groups.

Speaking in Lithuanian, Russian and German he recalled November 23, 1970, the day he leaped from the Sovyetska-

ya Litva to the deck of the Coast Guard cutter, Vigilant, and how he was dragged of the Vigilant by Soviet seamen, beaten and tied together with telephone wires.

The State Department commenced negotiations with the Soviet Union only after intercession by Senators Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.); Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.); Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and James L. Buckley (C-N.Y.).

Sen. Javits praised Mr. Kudirka's courage, saying that "he has done us all a tremendous service by showing that the Iron Curtain is not impenetrable, that ideas and human compassion can get through".

Sen. Buckley, who left for the Soviet Union Friday, Nov. 8, said "that the Kudirka affair has underlined that a détente that means a lessening of our commitment to freedom is not worth pursuing". Mr. Buckley agreed to take a message to Mr. Kudirka's friends.

The seaman, who is staying in Locust, N.J., wrote out his message: "We flew in safety to a wonderful country. I do not have enough words to tell you my happiness. We are becoming accustomed to being here. We embrace you. We kiss you."

Bulgarian Memorandum

to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, the Governments of the Great Powers and other countries directly or indirectly concerned.

Your Excellencies!

The representatives of the Bulgarian Emigrant Parties and Organizations Meeting on August 10/11, 1974, in Frankfurt/M. (Germany) beg to inform you about their concern in particular for the dangers threatening the national and territorial independence of Bulgaria and other Balkan countries as well as world peace.

Despite the fact that the UN Charter and other UN documents have guaranteed the peoples' right to free self-determination, since the end of the war the Bulgarian people never had the possibility to freely express their thoughts especially to decisions concerning their domestic and foreign policies.

Irrespective of the Bulgarian people's right to self-determination the present Bulgarian government is preparing the annexation of Bulgaria to the Soviet Union.

The legitimacy of our concern is evident from the enclosed documents. Unless such a Russian act can be prevented our people will be completely eradicated by mass internments, subjected to permanent terror and physical destruction — a fate many people of the Soviet Union have experienced.

Simultaneously the Soviet Union's position in the Balkans has considerably strengthened, and the freedom and security of the Balkan peoples, Europe and the entire world is seriously threatened.

We insistently request Your Excellencies to deal with this important question and to take corresponding steps for removing this danger.

Signatories:

Major Dr. I. Bankovski
(Provisional Coordinating Secretary)

D-6 Frankfurt/M. 1, August 14, 1974
P. O. Box 2273

Factual Account of Present Events

(1) A few years ago Russian has been introduced in Bulgarian schools as a compulsory subject starting from the first school year (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, November 1, 1969).

(2) The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and at present Head of the Bulgarian State, Todor Shvilkoff, declared in his welcome speech which was held in Moscow on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the USSR, the following:

"We Bulgarian Communists, Bulgarian workers and Bulgarian people have considered the Soviet Union our second fatherland and we continue to fully maintain this point of view" (Bulgarian Journal "Rabotnichesko Delo", November 23, 1972).

(3) In the Autumn 1973, Todor Shvilkoff officially declared that he planned the annexation of Bulgaria to the USSR, which — he considered — would be the height of his career (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, March 22, 1974).

(4) During a Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party held in Sofia, Todor Shvilkoff stated on March 20, 1974: "The fraternity and cooperation between the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR requires of us, and at the same pace, to make joint efforts and coordinate our activities in all fields with the USSR. We must act like an organism having one lung and one blood circulation..."

(Bulgarian Paper "Anteni", from the Journal "Borba", April 1974, No. 69).

(5) At the same Conference Shvilkoff

koff proposed a close union: "An intensification of the integration process between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union — the path to an all-embracing, mutual understanding between both countries "to be as close as possible and generally valid" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, March 22, 1974).

(6) Between 11th and 19th June, 1974 official communiques were issued stating that the Soviet Union urges Rumania to cede the corridor in northern Dobrudja, which "upon Bulgaria's request" would constitute a permanent direct communications zone for shipping troops and armaments from the Soviet Union to Bulgaria (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, June 20, 1974; New York Times, June 13, 1974; Libre Belgique, June 12, 1974).

(7) On June 18, 1974, Todor Shivkoff declared:

"At this stage also we will intensify and develop our irrevocable course towards a still closer and stronger union between the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria and the multinational Union of the USSR..."

(Bulgarian Newspaper "Otetchestven Front", June 19, 1974, No. 9210).

Facts and Documents from the Past Showing Russian Intentions towards Bulgaria and Constantinople

(1) The testament of the Russian Czar Peter the Great (items 8 and 9) states that he left the conquest of Constantinople to his successors (Elihu Rich. "Germany and France", Peter-noster Jquere 1884, t. II, p. 198).

(2) In 1800 the Russian Chancellor, Count Rostopchin, had elaborated the following project for dividing Turkey: **Russia** was to obtain Bulgaria and Moldavia, **Austria** should get Bosnia, Serbia and Walachia (Solovieff "Vostochniy Vopros", p. 300; Skalkovskiy, "Vneshnaya Politika Rossii", p. 262).

(3) When in 1807 Napoleon and the Russian Czar Alexander I met in Tilsit they decided to divide Turkey in the

following manner: **Russia** would get Bessarabia, Moldavia, Walachia and Moesia; **France** was to get Albania, Thessalia, Morea and Creta; **Austria** should obtain Bosnia and Serbia; Thracia, Constantinople, Asia Minor and Egypt would be left to **Turkey**. When Alexander I requested Constantinople for Russia, according to Thier, Napoleon replied the following: "Constantinople — never! That would mean rule over the entire world" (Skalkovskiy, p. 262; Glenar "Russko-Turetskaya Voyna", translated into Bulgarian by Tintoroff, pp. 36 and 37 (1887); Komarovskiy "Istochniya Vapros", translated into Bulgarian by Naumoff, Sofia (1887), pp. 37 to 39).

(4) During his negotiations with the French King Charles X the Russian Czar Nikolai I proposed that **France** should take the left bank of the Rhine river, and Russia — Constantinople... (Skalkovskiy, "Vneshnaya politika imp. Nikolaia I", p. 202).

(5) In 1853 Nikolai I proposed through his ambassador in Vienna, Baron Meienhof, that **Austria** should occupy Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to weaken Turkey and give **Russia** a free hand to carry out her projects with respect to Bulgaria and Constantinople (From the English Paper "Daily Chronicle", October 6 (1896), article "The Traditional Policy Russia").

(6) On January 16, 1854, Nikolai I sent Count Orloff, his aide, to Austria for negotiations about the division of Turkey. Orloff promised Austria half of the Balkan Peninsula; he also proposed to transform Constantinople into a "free" city, but to station Russian garrisons at the Bosphorus and Austrian garrisons at the Dardanelles ("Russkiy Vestnik", February 1897).

(7) In the past century the Russian Prince Platon Suboff wrote: in the near future Russia will become a world empire with 6 capitals: Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, Astrakhan and Moscow, and secondary cities such as

Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and others (Martens, "Meshdunarodnoye Pravo", vol. I, p. 221).

(8) In 1898 the Bulgarian Communist, Dr. Krstü G. Rakovski (he became an important Soviet diplomat and Chief of the Ukraine after the Russian Revolution of 1917, but was later assassinated by Stalin) published the book "Russia in the East", stating the following on page 10: **"The Russian danger for Bulgaria is much greater and closer than any other external dangers"**.

A Brief Historical Survey of Bulgaria

After its foundation on the Balkan Peninsula Bulgaria met with the following fates:

(1) From 679 to 1018 Bulgaria prospered as a free state in the First Bulgarian Empire.

(2) In 864/865 the Vatican converted the Bulgarians under the Bulgarian Czar Boris I to Christianity; on politi-

cal grounds, however, they were subordinated to Constantinople. At that time the Cyrillic alphabet was created in Bulgaria, which later on was taken over by Serbia and Rumania and 125 years later also by Russia.

(3) From 1018 to 1186 Bulgaria was under Byzantine rule.

(4) From 1186 to 1393 Bulgaria lived as a free state under the Second Bulgarian Empire.

(5) In 1204, under Czar Kalojan, Bulgaria was again subordinated to the Vatican as far as ecclesiastic matters were concerned; however, it had to place itself under the control of Constantinople for political reasons again.

(6) From 1393 to 1878 Bulgaria was enslaved by Turkey.

(7) From 1878 to 1944 Bulgaria was free under the Third Bulgarian Empire.

(8) Since September 9, 1944, (after Soviet occupation) Bulgaria has been incorporated into the Soviet Bloc and is a Communist-ruled country.

N. Dakota Heritage Groups Plead President on Persecuted Ukrainians

The state-wide Republican Party's Heritage Groups Division sent a telegram to President Gerald Ford, requesting that he intercede on behalf of Ukrainian persecuted intellectuals, particularly Valentyn Moroz and Leonid Plushch, during his upcoming talks with Russian leaders, scheduled for the end of November.

The proposal to send President Ford a telegram about Ukrainian persecuted intellectuals was proposed by Dr. Anthony Zukowsky at the organization's October 29th assemblage.

In the course of the gathering Dr. Zukowsky was chosen lifetime honorary president of the state Heritage Groups Division.

Write and Tell

We urge our readers to write their Senators and Congressmen, requesting

that they introduce resolutions in defense of Moroz, Plushch and other Ukrainian political prisoners, and that they press the respective Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees for speedy action. Below is a sample letter:

Dear Senator (Congressman):

I urge you, in the name of humanitarian ideals, to introduce a resolution in defense of Valentyn Moroz, a political prisoner confined in the Vladimir Prison, USSR, who is near death, and other Ukrainian intellectual dissidents. If you have already sponsored or co-sponsored such a resolution, I appreciate your action and ask that you urge the Chairman of the Senate (House) Foreign Relations Committee to immediately act upon the resolution, and make it effective in order to save Moroz's life.

The Prisoners in Honecker's Jails

(In future executions of sentences will not be liberalized in the GDR —
Ideological training in the ward is maintained.)

Prisoners detained in GDR penal institutions call the steel rod a "socialist guide" with which they are beaten, if they disobey the instructions of the prison guards. Even after the so-called Great Amnesty the East German state has by no means abandoned its brutal modes of sentence execution. About 9,000 political prisoners are still being humiliated and tortured in penitentiaries. There will be no liberalization with respect to execution, instead it is supposed to become more strict and the corresponding regulations are to be carried through "strictly and fully".

During the last months the political education and ideological training of the political prisoners in the GDR have been considerably intensified. In addition to lectures intended for all prisoners special courses have been set up for the political training and re-education of certain prisoners.

The largest penal institutions of the GDR where political prisoners are detained now are located in Bautzen, Berlin-Rummelsburg, Brandenburg, Bützow-Dreibergen, Cottbus, Halle, Luckau, Magdeburg-Sudenburg, Hoheneck and Zwickau. However, the GDR no longer talks about political prisoners, because officially political prisoners no longer exist. The East Berlin Journal "Forum of Criminalistics" states the following: "Today nobody is detained because of his views. Whoever attacks our antifascist democratic order or disturbs the reconstruction of our peace economy commits an act subject to punishment and is punished for his criminal actions accordingly. Therefore these types of prisoners are no longer to be called political prisoners, but criminals." The term "political prisoners"

is prohibited and one can certainly see the reason for this. As everybody knows that what is protected in a constitutional state by its constitution can be punished as a crime in the GDR; for example making use of one's freedom to move or expressing one's personal views can be a serious crime.

In the GDR penal institutions prisoners continue to be tortured. Prisoners who have recently had the chance to get to the West, reported such existing cruelties. The quality of food is said to be worse than fodder. Interrogations are accompanied by kicks and strokes. The "political" ones had been kept together with assassins in one ward for months. One of the prisoners released described how his handcuffs had been tied to the grating of his ward, so instead of standing all day, he was made to suffer from morning to night, in a hanging position.

Oleksander Serhienko's Health Deteriorates

The health of Oleksander Serhienko, Ukrainian intellectual-dissident incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison, reportedly has worsened.

Serhienko was first arrested January 13, 1972, at the time when the KGB staged arrests of intellectuals throughout Ukraine. He was sentenced in July to seven years in labor camps and three years in exile.

From December 1972 he was incarcerated in the Perm camps, VS 389-36, but a directive from the Kuchynske municipal court on March 28, 1973, had him transferred to Vladimir. Prior to his transfer, he was confined in the labor camp's prison for six months.

Reverend J. Yariba

How Long Have They To Remain Slaves?

We are united here for a great purpose. We are united for a fight against a common enemy, and I will call this enemy the enemy of the whole of mankind. We are united here in common aspiration and common cause. We are united here for a word that means so much to every human being. — **FREE-DOM.**

Let us forget the differences of our languages and the colour of our flags; let us forget the past history. Let us remember that we are all God's children and that we are fighting against something so terrible that I do not hesitate to call it the anti-Christianity of the modern world; its greatest enemy — **Communism.**

If you take a bundle of sticks you cannot break them. Take them one by one and they snap. We must speak in terms of mental strength, determination, faith and courage and tell these nations that are dearest to our heart that strength multiplies itself. If we are separated and ignore each other, then it is no use. Our nation will be erased from the map, and our language will be crushed.

I feel embarrassed, and would like to apologize for speaking mostly about Li-

thuania. Please forgive me and be assured it is not a nationalistic ideal I am more familiar with the facts of Lithuania. The second reason is that we are all in the same boat. Tragedy in one country reflects tragedy in every country behind the Iron Curtain. We all know, and I hope the rest of the world will soon know, that the world will soon be plunged back into the Middle Ages, the Dark Ages. Genocide will be in full swing. This tragedy struck Lithuania by force and fraud, at the cost of painful sacrifices to the people. They will not accept the Soviet Union's imperialistic regime! In 1940 we were not strong enough to publicly protest against the occupation of Lithuania by the Russians. In 1940 underground movements were being organized and in 1944 a revolt broke out. The West is vaguely aware of this but still knows very little of the real revolution.

We are satisfied in Washington. We are satisfied in London. Everybody is satisfied. We are all free. Free, in the good economic situation of the world. But the slaves have to stay slaves. This is what we will have to tell the free world.

(From ABN Meeting, London 1974)

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

Religion and Atheism in the USSR

In Munich from 1950 to 1952 there existed a "USSR Research Institute" which collected materials about Soviet militant "Atheism" and provided a basis for research on the problems of religion and atheism in the USSR, which many research centres in various countries are concerned with.

This material is now kept in the editor's office of the "Religion and Atheism in the USSR" information service in Munich and is being supplemented; it reflects the Soviet efforts to eliminate religion from private and social life during the past 57 years.

The Leninist Period (1917-1924)

Lenin is the founder of "militant Atheism". Since his childhood he has been fighting God, he introduced the struggle for Atheism into the revolutionary activity in order to place man under complete authority of his party, by depriving him of supernatural categorical imperatives (man's responsibility to God, religious morals). Lenin found and spread blasphemous slogans: he called faith in God "desecration of a dead body" and religion "spiritual bad booze"...

Lenin was also a master of manoeuvres. His writings contain many contradictory statements in particular to the tactics applicable in the struggle for Atheism. Regarding the religious life he can be referred to attempting both a campaign for its destruction and in periods of relative liberalization (when the Party had to "step back").

The vicissitude of these two approaches characterizes the whole subsequent struggle against religion in the USSR.

Under Lenin's rule Komsomol members for the first time on holidays in a blasphemous way roistered in the city squares; servants of God were treated as political opponents and were secretly tried and shot.

Even in the period of liberalization Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) was utilized by the Party to destroy the Church from within. In accordance with Lenin's teaching

"a more powerful enemy can be defeated... if taking advantage of any, even the least significant differences between opponents..."
(Lenin's Works, vol. 32, p. 52)

some disagreements among the clergy with respect to ecclesiastical practice were exploited by the Bolsheviks supporting the "innovators" and regarding the adherents of the old ecclesiastical order as political opponents. Schism was promoted within the Orthodox Church, the Armenian-Gregorian Church and in the Jewish communities.

Komsomol members opposed the rabbis and called them Zionists. They organized "trials against Jahve" and in processions they publicly burnt the Thora.

The "seizure of Church property" which took place at the same time, enabled the Bolsheviks to close down innumerable churches and to annihilate countless clergymen and the faithful; also the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church was destroyed. After the Sovietization of Georgia and Armenia (1922) "militant Atheism" was introduced there as well.

The faithful from everywhere, including children, defended religion; they set up committees for the protection of churches. Monks and nuns in order to save their monasteries, changed them into "labour communes". Similar communes were set up by Protestants and Baptists. The Byelorussian and Ukrainian Churches tried to save themselves by appealing to their traditional autocephalous title (which Ukraine proclaimed in 1918 and Byelorussia in 1922) in accordance with Patriarch Tichon's decree of Novem-

ber 20, 1920. Resistance was crushed by terror.

The Stalinist Period (1924-1953)

Prior to World War II the Communist Party of the Soviet Union completely annihilated ecclesiastical life with the aid of the "Militant Atheists Association" and the organs of terror. During the forced "collectivization", the "Stalinist Purges" etc., the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Churches were destroyed along with the national intelligentsia. They were deprived of all their bishops, their best priests and their active civilians. The Burjat and Kalmyk Buddhist Churches were also crushed. At the beginning of 1940 the Churches of the newly conquered territories in the Baltic countries, Moldavia, the western parts of Byelorussia and Ukraine were "dealt with". Catholics and Protestants together with their clergymen were forced to go to Siberia, the Orthodox were united by force with the Moscow Patriarchy. Many churches, monasteries and convents were closed down. In the "Acta Baltica" Publications, Königstein, and Prof. Friedrich Heyer's book, the physical and material losses due to these operations are described; as to the portraits and personal records of the victims in German settlements — see I. Schnur, "Die Kirchen und das religiöse Leben der Rußlanddeutschen", Stuttgart (Russian-German churches and religious life).

Before the outbreak of the war in 1941 outward religious life in the USSR had been destroyed. Even in the capitals of the republics, e. g. Minsk, all churches had been closed down. Nobody dared to talk about God except within the family — behind closed doors. The "Militant Atheists Association" unmasked the faithful and insisted that they publicly denounce their faith, otherwise they will be dismissed from the unions. "Association" branches whose task was to give an impetus to Atheism were set up in all

offices, factories and kolkhozes. "A Godless five year plan" was set up, aiming at the complete abolition of religion in the USSR.

However, during World War II Stalin was forced to follow Lenin's instruction:

"If you are not able to adapt yourself, if you are not keen enough to crawl and roll your stomach in mud, then you are not a revolutionary but just a talker" (Lenin's Works, vol. 27, p. 79).

In order to retain power and deceive the world — to get sympathy and foreign support "Stalin burnt everything he had worshipped and worshipped what he had burnt". Stalin gave freedom to the Church and prohibited all kinds of atheistic activity. The Russian hierarchy began to kindle religious and patriotic enthusiasm, suggested money collections for the holy war and blessed soldiers and tanks before battles.

The trick was effective. People were hungry for religion and — according to Patriarch Alexius — "provided the moral conditions for victory".

Stalin proved right. He succeeded in deceiving the free world which believed in a transformation of the regime. The Stalinist regime remained in power, extended its authority over other countries and consolidated itself.

However, during the post-war period, after a short period of reconstruction he began a new attack. From the recently occupied territories either the total population (Crimea, North Caucasus) or individuals (from Byelorussia, the Baltic countries and the Ukraine) were deported. The Moscow Patriarchy tried to unmask the "adherents of the autocephalus Church" and those "united with the Holy See" in these countries. Prisoners were deported in masses to Kolyma — as described by Solzhenitsyn in "Archipelago Gulag", although he was unconscious of the background events in these border countries.

Khrushchev (1953-1964)

He wanted to win the sympathy of all strata of the population and therefore made concessions to the religious population through a special decree issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but signed by him alone. This decree on the one hand condemned the administrative steps taken to suppress religion, and on the other, legalized the term "scientific Atheism".

The revival of religious life under Khrushchev apparently frightened the Communist Party leadership of the Soviet Union. From 1958 to 1963 the re-established religious life was repeatedly opposed by administrative measures. In the territories formerly occupied by Germans the churches were closed down as "Fascist heritage", and others as "a result of the personality cult".

The Post-Khrushchev Period

This period was and still is characterized by interesting phenomena. First of all the external officially tolerated aspect of ecclesiastical administrative activity will be briefly discussed.

The official administration of the Orthodox Church is represented by the Moscow Patriarchy created in 1927 by means of cunning Soviet tricks. The labile Metropolitan Sergius who, within a short period of time, had changed sides twice, first going over to the "innovators" and then turning back, was imprisoned and accepted the Soviet conditions which were disastrous for the Church; when released he created a Church administration acceptable to the Government. Since the last World War this administration has been acting in the interest of the Soviet power, supporting the internal and external policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in international forums, enriching by its donations the so-called Soviet "Peace Fund", etc.

Within the country this administration does not oppose the divine service ghetto in which the Church is confined: it puts up with the prohibition of sermons for non-religious people and children and has accepted the reduction of religious schools from 10 to 5. The level of the programme and instruction in these schools is quite unsatisfactory. Soviet laws "with respect to cults" and a series of additional Par-



Ukrainian Underground Orthodox Holy Mass

ty instructions, have chained the entire ecclesiastical life. The eparchial network is flagrantly disproportionate. The central cities visited by foreign tourists exhibit splendid churches which have been reconstructed, and even opera singers are authorized to sing there in church choirs. However, on the other hand, the ecclesiastical life has been completely neglected in provincial regions. The Archbishop of Irkutsk and Tchita takes care of a population living on a territory of altogether 2,089,000 km²; moreover, he is responsible for the Yakutsk SSR.

The eparchies of the Moscow Patriarchy are also extending their influence in the free world. For what purpose? The Orthodox abroad are taken care of by their own clergymen. The USSR which is completely alienated from the Church should be sufficient for propagating atheism. The presence of collaborators of the Moscow Patriarchy abroad is due to political reasons; they are to "misinform" the public about the situation of the Church in the Soviet Union (see e. g. the declaration recently made by Patriarch Pimen in Geneva), prevent the issues of religious persecution and suppression of human rights in the USSR from being included in the agenda of international Church conferences.

The Moscow Patriarchy delegations succeed in having these problems concealed by threatening to leave the conference hall or the international Church organization in question. One need not fear these threats. The cooperators of the Moscow Patriarchy act as agents of their government and should they indeed leave they would undoubtedly sooner or later come back!

There are also religious groups that withdrew from the Moscow Patriarchy, they practically exist in catacombs: they deny the canonical legitimacy and refuse the policy of the Moscow Patriarchy. They have been unmasked and annihilated by the terror organs.

The Roman-Catholic Church is represented by bishops in Lithuania and Latvia only, with seminaries in Kaunas and Riga. The Lutheran Church has two bishops, one in Latvia and one in Estonia. The Moslems have four clerical administrations with two Moslem dignitaries. The numerous Moslem places of pilgrimage were already destroyed under Stalin. The Buddhists have one clerical administration. The Jews do not have any central administration. The Rabbi school in Moscow is fictitious, as it does not exist. There are some centres for the old religious groups, but very few.

The Baptists are the most active religious group.

At present religiousness is apparently coming into fashion again. The new Soviet intelligentsia is interested in religion: scientists are exploring old "neumatic script"-notes in church songs; painters are interested in iconography. Young people are recruited to restore monasteries and churches on the Solovecky Islands and other places. Among the Komsomol members, negro spirituals and the American "Jesus People" songs have become quite popular. When joining the movement for the defence of human rights, people considering themselves atheists stand up for the faithful of the USSR, who have been deprived of all rights and are being persecuted.

Although isolated from civilization in the world, talented people are trying to achieve personal intellectual accomplishment and social reorganization of the state, by choosing their own way, which especially under the Soviet conditions of restricted freedom, will be a long and difficult process.

The lack of freedom has tremendously increased. It is true, thousands of people are granted exit permit; Sakharov (Member of the Academy) and his wife, are at the moment setting up a fund in order to support the children of political prisoners in the USSR — this is tolerated by the authorities; the

branch of Amnesty International under the presidency of Prof. Turchin is official; the Soviet Authorities after making an attempt to sabotage by means of a bulldozer an exhibition of Soviet abstract artists reconsidered this and allowed the exhibition to continue. But all this cannot be considered the beginning of a period of liberalization and democratization of power within the USSR. These measures must only be regarded as "a step back" in accordance with Lenin's teaching, expressed as "rolling on the stomach". For, as evident from "Samizdat" Baptists are still being arrested and immolated and thousands of Germans still cannot acquire an exit permit to reach the Federal Republic of Germany. Many Jews are also prevented from emigrating to Israel and the Pentacostists are not allowed to emigrate to the USA or to Australia. In the "Chronicle", Lithuanian Catholics are complaining about intensified repressions. In spite of all petitions and protests Bukovsky, Moroz, Vins and Plyushch living on the verge of death are languishing in the Vladimir Prison.

Conclusion

It seems to us that the time has come to stop talking about the superficial religious situation in the USSR and begin to look for more practical possibilities within our centres in order to help the faithful of the USSR and to defend their rights according to the existing international law. Help must also be given to the young people who are holding on to the church, they are unsure and are looking for a religious understanding without tendentious colourings and a clear mind to judge the totalitarian atheistic Communism.

The French writer Maurice Chavel, a leftist Catholic, recently stated in a television interview that after reading "Archipelago Gulag" one "can no longer think along the same lines" ... In the past he had made Stalin responsible for the deaths and sufferings of millions of people, but only now he has understood what before his time Proudhon knew stating the following to Marx: "I respect and admire you but as regards your ideas I am getting worried about the freedom of man" ...

IN DEFENSE OF VALENTYN MOROZ

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D. C.

November II, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

Soviet scientist Andrei Sakharov recently stated that Valentyn Moroz, the 38-year-old Ukrainian historian being unjustly held a prisoner by the Soviet secret police in Vladimir Prison is on the verge of death. We beseech you and the Executive Department to use your good offices to obtain his release.

As you know, similar protests and publicity from the United States was responsible for the release last week of Simas Kudirka. We believe that like protests and publicity will secure freedom for Valentyn Moroz and others imprisoned by the KGB, contrary to the UN Declaration of Human Rights the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic has signed.

Sincerely, — **John Fred Schlafly**, President,
American Council for World Freedom and World Anti-Communist League

„World Freedom Day“ Observance on January 23, 1975

Political Significance of “World Freedom Day”

When the Korean War finally ended and the anti-Communist PoWs regained freedom on January 23, 1954, newspapers throughout the free world editorially praised the heroism of those ex-Communists — 7,600 Koreans and more than 14,000 Chinese — who refused to be sent back to the side they had come from.

It was a great blow to the Communist world, for it meant that the Communist slave-masters could never again be certain of their hold over subjects who now knew that they could find freedom in the free world. As a new achievement in humanitarianism, the saga of those 22,000 ex-POWs was a thundering propaganda victory for the free world.

On each January 23, thereafter, thousands of those freedom-fighters joined others for Freedom Day rallies to renew and strengthen their adherence to the anti-Communist cause and their determination to continue to play a role in rescuing those who had to be left behind.

The Freedom Day Movement to enhance human dignity and encourage mankind's struggle for freedom and national independence continued to counter attempts at enslavement and win widespread support among free and democratic nations. Consequently, the World Anti-Communist League, meeting in Saigon for its Second Conference in December 1968, decided to observe January 23 as “World Freedom Day,” with public meetings and other anti-Communist activities “to reaffirm the determination of the free world to support the Iron Curtain countries and their peoples in their fight for freedom and national independence.”

Meeting in Bangkok for its Third Conference a year later, the WACL again resolved that all the League

units should through stepped-up “World Freedom Day” observance “demonstrate the unity of action and objective” and “urge the free world to carry through the policy of liberating the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and assisting them to seek freedom and national independence.”

Through “World Freedom Day” Week activities in the subsequent years, WACL units have continued to expose Communist schemes and muster freedom forces for the winning of peace in freedom and justice for all of mankind.

Need of Expanded “World Freedom Day” Observance

President Nixon's policy of negotiation instead of confrontation has been a heavy blow to the captive peoples who now find it harder to gain freedom if the results of Communist and Russian aggression are to be accepted by the free world as unchangeable established facts.

Facts have proven, however, that negotiation with the Communists and Russian imperialists cannot eliminate the fundamental contradictions between the free world and the Red bloc and that confrontation between the two camps remains unabated.

While the undiminished threats of Communist aggression have prompted a re-awakening of the free world, peoples behind the Iron Curtain are continuing to rise against Russian tyranny and Communism. Notable examples include the gallant resistance of Ukrainian and other intellectuals and the increasing flow of refugees escaping out of the Chinese mainland at the risk of their lives.

Desire for freedom and national independence is now a surging tide of our time, and the WACL is moving in the correct direction to bring about an

early downfall of Red regimes and the Russian prison of nations.

But the tide of appeasement is still rampant, and the Communists, capitalizing energy crisis and global economic turmoil, are certain to take further daring moves for the aggravation of general unrest on earth.

The 1975 World Freedom Day comes against this background. Resolute actions should indeed be taken for the heightening of free world vigilance against underhand Communist designs and crimes. One major responsibility of all the WACL units at this moment, therefore, is to make thorough preparation and carry out extensive programs in the week around January 23, 1975 for positive promotion of the League objective.

Suggested Methods for 1975 "World Freedom Day" Observance

January 23, 1975 will be a Thursday. The week of Sunday, January 19 through Saturday, January 25 should be designated as the 1975 "World Freedom Day" Week for nation-wide activities sponsored by WACL units in conjunction with other concerned organizations. Mass rallies should be planned for January 23.

The theme of the 1975 "World Freedom Day" observance by WACL units throughout the world shall be **Stop Appeasement, Freedom for Everybody**. Fight for freedom for all of mankind and national independence for all subjugated should be waged jointly by freedom-loving peoples behind and outside the Iron Curtain.

Efforts should be exerted for the development of the "World Freedom Day" Movement into a global mass campaign with solid social foundations. It is important to have mass rallies and/or sizable public gatherings in the capitals and other major cities of all the free countries. Additionally, various civic organizations should be urged to sponsor lecture meetings, religious ceremonies, exhibitions, radio and TV forums, and other activities to expose Communist crimes and heighten free world vigilance. Newspapers, magazines, etc. should be urged to print articles about anti-Communism for the sake of freedom and peace.

Special attention should be paid to enlisting the younger generation for an all-out promotion of the historical mission of anti-Communism.

It is hoped that messages, in the form of letters or cables, be exchanged among the WACL units — national members, international organizational members, and observer units — for mutual encouragement to bring the tide of "World Freedom Day" Movement to a maximum height.

The various circles of the Republic of China will, among other activities, hold a "World Freedom Day Mass Rally" in Taipei in the morning of January 23, 1975, with at least 3,000 participants from all walks of life plus government officials, members of the diplomatic corps, and special guests from abroad. Scenes from the rally will be telecast via satellite communication facilities. It is hoped that WACL units around the world will arrange to have their local TV networks pick up and relay this broadcast.

Amnesty International Appealed

Amnesty International appealed two weeks ago to Secretary General of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev, requesting that Valentyn Moroz be released from prison and allowed to emigrate to the United States where he was offered a teaching position at a university.

From the Activities of AF-ABN Organizations in USA

Byelorussian Independence Day.

On March 22, 1974, in the Byelorussian Community Center in South River, N. J., was celebrated the Byelorussian Independence Day. Master of ceremonies was Mr. Bahar, Government officials were present. Mr. John Kosiak, President of the Byelorussian Congress Committee was the main speaker. The Byelorussian chorus "Kalina", conducted by Prof. Borisovats performed several Byelorussian folk songs.

Monument for the fallen for freedom of Byelorussia.

On June 23, 1974 in South River, N. J. at the Byelorussian Center, the monument for the fallen for freedom of Byelorussia was officially opened. There was a special Church service and opening ceremony. Delegations of Bulgarians, Cubans, Ukrainians, Germans, Rumanians and other AF-ABN Organizations with their national flags participated. Master of ceremonies was Mr. Bahar. At the monument spoke Dr. A. Pleskachewsky. The main speaker was Dr. V. Kipel. Mr. John Kosiak, President of the Byelorussian Congress Committee, delivered the address. On behalf of the guests, addresses were delivered by Dr. Ivan Docheff — Bulgaria and as Chairman of AF-ABN, Mr. L. Borshch — Ukraine, Mr. A. Nicolae — Rumania and M. Jennsen — Germany. The Byelorussian chorus "Kalina", conducted by Prof. Borisovats, performed several Byelorussian folk songs. Dinner was served for all guests and participants.

14th Bi-Annual Congress of the Bulgarian National Front.

The 14th Bi-Annual Congress of the Bulgarian National Front took place on March 2 and 3, 1974 in New York at the Hotel Commodore. There were

two working sessions and the celebration of the Bulgarian Independence Day, on the evening of March 2, 1974. At the special reception all recipients of the Bulgarian Medal For Liberation of Bulgaria", were honored. At the previous Congress, Hon. J. Stetsko, Madame Stetsko, Dr. App, Mr. L. Pastor and others received the medal. At this year's Congress Dr. Marquetz — Cuba, Mr. E. Pleer — Estonia, Dr. S. Halamay, Mr. L. Borshch and Mr. Kocka - Ukraine, Mr. W. Roka — Hungary and G. Antonoff — Bulgaria, were awarded with the medal. Speakers at the celebration evening were Dr. Ivan Docheff as president of the Bulgarians and Mr. László Pásztor, Chairman of the Heritage Groups Council from Washington, D. C. In the folklore program participated the dance groups of Ukrainians, Germans, Estonians, Hungarians and Bulgarians. At the concluding session of the Congress, the World Executive Board was elected with Dr. Ivan Docheff as President and Dr. George Paprikof and Eng. Angel Ganderski as Vice Presidents. The AF-ABN National Organizations of Ukrainians, Cubans, Byelorussians, Hungarians, Germans, Estonians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Cossaks and others participated with guest delegations.

Bulgarians Honour the Fallen in the Struggle for Freedom of Bulgaria

On the 8th September, 1974, the 30th Anniversary of the day the Communists took over Bulgaria, the Bulgarian National Front commemorated the day to those who have died and suffered in their struggle against Communism for freedom in Bulgaria.

At the Memorial Service which was held at the Ukrainian Orthodox Church "St. Vladimir" in New York, hundreds

of Bulgarians attended the Service as well as delegations from the AF-ABN nations with their national flags of Byelorussia, Ukraine, Hungary, Cuba, Rumania, Estonia, Slovakia, Germany and Croatia. Dr. Ivan Docheff delivered the main speech and after the Service lunch was served at the Church hall.

Representatives of the following na-

tions expressed in their speeches solidarity on behalf of all AF-ABN nations: Byelorussia — John Kosiak; Cuba — Mario Aquilera; Hungary — William Roka and Ukraine — Michael Kosiak.

On that day all over the United States, Canada, the free European countries, South America and Australia similar services were held.

Captive Nations Exhibit in London

Zoltán Glatter, exiled from Hungary in 1946, organized a 26-piece exhibition of paintings, expressions of protest against oppression and sculptured heads that could never be displayed in a Communist country, on July 5, 1974.

Mr. Glatter, an artist, sculptor and teacher, has long been a fighter against the Russian Communist regime in Hungary and against the domination of other subjugated nations. During WW II, Mr. Glatter, a First Lieutenant in the Hungarian Army, witnessed the first atrocities committed by Nazi factions. He witnessed the fall of Kyiv where thousands were executed, narrowly escaped SS men after seeking asylum at Cardinal Mindszenty's palace, and was able to bluff his way out of Hungary, landing in Austria in 1946. The difficult choice to leave Hungary was made because he "... knew then, that after Fascism, Communism was going to give us no hope." A Southend Essex local paper, from the week of July 13th reported that Mr. Glatter felt that the curtailment of his individual freedom was grounds enough for uprooting his generation-old foundations and leaving his homeland. The "Standard" also reported that Glatter was mainly speaking with them in order "To spread propaganda against a system that stifles freedom in Hungary and captive nations such as Czecho-Slova-

kia, Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic States."

The exhibition of banned works was organized as part of the Captive Nations Week aimed at focusing attention at suppressed countries under the Russian yoke. The "Daily Mail" reported on July 5th, that this exhibition was a remarkable display of protest expression in abstract and symbolic form against the oppression in the Soviet Union — styles virtually outlawed by Communist countries.

The art exhibition of smuggled works is a triumph for our cause célébré, i. e., the fight for national and human rights, because of the publicity it received from national critics and Mr. Glatter's invitation to speak on a live BBC broadcast. Mr. Glatter, during his address on the BBC, spoke with moving words about Valentyn Moroz.

Despair is part of the struggle for national and individual rights. Mr. Glatter, and countless other freedom fighters, make it clear that this despair does not concede defeat, but on the contrary reinforces their will to continue fighting. The free world, never experiencing this great deprivation, must begin to understand what life is like in the subjugated nations and that it is not easy to live without freedom of action, freedom of thought and freedom of expression. **L. B.L.**

Full Text of Raisa Moroz's Open Letter

On November 10, Reuter reported from Moscow that the wife of imprisoned Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz had written an open letter to Western government leaders and international organizations, appealing for help in saving her husband from death. The open letter was released to Western newsmen in Moscow on November 10. In its report Reuter quoted excerpts from the letter. Now available is the full text of Raisa Moroz's letter, as follows:

To All Good and Compassionate People,
To Organizations of Amnesty International,
To the P.E.N. Club,
To President Ford of the United States,
To Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada,
To Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany,
To the Heads of State of All Countries that Maintain Relations with the USSR,
To All Newspapers and Radio Stations of the World.

November 5, 1974.

My husband, political prisoner Valentyn Moroz, was allowed to see his family on the 128th day of his hunger strike. As usual, the meeting was held in the presence of guards, who repeatedly interrupted us, forbidding us to speak of first one thing then another. But there was also something quite unprecedented for Vladimir: in addition to the guards, a correspondent from the APN (Novosti Press Agency) was present throughout the entire meeting. This is probably why the meeting took place in a chamber containing furniture and a television set, rather than in some bare and ugly room. Since I do not know what kind of information the APN intends to publish about Valentyn Moroz, I wherewith wish to make public my own report.

Valentyn is critically emaciated (52 kilograms for a man measuring 175 centimeters in height). His face is swollen and he has bags under his eyes. He complains of pains in his heart. But his greatest sufferings are caused by the tube that has been used to feed him once every twenty-four hours since the 12th day of his hunger strike. This tube wounds the lining of his throat and esophagus. When it is withdrawn, it is covered with blood. The pain which Valentyn at first felt only during feeding, is now constant. Valentyn is only semi-conscious almost unintermittently. Nevertheless, he forces himself to stand up from time to time, because he is afraid that his legs will atrophy. Yet such is this man's strength that he was not carried to the meeting — he walked! Still, no matter how strong a man is, there is a limit to his physical resources.

By now, if Moroz's life is to be saved he must be removed immediately to a hospital and nursed with great care for a long time. But the prison warden says that regardless of whether Valentyn continues his hunger strike or not, he will remain in prison. This is tantamount to a death sentence. My husband understands this and has taken the following decision: he will continue his hunger strike for another two months, that is, until January 1, 1975. If by that time he had not managed to get out of prison, he will find a way to end his life.

"1975 in prison does not exist for me", he said, and I have not the slightest doubt that he will abide by this decision just as he has abided by his decision to conduct an uninterrupted hunger strike.

Is it possible in today's world for a man, whose sole crime consists of four journalistic articles qualified by the court as anti-Soviet, to pay for this with his life?

Raisa Moroz

Honorable United States Senator
Henry T. Jackson
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Jackson,

From the enclosed news-notes in the Ukrainian Daily "Svoboda" No. 60 of March 31, 1973 and No. 65 of April 7, 1973 I learned that your Honor was kind enough to accept the representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc. on March 29, 1973.

These news-notes also relay the information that you have paid sincere attention to the problems presented to you, and that you were particularly interested in the Soviet Gift-Parcel Operation, declaring your willingness to include it into the proposed U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade agreement, now under the consideration of the U.S. Congress, aiming at granting the USSR the "most favored-nation" tariff terms.

As early as 1960 I tried to spread the true information about this Communist method of economic abuse of our citizens as evidenced by the enclosed copy of my lecture to the local American Legion Post.

Since that time nothing has changed in this cruel extortion of unprecedented high toll-fees for gift packages to the USSR. On the contrary, the duty-fees were raised several times, on some items up to 100 % and more, and since fluctuation of the U.S. dollar on the foreign exchange markets 35 % has been added for artificial currency parity (official exchange rate is one ruble = \$ 1.35!!).

As an example — a small item such as a woolen kerchief imported here from Japan which cost \$ 1.75 — the requested duty for this item is \$ 2.50 (!) which upon application of artificial currency parity of 35 % increases to \$ 3.37, and with other fees such as insurance, service fee (presently \$ 16 for a 44 package), U.S. postage, the sender is forced to pay at least 100 % of the purchase price in different fees to send one kerchief in a Gift-Parcel. The imposed duty on other items may be seen on the enclosed list of Intertrade Express Corporation.

Dear Senator:

Trading with the USSR appears to me a dangerous business for our country. Therefore, if it has to be agreed upon for some other useful reasons different from those prophesied by Lenin, it should be carefully determined by limitations and among them the USSR must agree to abandon the merciless extortion by their Gift-Parcel Operation.

I am sure that your kind attention to this matter will be greatly appreciated by hundreds of thousands of our citizens — the victims of the Communist Parcel Operation.

With full respect and very truly yours,

Michael Lohaza, M. D.

Psychiatrist — Syracuse State School

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Soviet History is to Be Rewritten

The Party Secretary at the University of Moscow, Valentyn Yagodka, has been instructed by the Politbureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to urge all historians to "re-evaluate former stages of development of Soviet society".

In a report addressed to Muscovite historians Yagodka declared that "all stages must be considered positively". Even "the condemnation" of Stalin — initiated by Krushchev at the XX Party Congress in 1956 — "was false in almost every respect and must be revised".



GEORGIA

KGB Chief Andropov Conducts "Purges" in Georgia

In the Soviet Republic of Georgia the Party and Government Apparatus has been "purged" in the course of the last weeks. These purges were personally supervised by Yuri Andropov, Chief of the Soviet Security Service (KGB).

The "purges" are a result of past year riots, when several thousand demonstrators demanded Freedom for Georgia in Tiflis. The KGB report on these events reads as follows: "It was a nationalist conspiracy under the influence of antisocialist forces".

Andropov's presence in Tiflis during the "purge" remained a secret. — Sixty-two high officials in Georgia only, were dismissed and are to be put on trial. Meanwhile the Chief of the Georgian Communist Party declared: "We shall proceed against all Party opponents without mercy!"



HUNGARY

As already reported the two Soviet parachutist divisions which arrived recently to Hungary remain still in the Southern part of the country and are prepared to occupy Yugoslavia. Within the Warsaw Pact organization, these elements are considered as "lightning formations". We have this information from Nagykanizsa.

*

A certain nervousness is visible in the families of the high-ranking Soviet officers, displaced from Hungary to the Chinese border. These families refuse to leave Hungary and go back to the Soviet Union. They are causing a headache for the Hungarian authorities by asking them for assistance in this situation.

The Russian High-Command in Hungary does not dare to act strongly against these families, as they have fears of a massive trend to leave for Western Europe — which would be politically disastrous for the Soviet Union in the present political situation. Only during the past weeks, five Soviet families committed suicide in order to avoid repatriation.

*

Our Győr Section gave us information regarding the changing of the Hungarian border-guard on the Austrian frontier by Hungarian speaking Soviet officers and non-commissioned officers. The same occurred already two months ago on the Yugoslav border.

*

The bauxite mines found under the coal mines of Tatabánya seem to be of a great interest for the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities are asking on

that operation a weekly report. These mines are between 16 and 20/22 meters thick.

*

The huge construction under the Hámori-Lake is now finished. An atomic missile base has been created under the lake, with launching and missile stocking capability. An electric-power centre, sewage and air-conditioning have been built within the mentioned base. The missiles are forwarded on rails from the stockage room to the launching room in which everything is moved electronically from the arrival of the missile to its actual launching. All the rooms are controlled by close circuit television from the central commanding room. The command has telephonical links, not only with the other basis and the Head-Quarters in Hungary, but directly through the so-called K-line to Moscow.

The central commanding section is the highest room with the switchboard. Eight people are here on duty, working eight hour shifts a day. In fact, the duty is 24 hours, out of which the personnel spends the first eight hours in recreation rooms (billiard, games, cards, ...), they get here refreshments as well (with alcohol). Then comes the eight hour duty in the missile room. After that they spend again eight hours in the recreation room where films are shown. After this, they spend 24 hours with their families, who live in the Russian locations of Pingyomtető, where they have their own shops. They do not mix with the Hungarian population, because only those who speak Hungarian can go to the Hungarian towns and villages, always in plain clothes.

In the main room, 40 missiles are now stocked in holes made in the rock. The missiles arrived there from USSR transported by air to the underground airfield. There exists a controlling tunnel, to which the entrance goes through a small guard-house situated 150 metres from the Lillafüred Palota Hotel.

The population nearby were told that a hydrolical plant has been built there. The workers were the forced labourers from the Russian concentration camps.

*

Inside the Sirok mountain, on the railway line Kálkápóla-Kisterenye, in huge caves, kerosen has been stocked in three places, in extremely high quantities. Each of the three caves contains the capacity of ten 20 tons railways carriages. The stocking is made in big carriages which have been constructed and filled in on the spot, then a wall has been built in order to hide the caves. There is a space of three meters between the outer wall and the door opening to the cave itself. These stocks should refurnish the huge underground airfield of Csincsetanya (between Mezőkeresztes to Emőd resp. Mezőkövesd). It has a length of 20 kilometers.

On the 19th of June, the Hungarian missile basis of Forró-Encs (between Miskolc and Hidasnémet) had its Hungarian crew changed by Russians. This Hungarian crew was probably sent near Ulan-Rator, to the Hungarian air-force base.



LITHUANIA

As the Soviet Union celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the unrest among the numerous nationalities within the Soviet state indicated that the so-called "unbreakable union of fraternal nations" is only a paper slogan. The national, religious, and political persecution during 1972 in Lithuania, a country which was forcefully occupied and annexed by Soviet Russia in 1940, and the protests of the Lithuanian people against the denial of the right to national self-determination and religious and political freedom, suggest that the Soviet Union remains a prison

of nations, as the old Russian Empire was once known.

In 1972 the national protest in Lithuania reached tragic heights. On May 14, 1972, the youth Romas Kalanta burned himself in national protest in front of the theater in Kaunas where the destruction of Lithuanian independence was proclaimed in 1940. The local authorities ordered a secret burial of Kalanta's body, precipitating two days of riots on May 18 and 19. Thousands of workers and students marched on local party and government offices, shouting "Freedom, freedom for Lithuania." Clashes with the militia ensued, involving hundreds of injured, arrested, and one reported death of a militiaman. The local police could not control the crowds and Soviet internal security forces were called in to quell the demonstrations.

The self-immolation of Kalanta was followed by two more suicides by fire and one unsuccessful attempt. For example, on May 28, 1972, in the town of Varena, a young man burned himself to death after hoisting the Lithuanian national flag during the previous day. Another national demonstration occurred during the international handball championships in Vilnius on June 11—18, 1972. Many youths among the spectators booed Soviet teams and refused to honor the Soviet anthem. Reportedly nationalist leaflets were passed out in the streets.

Such dramatic events underscored that the Lithuanian people have not acquiesced to the Russian occupation of their country and are demanding nothing short of independence. Western observers have noted that the events described here coincided in part with the visit of President Nixon to Moscow and may have been planned to remind the US President as well as the Kremlin rulers of the unsettled international status of Lithuania. The Government of the United States and a number of other Western states still consider the Russian actions against Lithuania in 1940 illegal and conti-

nue to recognize the representatives of the formerly independent Lithuanian Republic as the only rightful representatives of the Lithuanian people.

Russian suppression of religion, as practiced in Lithuania, was revealed by a series of petitions from the Lithuanian Catholics. One petition, accompanied by 17,000 signatures, was sent to the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim with the request that it be relayed to the Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party Leonid Brezhnev. The petition charged that the Soviet regime, contrary to its own laws and international obligations, is systematically strangling religious life and the Church. Indicative of the strong religious feelings in Lithuania is the appearance of a new underground publication **Lietuvos Kataliku Baznycios Kronika** (Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church), two issues of which have reached the West in 1972.

The plight of the Lithuanian Catholics, comprising some 80 % of the population, has been widely noted around the world, including Pope Paul VI, who recalled the "Silent Churches" in his Easter message, and the Catholic hierarchy in the United States whose Conference issued a condemnation of the Soviet anti-religious policies in Lithuania. The Russian regime has reacted with a counterattack on the Church, but warned its atheistic activists that the application of coarse methods against believers may backfire. The continuation of religious persecution, perhaps with a greater subtlety, seems to be in prospect.

As 1972 came to a close, the Lithuanian people, as the other nations within the Soviet state, were reminded by Party Secretary General L. Brezhnev during the 50th anniversary of the USSR celebration that the "growing together of nations" is an objective trend of Soviet society and, hence, Russianization is their inevitable end. In the civilized world such policies are known as genocide. Perhaps this explains why the nationalities are so

intensely protesting the violation of their basic rights, guaranteed by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.



RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

Recently "Samvydav" sources reported that two priests have been arrested in the Lviv oblast. According to this report the KGB had arrested an inhabitant of Vilnius (capital of the Lithuanian SSR), Rev. Volodymyr Prokopiv, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, and confined him in a psychiatric hospital in Kyiv.

According to "Samvydav" 1,200 Ukrainian Catholics of the Lviv oblast had signed a petition addressed to the USSR leaders and requesting the opening of a Catholic church, according to Soviet law. Volodymyr Prokopiv had accompanied the representatives of these Catholics to Moscow. When returning to Vilnius he noticed that his quarters had been searched during his absence. The Ukrainians delivering the above petition met with the same fate.

According to "Samvydav" sources Rev. Volodymyr Prokopiv was born in 1914 in Carpatho-Ukraine. He studied theology in Rome and then worked as a priest in Ukraine. For his activities he was sent to Kazakhstan where he worked as missionary in Akmo-links. When priests began to be arrested the Ukrainian clergyman went to Lithuania and there secretly performed his ministerial office and helped the Ukrainian faithful as well as those of Vilnius besides working like a slave. According to "Samvydav" Rev. Volodymyr Prokopiv is a "holy man dedicating his life to noble service".

Simultaneously it was reported that the KGB has arrested another Ukrainian Catholic priest Mizkevych working in Stryi, Lviv oblast. Both priests

repeatedly protested against the fact that the KGB had seized the Holy Wafers entrusted to the faithful.

The news concerning the arrests of Rev. Prokopiv and Rev. Mizkevych is in line with reports received earlier concerning the intensification of religious persecution in the Ukrainian SSR, particularly the arrests of Catholic priests in oblasts of western Ukraine.

In this connection it should be pointed out that an important item in the agenda of the Party Obkom Plenums recently held in the Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Carpathian and Ternopil oblasts was the question how to intensify the struggle against so-called "religious hangover" (survivals) and what steps should be taken. This antireligious campaign is headed by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party itself. On May 16, during the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, identified religion with Anti-Sovietism and Anti-Communism. As he put it, religion is "one of the channels of ideological diversion". Therefore, he said, "religion must be completely abolished and replaced by Soviet rites and customs".

It is a fact that recently the antireligious campaign has assumed great dimensions and severe forms: confiscation of church property, destruction of churches, repressions against the faithful, internment in psychiatric hospitals, arrests of Orthodox and Catholic priests and Baptist leaders.

Finally, the statement made by the Ukrainian Metropolitan Filaret on March 21 in an interview with a correspondent of the Kyiv weekly "Visti z Ukrainy" (News from Ukraine), intended for Ukrainians living abroad, should be recalled: "During the 8 years I have been at the Kyiv Metropolitan Cathedral I have not come across any incident of seizure of church property or persecution of the faithful". However,

the arrests of Rev. Volodymyr Prokopiv and Rev. Mizkevych as well as others prove that this sort of statements are plain lies.

Hung for His Faith — in the USSR

After 4 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile the 60 year-old senior member of the Odessa congregation, Ivan Ostapenko, from Odessa (USSR) was hung for his Christian faith. The picture of his corpse was sent to Hilfsaktion Märtyrerkirche (Relief Action for Martyred Church): apparently Osta-

penko's congregation did not see any other way out of its distress than to appeal to the public of the free world.

*

According to latest Courier reports, at least 32 members of the professing Rumanian congregations are detained in prison. The 32 persons are said to be confined together in a single cell measuring about 8 x 2 m, where they have to endure severe torture. So far the following names are known: Zecianu, Simescu, Sirbu, Buzdugan and Rascol. If possible other names will be reported.

The Seal of Prince Monomakh Found and Stolen

The Soviet press of Moscow reported that a group of Russian archeologists carried on excavations in five sites along the shores of the River Sula in the Sumy region of Ukraine. **Golos Rodiny** calls these small towns "ancient Russian towns". In the place called Vyakhan among various items found by the Russian archeologists such as knives, arrowheads, glassware and so forth, the seal of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125) was also uncovered. One side of the seal depicts Prince Monomakh, while the other carries an inscription which indicates that the seal belonged to Prince Monomakh.

The settlements being excavated were part of the third line of defense fortifications in the defense system constructed by Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, which were to protect Kyiv and other cities from the Pechenigs and the Polovtsi.

The Russian archeologists handed the seal of Prince Monomakh to a museum of the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union in Moscow.

It is not the last such incident. Ukrainian historians and students of art should keep an accurate register of robbed Ukrainian historic documents and art treasures in order to demand

their return from the occupants at the appropriate time.

Museum in a Cave

An expedition sponsored by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR which is conducting excavations uncovered a stone grave near the city of Melitopol in Ukraine. The grave consists of a number of old caves. On the walls of many of the caves one can see wonderfully preserved paintings of people and animals from the Stone Age. Aside from many objects of everyday life, the expedition managed to find over 30 stone vessels in the shape of fish. According to the beliefs of people living in the Stone Age, everyone should carve this type of a vessel during life in order to be happy after death.

After the completion of work by the scientific expedition, a museum of regional studies will be opened on the site.

**To him whose heart is aching,
the whole world seems to be in
tears.**

**You serve yourself best when
you walk firmly on the road of
common sense.**

Hryhoriy Skovoroda



NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

P. O. BOX 142M22

Ijamsville, Md. 21754



DET FRIA UKRAINA

Redaktion och ansvarig utgivare:

Jur kand Bertil Häggman, Sita Gertruds väg 92, 593 00 Västervik.

L'EST EUROPEEN

Les abonnements sont à souscrire à L'Est Européen,
Boite 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

C. C. 13 Suc. 1 (B) - Buenos Aires - Argentina

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.

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 Vasył
Symonenko and news of repressions against the Ukrainian
intellectuals. Poetry translated by Vera Rich.*