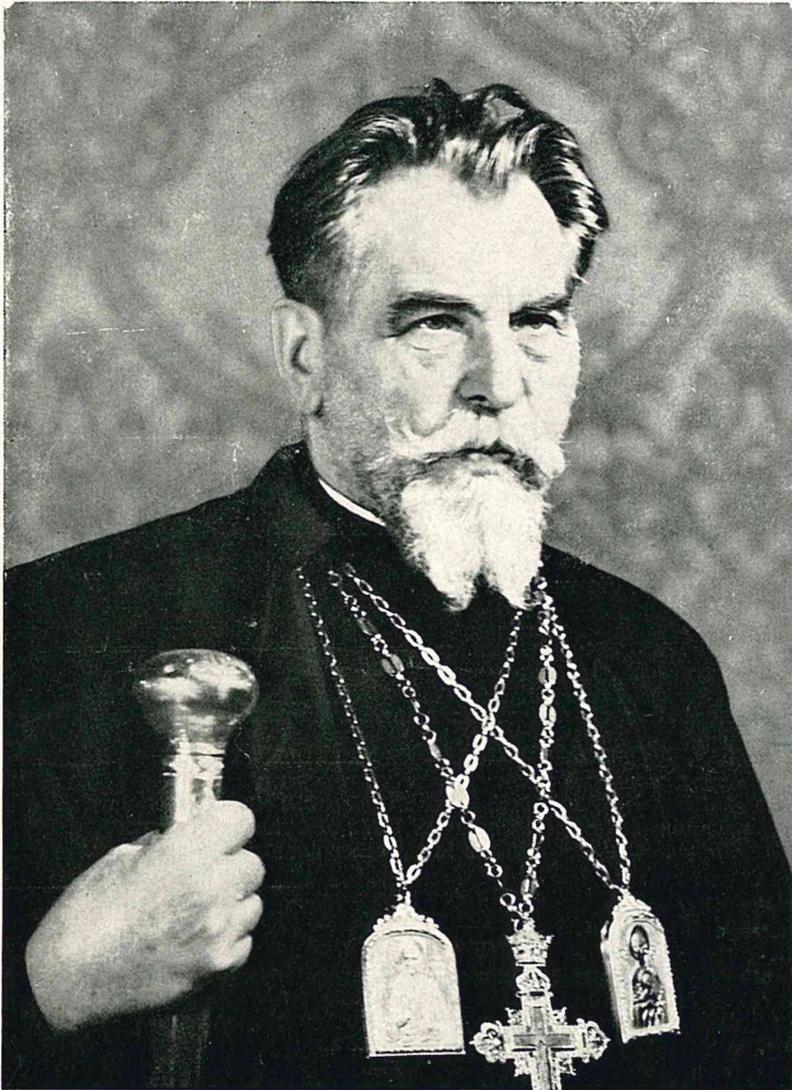


ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



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Martyr For Christ And Ukraine

His Beatitude
Patriarch
Of The Ukrainian
Catholic Church
YOSYPH
CARDINAL SLIPYJ

Defender Of The
Subjugated Nations
And The Faithful —
Against Russian
Colonialism And The
Militant Atheism

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ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antiboldshevik 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.

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Annual subscription DM 18,— in Germany, 9 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 9 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 Antiboldshevistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), 8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon: 48 25 32

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

I Remember Persecuted Ukraine

Speech of the Ukrainian Patriarch, His Eminence Cardinal Josyph Slipyj,
at the Synod of Catholic Bishops, Rome October 1974.

(Free translation from the Latin)

Holy Father, Very Reverend Presidium and Fathers,

I speak in the name of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as a participant and a senior member of the Synod. From the information that we have heard about missionary work in Africa, Asia, America and Europe we see that it has not been fully successful. All those speeches that we heard do not refer to the entire Church, but only to the Latin rite. For you all must know that **there are in the world millions of Catholics of the Eastern rite, and also millions of Orthodox.** When speaking of the Church, we must not limit ourselves only to the Latin rite. We also heard in the speeches references only to those countries where there is freedom of religion and one is allowed to preach the Gospel. Nothing was mentioned of those countries where there is no freedom of religion and the Church is persecuted. **I have in mind Ukraine and Ukrainians, who are persecuted by the Bolsheviks, while the Catholic states of the world seek ties and contacts with the godless Soviet and Chinese Communists and support them.**

It is very surprising that nobody speaks up for that nation which has preserved the great ancient traditions of its religion and for which it undergoes severe persecutions. For example, a priest is sentenced to three or more years of slave labor in the camps of the Siberian taiga for saying Mass; those faithful who send written petitions to the Soviet government that priests be permitted to say the Holy Liturgy are locked up in psychiatric prisons. There the faithful, the priests, the nuns and the monks perpetually suffer persecutions. They are searched, tortured, physically abused, locked into prisons, where, after several weeks, without medical attention, they die. Faith lives on in spite of those circumstances. And no one mentions the need to freely preach the word of God! Do you not think, reverend Fathers, that you, members of this Synod, must protest against this inhuman persecution? Will you not, even by words, spiritually console those suffering and persecuted, among whom faith does not die, but grows stronger? There, many highly educated people, doctors, artists and scholars are profound believers, who heroically defend their faith with all their strength and all their means.

In Ukraine parents may not teach their children to pray and believe in God; they do this in secret. I myself, being in exile in the Siberian labor camps met three students of medicine, who were sentenced to ten years ad sent to Siberia only because they believed in God. What I refer to here is not politics, but atheism and the systematic persecution of religion.

Under those difficult circumstances of religious persecutions, the faithful in Ukraine do not lose faith, although they know that the world watches and keep silent. Their spirit is kept up by Mass and sermons that they hear over the radio. One cannot even think of establishing a hierarchy where the dispensing of the sacraments is forbidden. The religious situation is much better in Communist Poland than in Soviet Ukraine.

In this Holy Year, that was proclaimed the "year of justice" throughout the world, we must be sure that this justice, based on the teachings of the Bible, is brought to all nations of the world, and not only to a few. The speeches of the Holy Father and members of the Church hierarchy have illustrated very well the persecutions in Biafra, Bengal, Chile and Palestine.

The Ukrainian nation today is being harshly persecuted for its religion and **nationality**. This persecution not only applies to the priests, but to all the faithful. The most outstanding intellectuals that acknowledge the Christian faith in Ukraine are being persecuted the most. Among those are the noted historian Valentyn Moroz, Evhen Sverstiuk, Leonid Plyush, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan and Nadia Svitlychny, Jurij Shukhevych, Sviatoslav and Nina Karavansky, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, Vasyl Stus and many, many others.

One of them, Valentyn Moroz, was sentenced to fourteen years of imprisonment and concentration camps. At the present time he is on a hunger strike since July 1st, having stated that he will continue his strike until he dies, since he is unable to suffer the persecution in the Vladimir Prison. **This outstanding historian is being persecuted because he defended Ukrainian Christian culture and was not afraid to submit to tortures in defense of his Church. He proved in his historical research that ancient Ukrainian spiritual culture is different from the Russian one; for this he has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.**

But he is not the only one. There are other, numerous intellectuals who defend the religions and **national rights of the Ukrainian people**; for that they are sentenced and exiled to slave labor camps. It is in this light that we must defend the rights of the entire Church and not only of some part of it. We must condemn all injustice which threatens the freedom of religion, conscience and thought. We must demand the release from prison for all those suffering cruel treatment and outrage, for all those locked up for no reason in psychiatric wards. It is about those that we must debate and defend their freedom, **for they defend the rights and the freedom of their Church and nation**. Who should defend more vehemently the rights of the teachings of our Church, if we neglect to do it?

Let this year that is called the Year Of Justice through the Appeal of the entire Church of Christ be practiced by all who carry historical responsibilities before the history of the world, bring immediate freedom to all persecuted, tortured, exiled, and locked up in psychiatric prisons.

The Gift

(Below is the English translation of a letter dedicated by Valentyn Moroz to his 12-year-old son Valentyn on the occasion of the youth's birthday. The letter was written in the Vladimir Prison and dated January 3, 1974).

Another day, another night — tomorrow . . .

You'll come to me from out an August day — bronzed and dark-eyed, in an embroidered shirt, with a chest that is dark and burning . . .

In the chill of damp corners, in the unheated kingdom of the bitter-gray cold — you appear to me, a golden bird from faraway Freedom.

You'll release a golden rooster onto the table — the mighty music of an August morn. And on everything that you appear with, there will burn the kiss of Freedom: on the fiery embroidery from the Hutsul land, on the zeal of your gaze, and on the melody of your speech. And I'll no longer carry out to you a gift the hare was carrying across the road, because you're too big by now. You'll sit across the table. With shoulders that have taken on a firm and manly contour. You'll gaze at me expectantly: what has he brought?

And every time there's more hunger in your eyes, and every time the gifts I bring grow heavier.

Once . . . you had lived one day on the earth then, and the world transformed itself into a giant song, and the anxiety first stirred up in me: what shall I bring?

For now there's you — and I'm still no one.

For now there's you — and I'm still accidental.

For now there's you — and I've not yet become myself.

You spread wings in me, and wings are restlessness. And the anxiety never quelled: What shall I bring?

Thus I forged might — because there's you

Now I have something to give to you.

I'll carry a gaunt figure out to meet you — hard and thin, like a tempered blade. And I'll carry out joy — because I am purified.

To be in all things pure — for you.

And I'll carry out vigor, tempered in the cold of the two-meter walls, in the never ending dampness of graying twilight.

You'll leave and I'll take something so intimate and familiar — and I'll carry it onto the prison nights as bedding, firm and clean, unto my hungered expectation. It's very soft and moving, but with needles, like a porcupine, and falls into nobody's hands.

It will sink in me without vestige and for a long while it won't answer, but later it will harden into a great firmness.

Another day, another night — tomorrow . . .

And now I have something to give to you. Tr. by Andrew M. Chirovsky

"Survival Guide" is Dedicated to Leonid Plyushch

A "survival guide" to help dissidents cope with detention in Soviet mental institutions is circulating in the USSR and has been made available to Western newsmen in Moscow, said the New York Times of December 23rd.

The 24-page typewritten guide, allegedly attributed to Vladimir K. Bukovsky and Semyon Gluzman, was dedicated to "Leonid Plyushch, victim of psychiatric terror".

Detained Since 1972

Plyushch, 34-year-old Ukrainian cyberneticist, was sentenced in 1972 to detention in a mental hospital for an "indefinite period" of time. He was tried in absentia for "anti-Soviet activity and agitation". A panel of psychiatrists had found him to be allegedly suffering from "messianic delusions with reformist tendencies". He is being held in a mental hospital in Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine, and last month his wife charged that he has been receiving heavy injections of an anti-schizophrenic drug called "trifizin".

Apart from advice on tactic to be used while under detention, the guide also explains the underlying philosophy and the legal aspects of incarceration in mental hospitals.

It states that by declaring opponents of the regime as mentally ill, the Soviet authorities can confine them indefinitely, isolate them and treat them with mind-numbing drugs. For these reasons, Soviet dissidents fear mental hospitals more than prisons, said the N. Y. Times.

The reported authors of the guide have themselves figured in protests against commitment of dissidents to mental hospitals. Mr. Bukovsky is serving a 12-year sentence in the Vladimir Prison for allegedly smuggling to the West documentation on a half-dozen dissidents in mental hospitals. Mr. Gluzman, a psychiatrist from Kyiv,

is serving a 10-year sentence in a labor camp in the Perm region. He helped to publicize the case of Petro Hryhorenko, one-time Red Army general and a human rights activist who was released last spring after five years in psychiatric centers.

The guide contends that the use of psychiatry as a means of punishment is based on an interpretation of dissidence "as a psychiatric problem". In support they cite some official writings, including those of a Prof. D. O. Lunts, who is said to have written that any illegal action merits psychiatric examination on the ground that the Soviet Russian system has eliminated the social reasons for criminal activity.

The authors, however, warn that "there are no grounds for hope in the conscience of doctors; even the pressure of world public opinion has little effect as regards the criminal use of psychiatry in the USSR".

The Soviet Union has angrily and repeatedly denied that its psychiatric facilities are used to suppress dissent, although a number of known dissidents have been committed to psychiatric centers.

In a psychiatric examination, the guide advises, "do everything possible to ensure that the expert's foregone conclusion about your nonresponsibility, if he has one, does not turn into a reasoned deduction". It suggests that dissidents be cooperative, stress that they are of normal mind and disclaim any interest in philosophy, psychiatry and modern art.

If sent to a mental hospital, the guide says, a dissident should not despair because his case will be reviewed by a psychiatric board every six months. However, it adds, "your one hope for salvation" lies in telling the doctors about "the revision of your former sick convictions" and in using other tactics of deception.

In a statement accompanying the guide, Tatiana Khodorovich, a dissident, asserted that the secret police had seized some copies of the guide in Moscow and that Bukovsky and Gluzman risked reprisals.

Plyushch's Wife Files Suit Against Asylum's Administration

Tatiana Zhytnykova, wife of incarcerated Ukrainian cyberneticist Leonid Plyushch, will file a malpractice suit against the administration of the psychiatric asylum where her husband is confined, according to a Reuters news report.

Mrs. Plyushch told western reporters in Moscow that the asylum's doctors are keeping her husband at the Dnipropetrovsk prison hospital only on orders of the KGB, without any medical reason. She claims she has evidence to prove that some of the hospital personnel are attempting to kill her husband by subjecting him to improper and dangerous drugs, which may have a fatal effect on a person.

Western newsmen here said that the health of the 34-year-old Ukrainian mathematician has considerably deteriorated and that medical authorities fear for his life. Mrs. Plyushch was twice denied permission to visit her husband. She suspects that the KGB is deliberately preventing her from learning the truth about her husband's state of health.

The account said that Plyushch is being given injections of a drug used in the treatment of schizophrenia.

Hel Charges Trial Illegal, Names God, Ukraine His Sole Judges, Calls Himself "Son of Ukraine"

"To try me in your court is illegal, juridically and morally. The highest law and judges for me are God and Ukraine, my unfaltering and unblemished honor", said Ivan Hel at his trial in August 1972. A transcript of his statement was received here and made publicly known.

"I am the son of Ukraine, and in my heart I will carry as most sacred the fate of my people, their agony, anxiety and suffering", went on to say the 38-year-old technician, who is presently incarcerated in a Mordovian labor colony.

Hel began his statement by saying that his actions do not add up to "anti-Soviet activity", because he knows nothing else but Soviet activity and life, and they were the "basis of my social ideals".

Chauvinists

The Ukrainian political prisoner said that "anti-Soviet activity" is not the crux of the problem, but Russian imperialism. He accused the present regime of casting aside Christ's laws and morality and accepting as their official religion expansionistic chauvinism".

"From the time of its annexation by Russia, Ukraine, with each passing year, lost more and more autonomy, national independence, and saw the downfall of its culture", he said.

Hel described the second class citizenship of Ukrainians in the USSR by stating that in Ukraine, where there are nine million Russians, they are allowed to develop and foster their culture, but outside Ukraine, Ukrainians have "one thousandth of the possibility the Russians have", to foster their own schools in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, but not in Russia".

Using Shakespeare's famous quote, "to be or not to be", Hel said that today for Ukrainians that quote is "tragic and frightful".

"Live as Ukrainians"

Therefore every decent Ukrainian should stand and resolutely proclaim, "No, we will live as Ukrainians, with our own ways of thinking, with our own language, our own national culture" said Hel, adding that this should be done today because tomorrow may be too late and the Ukrainian language and culture may be dead like Latin.

He said that "humanitarianism, democracy and equality among nations are the banner and the goal", of the Ukrainian people. But those who through the ages have carried this banner were labeled as "criminals". He said what the regime calls "nationalism", is only the concern Ukrainians have for their national culture.

Throughout the statement he cites the terrors of Stalin, the famine of the 1930's and the "genocide" of Ukrainian culture.

Hel says that he regrets that he did not do more in propagating these ideals and realize them through the efforts of the entire nation.

Eternal Ideals

"I firmly believe that neither iron grates, nor concentration camps, not even death can destroy these ideals. They are eternal, as eternal and indestructible as my people", concluded Hel.

He ceased his hunger strike October 30th. He began it two weeks earlier, demanding that the government recognize the status of political prisoners, allow the International Red Cross the right to visit with the inmates, strip the KGB of its medical authority inside the camps, and allow him to marry the woman to whom he fathered a child.

Rep. Green Joins Congressional Moroz Defense Action

Congressman William J. Green (D.-Pa.), joined the growing list of US Congressmen and Senators who have voiced their opposition to the incarceration of Valentyn Moroz, Leonid Plyushch and others, by introducing a resolution, calling for the release of those two Ukrainian dissidents.

The House Concurrent Resolution 685 explains that Moroz and Plyushch are „being subjected to physical harm in a Soviet prison only because of their continued pleas for constitutional rights of national identity, national language, and freer cultural expression“.

The resolution also "urges President Ford to utilize every appropriate means", to request the Soviet government to release Moroz and Plyushch from prison and "permit them and their immediate families to emigrate to a country of their choice".

There are presently over 25 House or Senate resolutions specifically relating to Moroz or Plyushch.

In a letter from Rep. Green to Steven Mazurok, a constituent of his, the Pennsylvania Democrat wrote. "You can be sure that I will continue to do

all that I can to secure and protect the human rights of all people held against their will in the Soviet Union.

LETTER FROM HOLLAND

17th December 1974.

Please accept our deep and hearty thanks for sending to us, throughout the year, the ABN Correspondence which we find very important, inspiring and instructive. We would be extremely grateful if you would continue sending the bulletin throughout 1975. We would also like to thank you for sending to us the informative book 'Our Alternative'.

We treasure the ABN Correspondence and greatly believe in your aims and support them wholeheartedly. We study the bulletin with great interest. In every issue we discover new facts about the brutal Communist system and then talk about these matters with people who wish to listen. So please keep up your important and praiseworthy task. May God bless you.

Our warmest best wishes and kindest regards to you, your loved ones and all readers of ABN Correspondence.

In deep gratitude and admiration,

cordially yours,
Jeroen den Hollander

A Diseased Europe

Within an ailing world Europe diseased as well is suffering from a subjacent and pernicious illness. Outwardly its body is always sound and beautiful: Factories are turning, fields are blooming, transports are rolling, technology is advancing, its populations enjoying a high standard of living amusing themselves. However, everybody feels that at the bottom of its intestines Europe is eaten up by a poison menacing its life. The Roman world with a **worm of decadence** within a superb fruit presented perhaps a similar picture.

Diagnosis of the Evil

Let us first detach the most notorious symptoms of this morbid state, which unfortunately have spread over all domains:

The economy

The runaway inflation is consuming the economic substance of all countries and renders impossible any long run enterprises. The monastery system is falling into a chaos. Unemployment is crawling everywhere. Italy is at the brink of bankruptcy, and Great Britain in its antechamber.

The moral and civic aspect

Toxicomania and trips dominating millions of adolescents, violence, terrorism, the taking of hostages, piracy and brigandage are spreading as in the darkest days of the Middle Ages, and no courts or leaders dare to offer resistance any longer, especially not for the sake of **morality** — a ridiculed term — that nobody dares to pronounce as hitherto one did not pronounce coarse words in noble families. Licentiousness, nihilism, boxes, pornography, iconoclasm, briefly, only scandalous subversion is of interest to the lofty spirits

responsible for the making of the law in Europe, whereas labour, freedom and reason enabling the creation of great works are discredited as vulgar bourgeois pedantries.

Politics

Any progress towards the unification of the democratic European forces is obstructed by national rivalries. The still free nations are competing and flattering the Communist dictatorships. As regards the nations oppressed by Moscow, they are only eager to completely betray these nations and thus sanction their forcible subjugation to the Soviet yoke once and for all. The great idea of these leaders who just have to outlive the American shield is to discredit it, until it is withdrawn. The Atlantic Alliance has fallen in pieces and the pus of Antiamericanism and Neutralism is spreading over the European continent.

Causes of the Evil

History's great troubles have never only had one cause. They break out as soon as several pathogenic courses having undermined the nations for a long time converge. I am aware of the fact that some causes of the evil ensue from the peculiar difficulties of modern civilization. However, remedies would certainly have been found unless there were the mortal poison constantly discharged by Communism and its dissipating forces.

A Wounded Economy

Inflation being the result of two basic factors — the frantic rise of oil and the unions' permanent outbidding, both stimulated by Communism — in the main, poisons the economy nowadays. The vertiginous and arbitrary rise of 400% in the price of oil, brought

about by the oil-producing countries is a deliberate act of **economic war** against Europe. What a euphemism to qualify these countries as "producers". With the exception of Iran and Venezuela which have invested work is the extraction of their oil, these countries have only discovered this shameful sort of "landtax" that idle lords previously deducted from the products of the land they owned, although this land was only manured by the work of others. For these Arab countries have not conceived any plan, have not risked a single penny and have not invested any work in prospecting, drilling, pumping or transporting the precious liquid placed in their substratum by a geological chance. Their supreme right to dispose of this land thus belongs to the category of "parasitic privileges" which the enlightened spirits since the French Revolution have considered particularly improper, from the economic and moral view point.

The Arab states make use of this privilege to such an extent as to crack the entire European economy, but would never have ventured such aggressiveness, unless they had been aware that Europe was disunited, undermined and had no will of its own. Communism was the corrosive agent, destroying the force of initiative and the conviction of the European nations. In this connection it should also be stressed that the aggression of the so-called oil-"producing" Arab countries is based on the idea that the overarmed USSR will come to their assistance and keep the western countries in awe, if necessary.

Europe would never have allowed its entire economy to collapse as a result of the emirs' butt unless its nerve had been killed by Communism from within and intimidated by Communism from outside.

Another cause of the runaway inflation consuming the economic substance of the European countries is the **unions'**

unquenchable and irresponsible outbidding, the unions having become the dominating force in all European countries. They may take any liberty, even openly violating the laws. They dominate the factories, sequester their managers, threaten the workers who refuse to follow them and issue decrees in the place of ministers. They actually have firm control of the enterprises, and the main levers of all union power are now held by leftists and Communists.

It had to be expected that their demands would assume the proportions of unrestrained demagoguery. Formerly wages hardly ran after prices in periods of inflation, whereas now wages briskly **anticipate** prices. In France prices have risen by 15% per year and wages have risen by 20%. Formerly, the rise in wages was a corrective to the price increase, whereas today it is its motor. From the social point of view the entire mechanism is reduced to depriving those classes who have a fixed income, particularly the old and the small investors.

Morality Trampled

The Communists and leftists also exert themselves to morally and ethically degrade the European societies. By "leftists" I do not only mean Trotskyist, Maoist and Anarchist groups as well as their consorts, but the now ideologically interdependent joint leftist forces which are united by their hatred "of the established order, the only object of their attack for only Communism to finally gain from. In accordance with this definition François Mitterand can be qualified as "leftist". He has maintained that the young take to drugs and delinquency because they feel oppressed by the mean disciplines imposed by the established order and tempted by the wealth displayed in a provocative manner by a small minority. A plausible explanation — it seems — since formerly, when the social order was much more strict and the pri-

viliges ensuing from wealth, still attracted public notice much more cynically, toxicomania and terrorism were practically non-existent among the young. These calamities began to grow only when the order became affluent for everybody and allowed its own values — the pursuit of higher aims, the spirit of enterprise, respecting laws and the dignity of man — to be ridiculed as retrograde. The Courts of Justice have resigned themselves to the insolent violators of laws which they no longer even try to have observed. The worst provocations remain unpunished. The assassins of the Prime Minister of Spain are for example holding a press conference in Bordeaux, without being punished. Everywhere violence, nihilism and revolts are praised. The violation of law is glorified whereas sanctions are discredited.

All these attitudes pointing to a **general** renunciation of men and states are adopted within the European society, under the virulent pressure of the leftist intelligentsia, today mistress of all organs moulding intellect and opinion. Asserting that the explosion of the complex "criminality-toxicomania" is the work of the leftist movement is by no means an exaggeration, for it is known by now and undoubtedly proved that Communism — particularly Chinese Communism — takes an active part in spreading the drug, this formidable means for ruining our civilization.

A Policy of Resignation

Aware of the disintegration of Europe — once powerful, dynamic and self-reliant — the Communists are rubbing their hands. They cunningly devour its politico-military apparatus via all gaps opened by the leftists; there are wide open gaps in Greece, Turkey — where the leftists have imposed the revival of the opium culture —, Ireland and Portugal.

Years ago the Communists have started to divide their subversive ap-

paratus, turning part of it towards military forces. There are certainly some rightist colonels (Greece and Chile) but there are at least as many "leftists" in these countries. Wherever possible, secret Communist agents secretly conclude friendships with politic officers, set up cells, flatter ambitions, hatch plots. Thus Communism has gained a footing by means of **military coups d'etat** without any underlying public opinion or "historical justification" in Burma, Yemen, Syria and Peru. It is superfluous to say that in our democracies the unanimous virtuous indignation "at any military **putsch**" becomes apparent only when the putsch is "rightist" and disappears in the case of a "leftist" putsch, the military junta involved becoming the closest friend of the people. This actually happened in Portugal.

Many officers are known who have driven the "Armed Forces Movement" more and more to Communism, e. g. Captain Ruy Guimaraes. The important part played by 70 young officers in the recent coup d'etat in Portugal with the support of the illegal Portuguese Communist Party was evident. The infatuated and naive general Da Spínola believed that he played the glorious part of a liberator whereas he merely covered the Communist putsch.

In their foolish adulation the European democrats are applauding the overthrow of the old authoritarian regime in Portugal without considering the "leftist" elements and the fact that a substantial portion of Europe being under the control of the worst sort of totalitarianism, its irreducible enemy, is about to vacillate. These foolish self-murderers are in fact applauding a type of colonization which consists in giving up other African territories to the Russian supercolonizers. Particularly Mozambique providing the free European countries with oil, where all ships have to halt, is abandoned to a terrorist group — FRELIMO — completely subservient to Communism. The press is trying to conceal this by re-

presenting this group as a brave nationalist movement. It further conceals the fact that the black majority is **opposed** to FRELIMO, that it justly considers "Fascism à la Moscow being much worse than colonialism à la Lisbon".

Thus the entire operation in abandoning Mozambique to a terrorist minority feared by the African masses, armed, instructed, financed and tele-guided by the Kremlin, without holding popular elections as promised by Da Spinola. This is just the opposite of a liberation. In Portugal — it seems — nobody can oppose Communism any longer which is getting hold of the entire machinery of the country. Da Spinola appears as a Kerensky with a single eyeglass, and FRELIMO will finally conquer Lisbon.

In the remaining parts of Europe where the military forces are so well drilled that they will not organize a putsch, Communism is trying to paralyze power through the unions' outbidding and irredentism.

Italy is the prototype of such a double push succeeding in placing the countries at the brink of an abyss. Its postal service no longer works, its trains are whimsical and its spaghettis are getting scarcer and scarcer rising constantly in price. Attempts upon

lives seem to multiply, and any sector may halt at any moment nobody knowing why, while Parliament debates about the "angels' sex". Any authority defied by the Communist Party is flattering it and seeking its alliance with an air of respect just as a novice accosting a patriarch who will provide him with wisdom.

France marches on an inflexible rope between a government of the center making leftist politics and a leftist bloc that might assume power at any moment and impose Communist politics. The government is far from opposing the socialist-Communist coalition and coaxes it, mimicing its postures and adopting its programme. This would be understandable if the opposition sincerely aspired to having certain social reforms carried through. The government could soothe the opposition by putting these reforms into practice unless this opposition were driven solely by its desire to win power.

A class whose members so ardently aspire to absolutism will never be appeased when served a few courses of its menu. The only effect of the government's advances to Communism is encouraging it to push its subversive machinery more profoundly into the social body.

(To be continued)

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
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Australia Recognises The Baltic States Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania as Soviet Russian Colonies in Europe

This was a news item which shocked many Australians. Such a deplorable action should be considered in the light of the following facts:

● On August 23, 1939, the Soviet leaders concluded a 'non-aggression pact' with Hitler (Molotov-Ribbentrop pact). According to a secret protocol to this pact Estonia, Latvia and a part, later the whole of Lithuania, Finland and some other areas of Eastern Europe were given over to the Soviet 'sphere of influence'. While World War II was absorbing the whole attention of the world, the Soviet Union thought it proper to collect its rewards." (Council of Europe Report on the Baltic States. Doc. 1173, August 23, 1960.)

● Genocide, terror, ideological indoctrination and economic exploitation — these have been the main features of the Soviet Russian rule in the Baltic countries. Over one half million Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians have perished in Soviet concentration camps. The Baltic peoples are today denied their basic human rights. Unfortunately this is still the case despite all the changes that may have occurred in Eastern Europe since 1956. For instance, fundamental human rights— reaffirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted unanimously in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly — are violated or denied outright. The people have no voice in the government. Freedom of speech and of the press is non-existent; freedom of worship and conscience severely restricted. Freedom of movement, especially travel abroad, is regulated by the state. Trade unions protect the regime's interest at the expense of the worker. Forced collectivisation has deprived the farmer of his dignity and individuality.

● "We have never recognised the 1941 frontiers of USSR... They were acquired by acts of aggression and shameful collusion with Hitler. The transfer of the people of the Baltic States to Soviet Russia against their will would be contrary to all the principles for which we are fighting this war and would dishonour our cause. The deadly comb ran back and forth, and back again, through Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. There were no doubts however where the right lay. The Baltic States should be sovereign independent peoples."
Winston S. Churchill

● "In the firm belief that the right of people to national self-determination cannot be suppressed, Australia has never recognised and does not now recognise the validity of the incorporation of Estonia by force into the Soviet Union. Our representatives at the United Nations have frequently expressed Australia's views on this matter and will continue to do so whenever the opportunity arises."
John G. Gorton

● The recent action of the Australian Commonwealth Government is to be questioned because the Department has seemingly succumbed to Soviet pressures to turn a blind eye on the Baltic situation without gaining any corresponding benefits for Australia. Furthermore, this endeavour to please the Soviet Russian rulers was attempted at the expense of provoking the dismay of large sections of the Australian population whose kinsmen under Soviet Russian control desperately hope that the free nations will give them at least their moral support.

● Regrettable the Australian Government's manoeuvre is completely out of step with the policies pursued by the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and other NATO countries surely more conversant with European politics. Indeed currently the 35-European-nations Security Conference at Geneva is deadlocked, and has been deadlocked for more than a year because European nations are not prepared to accept Soviet Russian claims for hegemony in Eastern Europe, without at least achieving a freer movement of people and ideas across the Soviet Russian sealed East-European boundaries.

● It must be registered that this deed cannot be reconciled with Mr. E. G. Whitlam's assurances to the Baltic community in Australia, both as Leader of the Opposition and later as the Prime Minister. In fact the last such statement was made at a press conference in Melbourne on April, 30, 1974.

As a gesture of British sympathy for all those doomed to suffer under the Soviet Russian dictatorship, please write and protest to the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia (H. E. The Honourable John I. Armstrong), Australia House, Strand London, W. C. 2.

Also write to friends and relatives in Australia and ask them to protest to their Federal M. P.

For further information write to the General Secretary, The British League for European Freedom: The Dowager Lady Birdwood, 100 Philbeach Gardens, London, S. W. 5.

The British League for European Freedom.

**INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT
by VALENTYN MOROZ**

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

Published by
Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67

Lawrence M. Carino (USA)

A Vision of Honor

(Ukrainian Independence Anniversary)

It is a very great honor and privilege to be with you as we approach next Wednesday, the 57th Anniversary of the Declaration in 1918 of Ukrainian Independence.

I commend the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and particularly, this Southeastern Michigan Branch, for once again fixing the nation's attention on this most inspiring event in human history.

It is especially fitting that **Americans** should take special pains to share your commemoration and rededication on an annual basis. All of our people, like those of Ukrainian descent, have a special reverence for freedom, self-reliance and self-determination.

And it is not only fitting, but **imperative**, that citizens of the United States recall with the Ukrainians, that these blessings are as easily lost as they are eternally treasured. To assert that freedom which can never be taken for granted is to indulge in no idle figure of speech.

Freedom and man's god-given **right** to freedom, must be perpetually reasserted and renewed.

And it is by the examples as of the heroic Ukrainian people — with their unbearable loss as yet unavenged, their thirst for lasting independence still unquenched, that Americans are properly reminded of their **own** tenuous hold on freedom. We forget the tragedy of the Ukrainians and of the world's other captive nations only at our great and immediate peril.

So it is that by this annual commemoration of the Ukrainian Congress Committee which does much more than relive days of tragedy and hope. It performs a distinct service for those peoples who still possess freedom, but

could heedlessly see it fade for those who treasure independence but through a lapse of vigilance could find it taken from them.

The Ukrainians, of course, were returned to captivity only after a furious four-year struggle against the numerically superior forces of Communist Russia. Their struggle continues to this date although less openly, despite ruthless oppression from Moscow, man-made famines, and genocide.

The lesson for Americans is this: How much more easily **our** freedom could be lost in the absence of the fierce will of the Ukrainians to preserve it, with barely a finger being lifted by many of our people to stem the insidious tide of coercion and conformity.

For those members of the human family fortunate enough to have been born Americans, it is a matter of preserving the freedom for which so many died. For the Ukrainians and other captive peoples, it is a matter of securing justice, of answering questions so eloquently posed by the martyred Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko:

"Will there be a trial?
A punishment of Czars,
Of little Czars on earth?
Will there be **truth** among men?
There ought to be, for the sun will
stop
And burn the desecrated earth."

Yes, **all** of us, we forget at our everlasting peril that a nation was consecrated 57 years ago, on January 22nd, 1918, unifying all Ukrainian territories into one Independent Republic and that, only three years later, the Ukrainian National Republic was once again enslaved by the atheistic forces of

Communism. And it is the **same** Communism that **continues** to threaten all god-fearing and freedom-loving peoples of the world today, including our own.

Our struggle, like the Ukrainians', has not ended. Nor is there any likelihood, in my view, that it **will** end in the foreseeable future.

This is partly because the philosophy of Communism is profoundly alien to our country and our civilization, although if it were simply a matter of it being alien, we could live with that. We cannot expect that all of the nations of the world will think as Americans do or share their values.

But the Communist vision of life and of the future is a categorical menace because it represents a militant, armed ideology that **rejects** toleration or a live-and-let-live approach — except as a maneuver in a protracted war, cold or hot as expediency may dictate.

While the Soviet leadership says the appropriate things in order to accomplish its maneuvers, to gain time for a further military build-up or political consolidation, it nevertheless keeps reminding Communists everywhere that their basic blueprint remains unchanged.

We can thank the late Nikita Krushchev, if for nothing else, at least for his occasional blunt honesty. It was he who stated the continuity of Communist aggressive intentions in characteristically graphic language, saying: "They think our smiles mean we have abandoned Marxism-Leninism. That will happen when shrimps learn to whistle."

And while the Soviet Russians may speak of detente and "the improvement of Soviet-American relations", we might better remember that the chairman of the Soviet Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations has remarked that "Coexistence, even of ideas, is as nonsensical as fried snowballs".

New generations of Americans, priding themselves of being "cool", may

find such Communist pronouncements both archaic and melodramatic. And yet, Moscow's capacity to bring desolation to whole peoples, — with your Ukrainian brethren the prime and perhaps most tragic example — is a historical truth. It is recorded for the world to see.

The Soviet Union's iron grip on Czecho-Slovakia, for example, may seem to some observers like a clip from a 1950's **movie** about the cold war. But the iron grip is reality to the Czechs and Slovaks.

But the world may never know the full story of the nameless millions who in the USSR went to mass graves, brutalized and senseless from what they had suffered — destroyed by the state and the Communist Party because they were deemed as lacking in progressive social value.

Aside from documented Soviet brutality and inhumanity to man, if anything is crystal clear in the world picture today it is that the Kremlin has violated virtually every treaty and pledge, every promise is ever made. The frequently heard injuncture to "trust Russia" therefore amounts to a prescription for suicide. Anyone who accepts it uncritically is yielding to what Freudians call a "death wish".

Moreover, as this audience knows so well, the wilful ignorance of the West and its political sleep-walking, are prime elements in Moscow's calculations whenever the Kremlin touches off another of its periodic crises to test our nerves and intensify our jitters. Repeatedly, the Soviet Russians have gambled and **won** on our refusal to see that we are engaged in a life-and-death struggle and not in an international parlor game. They thrive on our pathetic eagerness to "end the cold war" and on our insatiable addiction to narcotic phrases about "peaceful coexistence". The Communists are well aware of our yearning for some patent medicine that will permit us to sleep in peace

and they exploit that tendency to the limit.

Winston Churchill actually did us no favour when he called Russia "A riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma". The fact is that few conspiracies, few ominous historic phenomena are less mysterious and enigmatic. Communist purposes have been spelled out all too clearly in words and in actions.

Any Communist worth his salt is dedicated to the proposition that Communism must rule the world. Communists accept delays and setbacks, the Cuban missile crisis is a prime example, but they never lose sight of their ultimate goal. Communism is an aggressive foe that is constantly challenging its **enemies** and is not above sacrificing its **friends**.

To make such assertions generally is to provoke the question: "Do you want a third world war?" But the question makes little sense. It evades the grim lesson of very recent history — namely, the appeasement and retreat, far from ending danger, are the very guarantees of even more terrible dangers to come.

Nobody in his senses wants war, including the masters of the Kremlin. The **real** question is whether war is best **avoided** by softness, submission to blackmail and piecemeal surrender or by a principled, self-respecting firmness.

I am convinced, along with many more knowledgeable than I, that the Soviet leaders want a real war even **less** than we do. Surely they have reason to wonder which way satellite guns would be pointed in a showdown. They must reckon with the likelihood of a rebellion in Eastern Europe. And, even more importantly, they cannot count upon the allegiance even of their own presumed subjects, most certainly including that of the proud, restive, intelligent, freedom-loving Ukrainians.

I specifically mention your own beloved Ukraine because I read in one

of your Congress Committee publications, that the violation of the most basic human rights has been especially flagrant in Ukraine.

The Soviet government, we are told, destroyed the Independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church by murdering over 30 archbishops and bishops. It ruthlessly destroyed in 1945-46 the Ukrainian Catholics into the fold of the Communist-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. It harasses and persecutes other Christians in Ukraine, the Baptists, the Evangelicals, the Seventh Day Adventists. It oppresses the Jews by closing down synagogues, molesting religious leaders, and terrorizing worshippers.

What a sweet victory it would be, what a perfect irony, if the Soviet system were to break down precisely because of this persecution of religion! But here's reason to believe that this might exactly happen, even if it's a hundred years from now. For surely, the future does not belong to those who hate a God who made them.

Nevertheless, and in the meantime as I've indicated, the great United States of America if afflicted with those of its own people who hold to the strange doctrine that **weakness** is the best defense against International Communism.

And as a rationalization (a false one at that) they throw around alleged facts, figures and percentages that fit their thesis that practically **all** of the American taxpayers' money is going for defense and related causes.

Well, last year, the Senate Appropriations Committee published the **real** facts about United States defense spending. Citing only a few examples, those facts show that, in **1964**, our defense absorbed 42.8% of federal outlays. The figure for **last** year was 29.4%.

Over the past decade, total government costs have gone up 127%. Defense costs have gone up 57% and as

a percentage of **total** outlays, they have gone **down** 13 %.

Twenty years ago defense spending was double that of all our state and local governments combined. Today, the situation is exactly the reverse.

The Senate Committee's conclusions: (1) The defense budget does **not** dominate public spending. (2) The defense budget has **not** deprived American human resources programs of needed funds.

Another reason to reject irresponsible criticism of our defense budget is that there's been no noticeable let-up in Russian efforts to maintain and enhance that country's military strength. That goes for their routinely meticulous intelligence activities too, especially with our own intelligence programs, the CIA in particular is taking an increasingly severe beating at home.

The FBI, in fact, has warned that there has been no reduction whatever in the combined intelligence effort being conducted in the United States by Soviet-Bloc Nations.

Despite the so-called detente, a report says, "FBI counter intelligence operations continue to identify a high and fairly consistent percentage of Soviet-Bloc personnel in the United States as intelligence officers or agents.

"In fact, it was estimated that nearly **13 hundred** Soviet-directed spies now operate out of various official "cover" positions in this country.

The unconscious or deliberate effort by many native-born Americans to sabotage their own nation's strength relative to the Communists is further evident in the immediate cries of anguish that arise at the slightest indication (ship movements and the like) of any further United States interest in South Vietnam, however mild.

The Vietnamese conflict was indeed our country's strangest war, with no

clanging start, and an end that came (to borrow from T. S. Eliot) not with a bang, but a whimper. And it brought the first purported "peace" we ever signed that we realized was built on quicksand and that if the truce were violated, as it **has** been repeatedly, we would be both psychologically and legally incapable of re-entering combat to enforce our terms.

The Vietnam war brought some other disquieting "firsts" for this country:

It marked for the first time the flag of an enemy that flaunted boldly in our streets.

It was the first time it became chic in a number of intellectual circles to hope openly for our country's defeat.

It was the first war in our history in which military mutinies were called "disturbances" and the murder of our own officers became common enough to merit a new verb, "fragging".

The war also created a strange new and incongruous phenomenon of national "guilt" in which normally intelligent and sophisticated people covered themselves with sackcloth and ashes at the pathetic picture of a child burned with napalm, but blandly disregarded the mass graves of the thousands of civilians the Communists coldly machinegunned at hue.

Vietnam spawned an altogether new group of domestic bleeding hearts who urged American young men to tear up their draft cards, at the same time assuring them correctly, in most cases, that nothing would happen to them.

It's possible, though I doubt it, that these people are having second thoughts now that the extent of Communist truce violations is becoming plain and now that the Communist determination to complete their control over Southeast Asia can no longer be denied.

And let's not delude ourselves that the spirit of America has not been

damaged. Let's not imagine that our survival power, our very status as a world power, has not been put into question.

Even Moscow rushes to create the world's largest navy and triumphantly announces new breakthroughs in missile capability, there are those in our own congress pushing doggedly towards thoroughly gutting our armed forces.

Yet, through all of this, America remains the best hope of the rest of the free world and perhaps the **only** hope of the captive world, of such great but subjugated peoples as those in Ukraine that we remember and honor this afternoon.

But we can keep that light of hope alive **only** if enough of us care, who love this country and who revere the flame of patriotism wherever and however dimly it burns. **Get involved** in righting the manifold wrongs and misjudgements we see about us.

There can be no resting on past laurels by the Ukrainian Congress or by those of us in broadcasting. We are duty-bound to give more than lip-service to the cause of freedom.

In this regard, I can't help but sense strong elements of contrast and contradiction in our meeting this afternoon. It is on the one hand, a pleasant and sociable occasion but it is **much more** than that. We're here to remind ourselves and our community of the purpose of the Ukrainian Congress Committee and of those who admire and support its cause.

Behind the conversation and good fellowship of this afternoon, there must be a constant awareness that others around the world are not nearly so fortunate.

These fellow human beings **must** be in the thoughts of all of us. There must be the hope that we can in some small way influence for the better the lives of those denied the freedom we know.

To improve the world to that extent, and in many other ways, we must, all of us, become involved in and through the American system.

In attempting to do so, we are, in my judgment, very fortunate people. We reap the benefits of the most unique and ingenious system ever devised for self-government. We reap these benefits even though we have made few, if any, improvements in this form of government in the last two hundred years.

A famous political historian recently was asked why a nation of three million people in the 1780's could produce so many Washingtons and Jeffersons when today, this country of two hundred million has difficulty finding such leaders. He replied that, two hundred years ago, talent and creativity were attracted to public affairs while today, they are siphoned off by industry, commerce, education and the arts. He implied, at least, that politics is a wasteland.

Whether this implication is true or not, it is a fact that many **believe** it to be true. To counteract this skepticism we can and **must** make politics and public service attractive to the talented, creative and idealistic.

We can do this by being more realistic about the limitations as well as the challenges of politics. We must also reinforce our commitment to make the system work, particularly as it **must** work, if this nation is to maintain its preeminence in world affairs.

I would hope that our people, our young people especially, would not judge American society and its institutions by the misdeeds of a few. It would be rather more appropriate if they would marvel at how well our institutions have **survived** those misdeeds.

There is, I'm told a Slavic proverb which cynically holds that: "The toe of the stargazer is often stubbed".

It must be remembered, however, that the pain of a stubbed toe subsides quickly. In addition, even if the toe is injured, it doesn't follow that the health of the rest of the body is impaired.

What we as individuals can do to further the cause of international order and human freedom is open to question. But our contribution can be at least as significant as the **scholastic** accomplishment of a certain young athlete I heard of.

It seems that Pete Eliot, the university of Miami's football coach, was trying to recruit a prospect for his team.

"I asked the young man", Eliot said, "If he was in the top half of his class academically".

"No sir", said the prospect. "I am one of those who make the top half **possible**".

Even if **that** is the extent of one citizen's contribution to the cause of freedom, it will be **something**. In these days, even a **small** gain or just **holding your own** is something to write home about.

The strength of America comes from our very diversity, a diversity of ethnic backgrounds and national origins that we share with the Captive Nations. As someone has noted, every single person in the United States is a member of one minority group or another.

This harmonious unification of a free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of

peoples everywhere, to recognize the national inter-dependency of all the nations of the world.

Tom Wolfe, the famous writer, once called our old world "a cinder". Poetically speaking, that may be true. It's equally true that our cinder in space has always had both greed and famine, wealth and grinding poverty.

All of its **great** men have been in some way **small** and all of its hopes in some part defeated, at least temporarily. At all times the cynic has had plenty of fuel for his bitter pipe and the pessimist more than enough proof for his gloom.

Can we see crookedness in government and also remember courage of an Eisenhower?

Can we watch the agony of Vietnam, of Ukraine, or Poland, or Czechoslovakia and remember the nation of Israel being thrust up from a base of rock and sand?

Can we accept the fact that man sometimes must suffer and grieve and doubt and realize that suffering is the crucible for forging and tempering character and strength?

Yes, the world may be a cinder in the eyes of some. It's a strange paradox that the most striking photograph brought back from the moon by the astronauts was **not** a close-up picture of the moon itself. It was a faraway picture of earth, shining as no **earth** dweller has ever seen it: blue, green, flecked with white. A small jewel set against the darkness of space.

The poet Archibald McLeish captured that image: "To see our earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see **ourselves** as riders on the earth together, brothers who now know they are **truly** brothers!"

That, of course, is the vision to which the Ukrainian Congress Committee is committed. I am proud to share it.

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Threat to Freedom

I was invited to report on the present situation in my fatherland, at this outstanding meeting. I should like to express my gratitude to those organizing this meeting for offering to me this opportunity. However, having here to discuss "the situation in my fatherland", it is a matter far from reality. Unfortunately, my fatherland does not exist any more. It existed until 1945, and no later than 1947 under the name of Rumania, as e. g. the countries now integrated in the eastern bloc were formerly called Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland. At that time, however, the country was abolished and replaced by a "Rumanian People's Republic" and later on by a "Socialist Republic of Rumania".

The use of the old term "Rumania" (Romania) — especially in publications intended for foreign countries — aims at misleading the non-Communist world and persuading it to believe that the essential structure of my fatherland has not been changed: The past Rumania has apparently remained unchanged, and the present Rumania is supposed to be the same. Political scientists, at the most might verify a legal modification of the state, i. e. a transformation of the system of organization.

In reality, however, the Communists have not only changed the legal order of the state, but also its soul and supporting pillar, the Rumanian nation. This nation meaning the community of all Rumanians, the living and the dead who had formerly lived on this territory as well as those who will live there in the future, a community based on a common history and having the same ideals has been abolished. The people are subjected to systematic destruction.

The Rumanian nation or people with its faith in God, its history and its language, with its traditions taken over from its ancestors must — according to the Communist rulers — disappear and be replaced by a **Socialist nation** which is not allowed to develop normally but to come into being in a retort. In accordance with the new definition of the nation the people consist of three classes, i. e. the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals. The "**Socialist Nation in the Socialist Republic of Rumania**" is consequently composed of only these **three classes**. Apart from these three classes there seems to be nothing else, neither history, nor religion nor free arts. According to this point view an individual does not belong to the Rumanian nation which he recognizes as such just as he does not belong to the German, Hungarian, Polish or Ukrainian nation, but he is just a member of a trade class, that of workers, peasants or intellectuals. This socialist nation living within a socialist republic that has replaced the respective fatherland is to be guided by a **permanent political organ**, incorrectly called **party**.

The leadership system is a **dictatorship**, the dictatorship of the proletariat introduced by Lenin and implemented by the diabolically strong-willed Stalin. The leading organ incorrectly called **Party** is not a party at all according to the meaning of a democratic party in the free world periodically presenting itself to elections, but a **permanent dictatorship** enforced despotically; in all east-European countries this is done from the outside, in some other cases by way of a so-called revolution, i. e. the armed forces of the Communist party assuming power by force.

Unfortunately, the difference between the **Party of the proletarian dictatorship** and the genuine democratic parties is hardly noticed by the part of the free world we are living in, and if so, this is only done in a formal respect. In all eastern bloc countries the leadership is reserved to such parties which only openly accept the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All the Communist parties, respectively, are subordinated to the **Russian Communist Party**, i. e. the Moscow dictatorship. In this light the Communist parties of the east European countries seem to be the tools of a central party, i. e. the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, serving a definite purpose. This Party is planning and supervising the expansion of Communist dictatorship all over the world.

Since all countries of the eastern bloc including former Rumania are only organs of execution for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and since the entire political, economic, social and cultural activity within the eastern bloc must conform to Moscow's guidelines, the conclusion seems evident that there must be only one fatherland in the eastern bloc, i. e. the Soviet Union.

As things are, **my fatherland** does not exist any more. The domestic policy of "my fatherland" does by no means differ from that of the Moscow empire. If I was to report some news from "my fatherland" the same news could be reported by anti-Communist representatives of Byelorussia, the so-called GDR, Poland, Hungary, Georgia, Ukraine etc. You will notice only mirror differences if you glance over books or essays dealing with the situation in these countries; see in this connection Roger Beheim, *Die sozialistischen Errungenschaften der Sowjetunion* (The Socialist Achievements of the Soviet Union).

The fact that I am asked to report about the situation in my fatherland, seems to me very ironical. I am afraid that my fellow-sufferers could interject the following critical remark at any moment: "What you are telling us here, we have known for a long time since the situation is about the same in our country".

II. How to Save Freedom: rescuing the countries which are still free but menaced by Moscow distatorship

From the remark "conditions are the same in our countries" it may be gathered that behind the Iron Curtain the **Eastern Bloc** is organized

in a uniform manner and is subjected to one political and military leadership.

Another observation that is near at hand: the Eastern Bloc pursues a definite objective at the international scale, i. e. the destruction of those countries which are still free — all means being justified for this purpose — and the replacement of their liberal institutions by a dictatorship under the control of Moscow. My former fatherland Rumania is subjected to such a dictatorship.

Moscow and her governors have declared war to mankind's freedom. In view of this assault the free countries are obliged to defend their freedom. We should show clearly that we are ready to defend freedom. The assumption of power by a Communist regime — also in western countries — would mean their enslavement. The example of Portugal shows how quickly this danger of enslavement may become acute. Communist activities aiming at the enslavement of free peoples are proceeding in two stages:

- a) infiltration, and
- b) the actual destruction of the peoples or nations by intermixing and dispersion.

In the first stage, i. e. the infiltration stage, Communist policies which are directly subordinated to Moscow are introduced in the free countries. Their task is to place their entire political and economic activity under Russian control and to paralyse it at a given moment. At the end of this infiltration phase the truly democratic regime of the respective countries will have been abolished and a pro-Moscow "democratic" regime with the participation of the Communist Party will be instituted. The transition to a purely Communist government will then be brought about within a short period of time.

The second stage (the actual destruction of the free nations) will start immediately upon the institution of the Communist regime in the respective country. The opponents of this regime will be systematically exterminated by being confined in prisons, camps or simply shot. The traditional institutions will be abolished. In this connection Rumania — where private ownership no longer exists, the Church has practically been abolished and Atheism is propagated by all means — may be cited as an example.

This process of disintegration will be continued for several generations, until the national and Christian human being is transformed into a **Soviet man**.

By that time Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary or Ukraine will just be a piece of land on the territory of its former state. The Sovietization of my country is carried on. At the end of this process it will be merely a matter of a formality whether this country will be incorporated into the Russian empire under its present name "Socialist Republic

of Rumania" or with the addition "Soviet" as "Rumanian Socialist Soviet Republic", as e. g. there exist at present a Ukrainian SSR, a Byelorussian SSR and a Georgian SSR. The Communist Party of Rumania will perhaps organize a referendum but its result can certainly be foreseen that 99 % of voters would agree.

After incorporating the corresponding country into the USSR Moscow will consider itself entitled to resettle the population within the Union Republics in the interest of the state, since resettlement will certainly be a domestic affair. Is that right?

What I am trying to point out here should not be regarded as "anti-Communist propaganda" since this is a tragic reality and can be traced on a map. This is, I think, the essential characteristic of the "Socialist Republic of Rumania", my former fatherland.

Unless the free countries take the necessary steps to prevent Communism from spreading, Moscow's Red dictators will sovietize them as well.

Remember Molotov's statement made in 1941, when the German troops invaded Soviet Russian territories: "Europe, this revolting province of the great Russian empire, must be punished". This is a testament which Moscow is persistently trying to enforce.

(EFC Conference in Zürich, October 1974)

Campaign For Women Prisoners

The Human Rights Commission of the Ukrainian World Congress will begin a campaign aimed at the release of five women from a Soviet concentration camp who are seriously ill and are not receiving medical care. The five women, all in their thirties, are serving hard labor sentences ranging from 4 to 10 years at the women's compound at the Baryshevo prison camp in Mordovia.

Iryna Kalynets, Stefania Shabatura, Nina Karavanska, Iryna Senyk and Nadia Shumuk require immediate help if they are to survive. Their condition is much more serious than previously believed.

The Commission of the World Congress, which represents some 3 million Ukrainians outside of the Soviet Union and whose secretariat is located in Toronto will bring the cases of the five women before the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations.

Sylvia Zalmanson, a recently-released Soviet Jewish activist who has been touring North America in recent weeks and who was confined with several of the women also told of their suffering and called for world-wide action to save their lives. On her speaking tour Mrs. Zalmanson has described the conditions at Baryshevo where heavy work quotas and lack of medical attention led her to stage a hunger strike with Kalynets, Karavanska, Shabatura and Senyk in December, 1973.

The World Congress in joining Mrs. Zalmanson's appeal is calling for the release of the women by 1975 which has been designated "International Women's Year".

Senator Paul Yuzyk (Winnipeg), chairman of the Human Rights Commission, said "It is important that during that year the world community focus on the tragedy of these and thousands of women suffering in the Soviet camps".

"For Whom The Bell Tolls"

"Somewhere beyond the seas
I know a nation
That wrote the golden words
To humanity:
MAGNA CARTA LIBERTATUM!"

BUT —

"Somewhere in the wide world
Prisons, and gallows,
And hangmen loom,
Martyrs, martyrs and martyrs.
And oceans of graves."

From "Man in Exile" by K. Dzilleja

Typical of the Communist interpretation of Human Rights throughout the Russian colonial empire are the following: — **Jonas Kreivenas** — the Lithuanian who "returned from hell" — reclaimed his family only after 33 years of separation. His torment started on 15 June 1940 when Russia invaded and overran Lithuania. Three months later, at four o'clock in the morning, Kreivenas was arrested and for the next 16 years his wife had no news of him. Year after year he languished in unspeakable conditions in one camp after another: half-starved, lacking water to drink, severely wounded in one leg, often obliged to labour beyond his strength and to witness the slow starvation or bayonetting to death of those who collapsed at his side. He remembers how one summer a young Scandinavian, dying of hunger, was stripped by Russian guards and left to be devoured alive by insects; and how one winter morning all 40 men in his barrack were found frozen to death in their beds. Because of prolonged hunger Kreivenas himself suffered from oedema and to expel the excessive fluid he punctured his stomach with a nail. In 1944 a sympathetic doctor falsely described him on his documents as a common thief, thus enabling him to transfer to a kolkhoz supervised by the army, where he was instructed in agricultural work, and recovered some of

his strength. But soon the deception was discovered and he was condemned to a further 3 years hard labour. Freed in 1948, Kreivenas was forbidden to return to Lithuania and put on a train to Kazakhstan, where he worked in return for some flour. When spring floods prevented further work, he found himself once more in a camp with other deportees. Later in 1948 his imprisonment ended but he was again forbidden to return to Lithuania, and not until 1956, after 16 years of banishment, did he succeed in returning to his home town, only to find that his family had disappeared, and that there were no prospects for him: without work he could find nowhere to live and without a room no one could offer him a job. He was obliged to return to Kazakhstan where he remained until 1964. In 1956 Kreivenas' wife, who had emigrated to the United States with their 4 children, received news of his survival, and the letters she began to send him clandestinely to Lithuania, found their way to Kazakhstan, where he was astonished to learn that his family was alive. In 1964 he finally returned to Lithuania where, in 1969, his daughter Tessa, who had married an American, found him. It was not, however, until 1973 that he was finally re-united with his whole family.

Jonas Kreivenas survived. How many millions did not — and how many more are still dying because of our callous complacency or indifference?

In Yugoslavia, Croatia political prisoners undergoing cruel tortures, such as being forcibly fed with chemical preparations which slowly destroy their insides, or hanging for hours by their hands, quickly discover for themselves that the Declaration of Human Rights has no relevance to their plight nor meaning for their captors. Such men as Vlado Golovac, Sime Djodan, Marko Veselica, Ante Todoric and Drazen Bu-

disa, who are suffering so grievously for their cause, might reflect that another Man 2000 years ago, hung by His hands until He died because no one would heed His cry for a better world.

Have we too, today, no ears for the persecuted? Only to be discovered praising God is to be branded a "religious warmonger" in the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the people of Byelorussia are no exception. Today, however, the more they are persecuted by the Russians for their faith, the greater is the upsurge of Christianity. Underground preachers like drivers E. Silchukou from Slutsk and Sinkevich from Bukhovka, and carpenters J. Patsukevich and V. Baranousky knowingly risk long, harsh prison sentences to minister to the spiritual needs of believers. When such men are seized by the KGB and imprisoned, others at once take their places.

Human Rights Day was established by free men for captives, in the belief that liberty is for all human beings — not just for some.

Recent reports suggest that the Russian Communist Party is formulating a new constitution which would abolish the existing Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and replace it by one Russian nation. Thus may Russia be seeking to crush the growing nationalism of the captive peoples struggling to reassert their independence and sovereign nationhood. In Ukraine the hideous torture of men like **Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, Dr. Leonid Plyushch, Vyacheslav Chornovil** and many others, should reinforce our determination to demand the right of men everywhere to freedom of speech, movement and belief. **We must not be selective in our condemnation of inhumanity otherwise our sincerity and our motives become suspect. We cannot cry "freedom and justice" in Africa and Asia, and ignore the tyranny in Europe.**

The Mordovia district labour camps of Soviet Russia are becoming as well known to the West as were the notorious German concentration camps. Latvian writer **Viktors Kalnins**, who has served a 10-year prison sentence in Potma Camp for merely participating with others in fostering closer co-operation among the three Baltic nations, knows all about the cruelty and deprivation there. In company with other brave men, Kalnins, from the depths of captivity, cried out continuously against their inhuman treatment until his voice penetrated to the outside world. He called upon the consciences of free men everywhere for help but until now we have steadfastly refused to respond or to make a clamour at the door of the Soviet Russian authorities, whose way of life takes no account of men's souls or their right to live freely and without fear. **Why are the Russian atrocities today any less atrocious than those of the Nazis 30 years ago?**

The courage of **Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary** exemplifies the millions of brave men and women who have fought (and frequently died) for their religion at the hands of atheistic Communists. In his Memoirs the Cardinal has told the free world how the Russian Secret Police dressed him in the ragged costume of a circus clown; how he suffered years of savage beating and privation; and how he was given drugs to make him "confess". Long years of imprisonment were followed by enforced refuge in the US Embassy in Budapest from 1956 to 1971 when the Vatican finally secured his release and safe conduct from the Communist tyrants, who had sought so long to separate him from his own people who revered and loved him.

The treatment of Cardinal Mindszenty by the Communists calls to mind the humiliation and scourging of Jesus Christ by the tyrants of His day. Have we really learned nothing in 2000 years?

"ALL YOU THAT PASS BY THE WAY, STOP AND SEE IF THERE BE ANY SORROW LIKE TO MINE." (From "Mary, save us" — a collection of prayers written in 1953 by four Lithuanian girls imprisoned in Northern Siberia).

HELP US TO HELP YOU TO HELP THEM

Do you really believe in Human Rights? Do you really believe in free-

Dr. Morton Shulman (Canada)

How to Help Valentyn Moroz ?

Valentyn Moroz is the René Levesque of the Soviet Union. He gives speeches and writes books advocating the independence of Ukraine and the Soviet response has been to clap him into jail in solitary confinement. He was first jailed in September 1965 and when he refused to plead guilty like his other co-defendants he was given double their two year sentence. He spent the four years in a labor camp in Mordovia where he wrote and smuggled out a description of what was happening to him and other prisoners. For this "crime" he was again arrested in June, 1970 and was given a total sentence of 22 years of prison, exile, and loss of civil rights.

The Soviets pride themselves on their system of justice and if one reads their Articles of Justice they certainly compare favorably with anywhere else in the world. Alas the reality is far different from the written word. The Soviet constitution guarantees an open trial for all accused but the Russians obviously feared that Moroz would make embarrassing speeches about freedom in the court and they held a closed trial for him.

After publicity began building up all over the world about his martyrdom they first put him in a cell with common criminals who attacked and seriously wounded him and then, as a Soviet embassy put it, "at his own re-

quest" he was put into solitary confinement. The Soviets have refused permission for either his wife or the International Red Cross to see him.

In response to a petition for mercy sent to the Soviet embassy at the beginning of May signed by 200 university professors and other intellectuals, people like Northrop Frye, Jack McLelland, and Desmond Morton, the embassy replied: "Valentyn Moroz is serving his term fully in accordance with the law and in conformity with the sentence passed by a Soviet court of justice . . . this decision by the court of justice was met with approval by the public in the Ukraine. Separatist activity and preaching of national discord and chauvinism are deeply resented by Soviet people who on every occasion show their pride that more than 100 various nationalities live in accord in their country . . . it is not surprising therefore that encroachments on this gain are regarded as a blasphemy. In accordance with this view the severity, placing them at the same level as grave crimes against the personality, society and state."

The Soviet Union of course has the right to treat its citizens as it chooses. That country has a long tradition of despotism, tyranny and oppression of nations and we as foreigners, much as we may deplore the internal workings of another country, do not have the

**MAKE EVERY DAY
HUMAN AND NATIONAL
RIGHTS DAY !**

right to demand changes in those workings. However, when a country like the Soviet Union wants our help or our food then we do have the right to say "Yes, we will help you and sell you food but part of the price is that you behave in a civilized way not only abroad but also at home".

The Soviets have recognized this principle and in order to receive a special trade agreement from the US they apparently have approved the emigration of 60,000 Jews a year from Russia. In Canada there are tens of thousands who have expressed anxiety and worry

over the health of Valentyn Moroz and our government is in a position to help. We do not have to sell grain to the Soviet Union. There is a world-wide shortage and we can easily sell our surplus elsewhere.

If you are concerned about Moroz' fate, write a letter to Pierre Elliot Trudeau recommending that we close grain sales to Russia until such time as they allow impartial medical personnel to examine Moroz. Send a copy of your letter to the Soviet Ambassador in Ottawa.

Toronto Sun — November 15th, 1974

Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan)

Turkestan Fighting for Its National Independence

(Delivered at the "Conference for Freedom, National Independence and De-Colonization" at Zurich, October 12-13, 1974)

Turkestan, denoted in Soviet Russian terminology as the Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan, Kirgizistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, is situated in the centre of Asia and known to be one of the oldest centres of culture and civilization in the world. Geographically speaking Turkestan is the link between Europe and Asia. The former empires of the Koek-Turks, Samanides, Karachanides, Khoesm-Shahs, Seldchuks, Chagatay, Temur and Temurides, the empire of the Oezbeks (Uzbeks) and finally the states of Kokand, Bukhara (Bokhara) and Khiva show that Turkestan has had many traditionally independent states. As to the three Turkestanian states which were the objects of Russian aggression in the 19th century the Khanate of Kokand was abolished in 1876 when conquered by Russia and its territories were incorporated into Russia. The Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva¹⁾ remained under the protectorate of Rus-

sia independent state units until 1920. In 1920 these two monarchies of Turkestan were transformed into peoples' republics by force. In the Treaties with the People's Republic of Khoesm (= Khiva) (September 13, 1920) and Bukhara (March 4, 1921) the government of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic recognized both states as being sovereign. Nevertheless, in 1924 they became victims of Soviet Russian aggression, both states were dissolved and their territories were divided into the Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan which were subsequently incorporated into the USSR. Out of the 15 Soviet Republics of the Soviet Union 5 are presently situated in Turkestan.

In 1717 armed clashes between Turkestan and Russia had started. After 42 years of acts of war (from 1853 to 1895) Russia had conquered Turkestanian regions up to the Pamir Mountains. None of the Turkestanian states (Kokand, Bukhara and Khiva) yielded to Russia without fighting for its liberation.

Russia was unable to eliminate Turkestanian aspirations to freedom. From Russian sources we learn that from 1899 to 1916 the Turkestanians launch-

¹⁾ after the Russian conquest.

ed 4,922 attacks against Russian authorities and armed forces.

The national rebellion of 1916 was one of the bloodiest revolts in Turkestan's history — Kerensky called it the "Second Front against Russia", — shaking Russian rule over Turkestan. This revolt was crushed in a ruthless manner. Finally Tsardom as such came to an end.

After 1917 Russian rule started again, the Russians now stepping forth as Soviets replacing the Tsarists and Social Revolutionaries. Turkestanians regarded Soviet rule as a foreign rule again. After the overthrow of the Turkestanian national government in February 1918 in the City of Kokand by the Red Army, the national rise — known in history as the Basmachi Movement — started again. This revolt was crushed in 1935 only. It turned out that "Russia had only changed its rubber stamp", as Akmal Ikram — First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan from 1924 to 1937 — put it. He uttered this idea in the presence of Stalin in Moscow.

Of course, Soviet Russia applied various measures against Turkestan strengthening the power of Soviet Russia considerably, e. g. dividing Turkestan into 5 Soviet republics, sovietizing it, gradually including a small group of Turkestanians into the Government and Party apparatus, educating the young along the lines of Communism etc. In fact, Russia still rules over Turkestan, but this does not mean that Turkestanians have given up their resistance. According to Chinese Communist sources there was an armed revolt in the City of Tchinkent at the beginning of 1967. Opposition to Soviet Russia is at present primarily evident in the intellectual and cultural sphere aiming at the maintenance of national consciousness. Therefore, the struggle against the permanently active **spirit** of Turkestan nationalism has remained one of the most important tasks of Party and State.

Islam is still alive although under the Soviet atheistic system it is deprived of public financial assistance in its struggle for existence. Soviet functionaries claim that a new type of man, "the Soviet man", has come into existence in Turkestan as well. In reality, however, nobody feels like a Soviet man. As a result of the division of Turkestan on the basis of the ethnic groups living there local patriotism has developed in Turkestan, i. e. primarily the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tadzhik or Turkmen spirit is cultivated, and not a uniform Turkestanian spirit. The cultivation of Turkestanian spirit is called Pan-Turkism by the Soviets and is not tolerated. However, it is astonishing that in all Soviet Republics of Turkestan a trend towards a continued cultivation of common Turkestanian culture and intellectual life is evident.

The people is still the original source on the basis of which national life is continued. At present two intellectual tendencies dominate Turkestan:

- 1) **the Soviet tendency** striving to transform the Turkestanians into Soviet patriots and loyal adherents of Russia;
- 2) **the national tendency** striving to overcome foreign rule by maintaining the physical existence of the people.

The Soviets endeavour to secure Russian domination for ever by russifying the youth. However, the Turkestanian people resist Russification in order to secure their own existence. Soviet rule over Turkestan — being not only an ideological reflection, but also considered a component of Russian chauvinism — has so far considered Russian hegemony in the administration of the country a primary task. Russians are holding key positions in the Communist Party and the Government apparatus although compared to the Turkish and Islamic population they are in the minority.

During the Soviet regime Russia's colonization policy has been intensified

in Turkestan. Prior to 1917 the Tsarist Russian government had sent 1,950,000 Russians to Turkestan, whereas in 1926 only 1,718,489 Russians were sent there. The result of the intensified colonization of the country by Soviet Russians was that in 1970 8,509,000 Russians were living in Turkestan. A large number of Ukrainians (1970: 1,232,000), Byelorussians (1970: 198,000), Germans (about 1 million) were also sent to Turkestan. In Turkestan these ethnic groups have no possibility of cultivating their own cultural and intellectual life. Their children have to go to Russian schools. Thus Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Germans and other national groups deported to Turkestan are russified very quickly because the Soviet authorities try to influence their way of life forcing them more or less to adopt Russian habits. Due to Russia's colonization policy two Soviet republics (Kazakhstan and Kirghizistan) are in a tragic situation. From the 1970 census it is evident that the total population of Kazakhstan comprises only 37.1 % of Kazakhs and closely related Turkish groups and 43.2 % of Russians. If Ukrainians (8.3 %) and Byelorussians (1.2 %) — close to Russians as far as language is concerned — are included the Slavic national groups comprise 52.7 %. In the Soviet Republic of Kirghizistan the Kirghiz and other Turkish ethnic groups constitute 59.8 % of the total population, the remainder of the population consisting of Russians and other Slavic ethnic groups. It should also be noted that these two Turkestanian republics are considered border countries between the Soviet Union and China and are thus of particular strategic importance.

The government of the Soviet Union primarily aims at rendering Turkestan a purely Russian province by colonizing and russifying it and imbuing its national culture with the Russian one. Achieving this goal would mean the end of the Turkestanian people. It must be recalled in this connection that Turkestan considers Russia a foreign coun-

try and vice versa. The differences are primarily evident as far as language, cultural tradition, historical development, and religion are concerned.

Turkestan was conquered by Russia by force of arms. The Turkestanians are regarded as foreign bodies in the Soviet Russian empire. The Russians actually disrupted Turkestan's national independence and sovereignty, but the differences between the Turkestanian and Russian mentality are still existent especially as both sides tend to emphasize their peculiarities.

Russians do not trust Turkestanians and vice versa. Intermarriages between Russians and Turkestanians are very rare.

The Turkestanian population still comprises a Turkestanian majority (ca. 25 million Turkestanians: Turkish ethnic groups and other Moslem groups, e. g. Tadjiks, etc.) and has so far played an important part in the economic life.

In Turkestan (e. g. Baykohur) nuclear bomb and missile tests are carried out by the Soviets, just as in Eastern Turkestan within the Chinese sphere of power, nuclear bomb tests are carried out by the Chinese (e. g. in the Taklamakan desert).

Turkestan is a central point in the Russian-Chinese dispute. The Chinese request the incorporation of a part of Soviet Turkestan into China (which the Russians refuse), on the one hand, and the Russians request "freedom" for Eastern Turkestan (which the Chinese also categorically refuse) to separate it from China, on the other.

The Turkestanians realize and feel — even if some of them appear as Communists at present — what the Soviets and Chinese are aiming at as regards Turkestan. They are facing the question: Are both Communist giants — Russia and China — going to exterminate the Turkestanians altogether and place their own nationals in their country? Or are both powers for the present going to spare the Turkestanians to follow an Islamic policy outside their

respective spheres of power or to have easily access to the neighbouring countries of their respective Turkestanian territories? These are the desperate questions Turkestanians are presently asking. Many Turkestanians are also wondering how the Free World would act in the case of an armed struggle between China and Russia. It is by no means easy to answer all these questions for it is not known whether the Free World has any conception for freeing the captive nations at all. Under the present circumstances which Turkestanians are perfectly aware of they are hoping for one thing: to be able to regain national independence for Turkestan. They want to achieve this by means of their own efforts within and outside of Turkestan and with the support and understanding of the world for a solution of the national questions of the captive peoples.

The problem of Turkestanian national independence is not merely a domestic affair of Turkestan at present. It is also an important concern of the international public circles since the question concerning the abolition of colonialism has been recorded in the United Nations, and this important document also implies a solution of the Turkestanian national

question. The permanent delegate of Great Britain at the United Nations, Sir Patrick Dean, made the following declaration when the United Nations held its plenary assembly:

"In the middle of the 19th century Nigeria and Ghana came under British influence; in 1863 Laos was proclaimed a colony and in 1874 the Protectorate over the Gold Coast was proclaimed. At about the same time the independent Central Asian states with their ancient cultures were conquered by Russia. The last Kazakh state was subjugated in 1854, the conquest of the three Uzbek states was completed in 1876 and finally the whole of Turkmenia was subdued and annexed in the early 1880s. After about one century of British rule Ghana and Nigeria became free in 1957 and 1960, respectively. At what date, however, shall the Central Asian territories become independent?"

After this open and clear statement the Free World must find an answer to this question, chiefly in order to enforce the United Nations' resolution concerning the rights of nations, including Turkestan.

LETTER FROM INDIA

Dear Friends,

I am extremely grateful to you and your publishers for sending me the ABN Correspondence. It is a journal which echoes my feelings and ideas. I would be grateful if you would continue sending the ABN Correspondence.

Besides bringing out the Indian Anti-Communist, which is for the time being suspended due to the difficult conditions in this country with regards to anti-Communist work. I am also editing a journal entitled "Farmers' Voice" which is the official organ of the Farmers Federation of India, a representative body of the Indian cultivating class whose main target are the pro-Communist policies of the government.

I believe I have your permission to include articles from ABN Correspondence for the "Farmers' Voice".

We are the victims of a rapidly expanding economic, political and cultural exploitation by the Soviet Union and I would like to contribute to your journal same articles on this subject.

My Centre for Studies in Communist Affairs has issued a few research brochures; copies of these I will send to you soon.

In the meantime, I send you my humble appreciations for the gigantic fight you are leading for such a great cause — the defeat of modern totalitarianism. Assuring you at the same time of full support from me and my friends.

Yours truly J. G. Tiwari. (India)

Moroz Fighting Russian Chauvinism

Marilyn Vogt About Valentyn Moroz

Report from the Beria Reserve by Valentyn Moroz. Translated by John Kolasky. Toronto, 1974. 162 pp. Paper, \$ 2.95.

"A small group of people in Kyiv scattered sparks all over Ukraine and where they fell the ice of indifference and nihilism, that had accumulated over long years, began at once to thaw."

Thus Valentyn Moroz describes the effect of a dissident literary circle in the 1960s in Ukraine on the political and cultural life of the Ukrainian SSR, frozen by decades of Stalinist repression.

He describes the radicalization in the 1960s in Ukraine in his essay "In the Midst of the Snows", one of the notable documents in this collection of Moroz's writings recently put out by Cataract Press, a new publishing house specializing in Ukrainian dissident writings. The publication of the collection coincides with the beginning of Moroz's hunger strike in his solitary-confinement cell in Vladimir prison.

Although he was not in Kyiv as were the others, Moroz was one of this "small group of people" — the "generation of the sixties" in Ukraine. And this small group was to produce some of the most politically sophisticated anti-Stalinist and national literature to make its way abroad in the past decade.

Russification

This particular essay of Moroz concerns the activity of the most prominent figure in this generation of radicals, Ivan Dzyuba, who in his Book **Internationalism or Russification?** criticized the Stalinist policy toward non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union — that is, Russification — from national point of view.

Written in 1965, **Internationalism or Russification?** was an inspiration to young Ukrainians to fight in the name of freedom and democracy against the political repression and the Russian chauvinism of the ruling bureaucracy.

Most of those in the forefront of this struggle fell victim to the waves of repression that have swept Ukraine since the mid-1960s. Moroz and Dzyuba were among the hundreds who were arrested.

In November 1973, sick with tuberculosis after more than 18 months in KGB prisons, Dzyuba succumbed to the relentless police pressure and signed a statement, published in the official press, renouncing the ideas in his book.

"In the Midst of the Snows" is a product of the events surrounding the repression campaign against Dzyuba and Dzyuba's response to it.

In the course of the campaign, Dzyuba was threatened with expulsion from the Ukrainian Writers' Union. Under pressure, Dzyuba released a statement in 1970 that temporarily satisfied the bureaucrats. In this 1970 statement, Dzyuba said, "I reject the term 'nationalist' regardless of how it is interpreted..."

Moroz asks, "Has Dzyuba still not really comprehended the elementary police truth that having admitted A, triple pressure will be applied on him to admit B. Many, having embarked on this road, have also admitted B."

What is needed, Moroz maintains, is intransigence — to live up to the phrase, used in a derogatory manner by Poles and Russians, "stubborn as a Ukrainian".

Moroz is a stubborn Ukrainian. It was on July 1, 1974, that he began his hunger strike in Vladimir prison. He is there serving part of a 14-year term he received for his activities, mostly his writings upholding the democratic and national rights of the Ukrainian people against the Great Russian chauvinist bureaucrats' repressive policies.

Won't recant

The bureaucrats are trying to destroy Moroz mentally and physically because he is intransigent and won't recant his views. In addition to the starvation diet at Vladimir prison — where he is to serve six of the 14-years — he has been subjected to further barbarities. He was placed in cells with mentally insane inmates, harassed and knifed by criminal cellmates, and administered brain-damaging drugs. Since 1972 he has been in solitary confinement.

He has launched the hunger strike to back up his demand that he be transferred to a labor camp. Otherwise, he says, he will carry on the hunger strike until death, for he fears the threatment he is receiving will succeed in driving him insane and he would rather die than lose his reason.

Report from the Beria Reserve contains Moroz's principal works written between April 1967 and November 1970. Moroz does not call himself a Marxist or a Leninist. However, he continually points out the hypocrisy of Stalin and Stalin's heirs. Although they claim to represent Communism, their practices reflect more than a concerted and vicious effort to repress any ideas that might upset the status quo, which ensures their power and privilege.

"Could the most inveterate anti-Communist invent a more effective means of undermining the position of Communism in the ideological strug-

gle with the West" than those in the Kremlin who identify "Soviet power with chauvinism, Stalinism and lawlessness?" Moroz asks.

The collection provides several different sides of Moroz's thinking. Moroz wrote the title essay, "Report from the Beria Reserve", in April 1967 in a solitary-confinement cell where he was serving a four-year term after his arrest in 1965 for dissident activities. This essay explores the mentality of those individuals in the bureaucracy's repressive apparatus — the "empire of cogs", the gray mass of mindless enforcers.

Whom will it inconvenience if the subjugated nations begin to fight for their democratic rights, Moroz asks. And he answers: "Those who will lose their privileges with the complete wiping out of the lawlessness of Stalin: first of all the KGB; then the chairman of the collective farm who fears that if all legal norms are actually complied with, he will not even be appointed swineherd; then the academician who climbed to his chair over the corpses of betrayed comrades in 1937; finally the chauvinist who will have to give up his program of Russification.

"These are the forces which defend the past and block the path of progress with dead weight. Only **they** require people to be cogs. Yet they steadfastly pose as protectors of society and defenders of 'socialist legality'".

The touchstone of Moroz's thinking is his commitment to the rights of the Ukrainian people and his opposition to the Stalinist bureaucrats who repress and destroy creativity and independent thought.

In a May 15, 1968, declaration to the head of the Ukrainian Communist Party, when speaking of the rising opposition to Russification in Ukraine, Moroz stated:

"Not to allow a new trend is impossible. It will emerge regardless, but perhaps in foreign attire as an argument in the hands of an opponent . . .

"Will today's Ukrainian Communists succeed in finally resurrecting previous policy of Ukrainization and declare a decisive war against Russian chauvinism in Ukraine? This will determine the success of the ideological struggle with the West."

A model fighter

However, Moroz is not a Marxist and his writings exhibit a high degree of subjectivity in many instances. He is searching for and upholding what he feels to be genuine expressions of Ukrainian culture, tradition, and values in the face of the prefabricated "culture" and hypocrisy that pervade present-day Ukrainian life under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Despite the shortcomings of his thinking, what he is op-

posing is Russification, and against Russification he has been a model fighter.

Moroz is furthering the process of building a movement in Ukraine of workers, students, and intellectuals who will fight to abolish the repressive Stalinist bureaucracy and restore national independence of Ukraine. That is why they want him destroyed. And that is why revolutionist must come to his defense.

Harvard University Offers Faculty Post To Moroz

Dr. Derek C. Bok, President of Harvard University, sent a letter to Valentyn Moroz, inviting the 38-year-old Ukrainian persecuted intellectual to spend the next academic year as part of he faculty of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard.

"Your outstanding qualifications and contributions in the area of Ukrainian history have been brought to our attention. Therefore, on behalf of the University, I would like to take this opportunity to invite you and your family to spend the academic year 1975-76 at Harvard", wrote Dr. Bok in his letter to Moroz, addressed in care of his wife Raisa in Ivano-Frankivske.

Reports said that Mrs. Moroz received the letter, dated November 12th.

The decision to invite Moroz, now incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison, to Harvard was based on a proposal of the university's Board of Trustees.

Copies to World Leaders

Copies of the letter were sent to Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger, the American Ambassador in Moscow, the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, D. C., and other high officials and organs in the two capitals.

The letter confirmed the Ukrainian Institute's offer to "handle all expenses connected with this visit".

Dr. Bok told Moroz that the Ukrainian Research Institute was recently established at Harvard to give scho-

lars and students the opportunity "to devote themselves to work in their fields of specialization (language, literature, history)".

Explaining that there is a "dearth of academicians in Ukrainian studies" in the United States, Harvard University decided to offer Moroz a position at the Institute. Dr. Bok assured Moroz that fluency in English is not a necessity because members of the Institute are fluent in many languages, including Ukrainian.

"Personally, I am sure that both the Institute and the University will profit greatly by your presence", concluded Dr. Bok.

The letter was notarized by a seal and signature of the Middlesex county public notary.

"If you are counting on creating a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance by placing me behind bars, then you will be disappointed. You should understand by now that there will be no more vacuum. The extent of Ukraine's spiritual potential is already adequate to fill any vacuum and to produce new public figures to replace those who are in prison and those who have withdrawn from public activity."

Valentyn Moroz

Martyr's Death for Christ

Not since the days of the early Christians of the New Testament times have Christians in Ukraine suffered such cruel persecution for their faith as many thousands are suffering today in Soviet prisons, concentration and labor correction camps.

There is no freedom of religion in the USSR today beyond the liberty to attend a few government licensed churches under secret police approved ministers. Ninety-eight percent of all the churches in the USSR are closed today.

It was early in 1964 that a document was brought out of the USSR. This document, signed by 120 Christians, was dated February, 1964. It tells a sad story of what happened on Christmas Day in 1963 in the city of Barnaul, a holiday, celebrated in memory of the birthday of our Saviour Jesus Christ. People celebrate by going to church, attending worship service, and of course their holiday dinner held in a festive mood.

However, in the USSR, on Christmas Day four Christians sat in the People's Court in the city of Barnaul. They faced a stern judge who sentenced them under Statute 227 of the Soviet criminal code. Under this statute, the leader of an Underground Church group, Pastor Subbotin, was sentenced to five years in prison.

A lay Christian named Mykola Khmara was sentenced to three years. His brother Wasyl Khmara received three years. His sister Ludmila received a two-year suspended sentence.

The families were in the court room. Many of their Christian friends were there; as were the wife of Mykola Khmara and her four children. Mrs. Khmara was notified by the Barnaul prison authorities that her husband was dead. With some friends she came to the prison and received the body of her husband. They took the body home, placed it in a pine box, a coffin, in the living room.

The four Khmara children, the oldest 13, and the youngest just one month, were there. The older children looked at their daddy, but could barely recognize him as his body was purple and blue. He had been beaten. There were marks on his wrists from chains and handcuffs. He had been burned as though hot steel objects had been applied to the side of his stomach, and the bottom of his feet. Obviously, he had been brutally beaten to death. His mouth was stuffed with rags. On removing the rags, she found that his tongue had been cut out, no doubt because his jailers did not want to hear his Christian testimony.

Yes, Mykola Khmara died a horrible death. Yet, what was the terrible deed he had committed? What was the terrible crime for which he had to pay with his life? Mykola and his three friends had met secretly in the nearby village of Kulunda in the true fashion of an underground church in the USSR.

Several times they had applied to the authorities for permission to worship, but their requests were denied, because the hall where they wanted to meet didn't have the sanitary and other facilities the officials demanded.

Many Christians came to pay their last respects during the four days Mykola Khmara's body lay in the simple coffin in the family living room. It was a solemn and mournful funeral procession.

The body was carried on the shoulders of friends to the cemetery. The funeral procession wound through the streets of the city of Barnaul.

Yes, today something like this can happen. And this is not an isolated case. Crimes such as this are common today in the USSR.

The most terrible law in the Russian criminal code is Statute 227. Under this statute, a parent, a father and mother,

can be arrested for telling their children in privacy of their own home about God. If you even as much as read from the Bible, that in itself is a crime.

In the USSR today, the children become a chattel; they belong to the State. The parents have no parental rights to instruct them — to teach them — according to their convictions.

The Bible in the USSR today is the most forbidden book. The Soviet government prides itself with thousands of libraires, education, and public enlightenment. Yet, you could travel up and down the country and go into every possible library but you would not find a single copy of the Bible.

You could go through thousands of Soviet book-stores across the country and to the literature distribution centers, but you would not find a single copy of the Bible.

However, under Statute 227 of the Soviet criminal code, you will find that if you take a typewriter or a mimeograph machine and copy portions of the Scriptures to distribute among

friends or acquaintances, you commit a crime punishable by three years in prison. So the Bible is a forbidden book.

The only place a Bible can be obtained in the USSR is on the black market. The cost, however, would amount to at least three months wages for the average working man.

However, the Soviet government in the worst possible way has violated the Human Rights Charter and the Covenant of the United Nations which they signed as charter members.

To attend a Sunday school in the USSR is punishable by five years in prison.

What will be our attitude toward the document I mentioned, which was signed by 120 Christians appealing in behalf of their suffering brethren inside the Soviet Union? Their plea was a cry for help for Christians in the USSR.

This appeal by Christians who are suffering in the USSR to Christians, to the conscience of the world, should make us stop, listen and realize what Freedom means.

In Defence of V. Moroz

Forty-four Columbia University scholars signed an open letter to the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, asking it to review the case of Valentyn Moroz and "curb the illegal repressiveness of the KGB and restore justice in this and similar cases".

The appeal entitled "Columbia University Scholars on Behalf of Valentyn Moroz", appeared in the December 6th edition of the "Columbia Daily Spectator", and was sponsored by the Columbia Students concerned for Valentyn Moroz.

The open letter carried an additional call for help from western citizens to write to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin. The appeal also cited the visit of Moroz's family with him November 5th.

Among scholars who signed the petition are such internationally known specialists as Dr. Z. Brzezinsky, S. Bialer, R. K. Merton, F. Ianni, H. Graff, R. Thorndike, R. Myers, B. Sutton-Smith, M. A. White and others, as well as two Ukrainian scholars associated with Columbia, Prof. Oleh Fedyshyn and Prof. Anna Procyk.

Students responsible for this action in defence of Moroz included: Bohdan Wytwycky, Martha Kuc, Laryssa Kyj, Alexander Motyl and Anisa Sawyckyj.

Families who rendered financial assistance in publishing the appeal were: Bych, Hnateyko, Hrabarchuk, Gamota, Zmyj, Kuzma, Matkiwsky, Migotski, Petryshyn, Styranka, Cymbalisty, Mysak and Jawny.

Joint Communique Of The Executive Board Meeting Of The World Anti-Communist League

(December 9, 1974, Sao Paulo, Brazil)

The Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), in consideration of the confusing world situation and in anticipation of the 1975 annual conference, held a meeting in Sao Paulo, Brazil, on December 8-9, 1974. Board members from North America, Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Captive Nations and the World Youth Anti-Communist League were present in a cordial atmosphere reflecting unity of purpose. The conference looked deeply into world problems and worked out important guidelines for the coming 8th WACL Conference.

Regarding the present world situation, the WACL Executive Board wishes to record the following views.

1. Attempts at negotiation and detente with the Communists have so far caused confusion and disintegration within the world making it easier for the international Communists to push toward their goal of world domination. A conspicuous example of the ineffectiveness of such attempts is the recent summit meeting of the United States and the USSR at Vladivostok.

2. The Communist united front tactic under the slogan of "peaceful co-existence" has encouraged neutralism and appeasement on the part of the free world, and aggravated internal confusion and division in free countries. The Russian and Chinese Communist maneuver to win over and exploit nations of the so-called "third world" for the ultimate destruction of the free world is a case in point.

3. Throughout the world — in Asia, Latin America and occupied countries in the USSR and Satellite States in particular — forces for freedom are merging a strong current, with the awakened free peoples joining hands more firmly with the gallant peoples

behind the Iron Curtain who resist their tyrannical oppressors. The recent OAS rejection of moves to lift the embargo against Cuba, the uninterrupted anti-tyranny movement on the Chinese mainland, and the continuous flow of refugees escaping from behind the Bamboo Curtain risking their lives, are strong evidences of such a current.

Acutely aware that the crisis presently confronting the free world has resulted largely from the united front tactic of the Communists and the eagerness of the free world to appease aggressors, the Executive Board chose as the theme of the 8th WACL Conference:

To attain the above-mentioned goal, the WACL shall, on the one hand, strengthen its organization, consolidate its unity, and step up its total efforts . . . On the other hand, it calls on the free world to head the following:

1. That in any negotiation and detente with the Communists, care should be taken that the rights and interests of free nations compromised.

2. That positive support shall be given the peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa, Europe and in the Soviet Union and the satellite states in their heroic struggles against Communist aggression and enslavement.

3. That humane treatment shall be accorded to refugees seeking freedom and that the enforced return of escapees from Macao, Hong-Kong, Berlin or elsewhere be disallowed and condemned.

4. That the free world should stop strengthening Communist tyranny by supplying the Communist states with goods, technology, industrial and war equipment, and long term loans at low interest rates not available to free world citizens.

The Executive Board further appeals to the governments of the free nations and world public opinion to: condemn any form of concentration camps or forced labor, denounce the shameful practice of confining fighters, like Valentyn Moroz, for national and human rights or putting them into insane asylums, and, demand the withdrawal of Communist forces from all occupied countries including Russian forces from occupied countries in USSR.

Looking forward to 1975, the Executive Board draws the urgent attention of the United States, as the leading nation in the free world, to its special responsibility in the defense of freedom. In its efforts to limit the arms race, the UN should not be lulled into a false sense of security but be aware of the danger of allowing the Soviet Union to attain an arms superiority which will threaten the whole free world. And in any American agreement with the Chinese Communists, no harm should be done to the Republic of China which has been a faithful ally of the free world.

The Board expresses its full support of the government of the Republic of Chile, presided over by Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, for the generous initiative to obtain the liberation of political prisoners in the countries subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism, including Cuba.

The Committee enthusiastically applauds the governments of the Republic of Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile, on the occasion of the OAS Conference recently held in Quito, Ecuador, for firmly opposing the raising of sanctions against the Fidel Castro regime, which still continues to promote Communist subversion and terrorism in Latin America.

In deciding to hold the 8th WACL Conference in Brazil in April, 1975, the Executive Board takes note of the encouraging signs of an increasing sense of anti-Communism in certain nations of Latin America and expresses the

hope that this trend will widen and accelerate.

The Executive Board further notes with satisfaction the enthusiasm which SEPES, the local chapter of WACL, has shown in its preparation of the 8th Conference, and pledges its utmost support to making the Conference a full success which will, in turn, further the inevitable triumph of the anti-Communist cause.

CZECHIA

Cardinal Trochta of Czechia, is a new victim of Communist terror and earlier a prisoner of the Nazis. During a mass execution, he was only wounded. He pretended to be dead, was carried away with the corpses, and thus escaped. Cardinal Trochta deceived the Nazis. A simulated death is the enacting of a lie. Under the Communists, he was sentenced to 25 years of prison. Released, he was not allowed to fulfill his priestly functions. He worked as a bricklayer and street sweeper. In the end, he was allowed to occupy his see but was so sick that the physicians ordered full rest and the avoidance of any agitation. Through knowing this, the Reds interrogated, insulted and threatened him for many long hours. The result was a cerebral hemorrhage and death. Tertullian had taught, "The blood of martyrs is the deed of new Christians". The Cardinal has had a blessed death. We seek no better blessings for us and our children than the fellowship of Christ's sufferings. Therefore, this mission helps families of Christian martyrs in Communist countries.

ALBANIA

The head of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Albania, Archbishop Damian, has died in prison at the age of 80, the Austrian Catholic news service Kathpress reported in Vienna. Kathpress said the archbishop, who had been in prison for six years, died last November but the news had just reached Orthodox communities abroad.

Chornovil Transferred To Lviv

— Other Political Prisoners also Moved —

Vyacheslav Chornovil, noted Ukrainian journalist — fighter for human and national rights, was transferred from the Mordovian penal colony to Lviv, allegedly to testify at trials of intellectuals who were arrested in 1974.

The KGB in Ukraine received orders from Moscow to intensify their efforts to extract recantations from certain Ukrainian political prisoners, who have not yet been broken. This was also cited by some as a reason for Chornovil's transfer to Lviv in November 1974.

Chornovil, who documented the secret trials of Ukrainian political prisoners, who have not yet been broken. This was also cited by some as a reason for Chornovil's transfer to Lviv in November 1974.

Chornovil, who documented the secret trials of Ukrainian intellectuals in the mid-60's in his book "The Chornovil Papers", was arrested during the major KGB-crackdown on Ukrainian fighters for human and national rights in 1972. He was sentenced to seven

years of exile, and confined in camp 17a in Ozerne, near Yavas, Mordovia.

Until his transfer, Chornovil was kept isolated from many of the present-day fighters for human and national rights. Apart from Dmytro Kvetsko, who was arrested in 1967 and sentenced to 15 years in prison, the other prisoners in his compound were members of the Ukrainian underground during World War II.

Along with Chornovil many other Ukrainian political prisoners were transferred either to Lviv or to Kyiv, said the UIS, apparently for further interrogation. Most of them arrested in 1972, were charged with continuing their anti-Soviet agitation in prison, staging hunger strikes in protest against the tortures of inmates, and stirring up anti-Soviet feelings among the rest of the prisoners.

People in Ukraine are concerned over the fate of Valentyn Moroz, particularly why he ended his hunger strike. KGB undercover agents have spread rumors in an effort to discredit him. During last November, leaflets about Moroz's fast were distributed in parts of Ukraine.

In connection with the incarceration of Moroz, sources in Kyiv said that several police investigators have fallen into disfavor with secret police officials because they were not able to break Moroz during the embarrassing hunger strike. Several of these agents fear that they will either be arrested or sent to psychiatric asylums.

Other sources said that one-time associates of Pyotr Shelest, former first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party and member of the Soviet Politburo who was ousted from power in August 1972, are also being arrested, as are the KGB agents who led the investigation during the 1965 trials.

Radio Broadcasting in Five Soviet Republics Against Russification

The Soviet KGB besides fighting underground literature Samvydav is compelled also to reveal the underground radio stations. At least in 5 republics the underground stations are operating. The Komsomolska Pravda is drawing attention to this protest action. There were articles in this newspaper that police in a Ukrainian town Donetsk uncovered illegal radio stations. "Pirate Radio Stations" are in particular against intensified Russification in Ukraine. Other illegal radio stations are operating in Lithuania, in Caucasian republics, Azerbaijan, Georgia and recently also in the Soviet Asian republic Uzbekistan.

Ukrainians In Great Britain Defending Political Prisoners

On the 29th of January, 1918, 300 young Ukrainians gave up their lives in a bid to stem the invasion of the newly created Ukrainian National Republic by Soviet Russian armed forces. The 300 were all volunteers, students, schoolboys, working youths. Some had never held a gun before, but they were the nearest available defenders. Aware that they were vastly outnumbered, they nevertheless were determined that Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, should not fall to the Russians without resistance. The 300 young volunteers made their stand at a small railway station north of Kyiv called Kruty, their belief in the justice of the Ukrainian cause helping them morally to balance out their military inferiority. However, the inevitable happened and after a fierce battle the young soldiers lay dead.

The 29th of January is therefore a special day for all Ukrainians, particularly the young. On this "Day of Kruty" we commemorate the heroism of the young volunteers.

The hopes and dreams of the heroes of Kruty did not perish with them. In the 56 years since Kruty, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian men and women have laid down their lives in the continuing fight to see Ukraine rid of her Russian oppressors and to be established as an independent country. The Russians are trying to strengthen their occupation of Ukraine by attempting to russify the Ukrainian language, destroy her distinctive culture and distort her history (which dates back centuries further than that of Russia). These threats to Ukraine's national identity are viewed by all thinking Ukrainians as very dangerous. Soviet prisons and concentration camps are filled with Ukrainians who have protested in many ways against Russification in Ukraine, these include peo-

ple from all walks of life; workers, writers, students, artists, and lecturers. They all wish for the freedom which we, in this country, take for granted. Instead, these people have been savagely treated, locked up in prison serving long sentences, and incarcerated in concentration camps reminiscent of Nazi Germany (if one examines the Soviet system this is not the only similarity between Hitler's state and that of Brezhnev that is apparent).

Today, the day of Kruty, we appeal to the public to take an interest in the Ukrainians persecuted for their political beliefs. We appeal to the government of Great Britain to exert, in its capacity as a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all possible pressure on the Soviet Union (which with typical hypocrisy is also a signatory of this declaration) to release all Ukrainian political prisoners, who are asking for something that is a right and not a privilege... THE FREEDOM OF THEIR COUNTRY, UKRAINE.

Lawyers Committee Requests Release of Valentyn Moroz

Geneva, 12th December 1974 (dpa) — The International Lawyers Committee in Geneva appealed in a telegram to the Supreme Soviet to release the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz presently detained in the Vladimir Prison near Moscow and to allow him to leave the Soviet Union. The telegram published on Thursday states that Moroz is approaching death.

The Geneva Organization has learned that Moroz has been offered a teaching post by Harvard University in the United States.

Response to Soviet Russian Statements Re: Valentyn Moroz

In the past few months the Soviet Russian Embassy in Ottawa has been flooded with tens of thousands of petitions and appeals by concerned Canadians on behalf of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian political prisoner currently serving a 14-year sentence in Vladimir Prison 2 northeast of Moscow. The Embassy has issued statements in which it attempts to justify the harshness of Moroz's sentence and the illegality of his trial. Because these statements have grossly misrepresented the Moroz case and have been widely distributed to those who have in good faith expressed their concern, we feel obliged to openly challenge every assertion, allegation and argument presented by them.

It has been recently reported that Valentyn Moroz has ended his 5-month hunger strike in protest of solitary confinement, **but he still remains in prison.** Our Committee maintains that Moroz has been imprisoned and sentenced illegally, that his conviction should be reversed and that he should be released immediately.

"Moroz was found guilty not of 'criticism of the Soviet system'. Criticism is normal to the way of life in the USSR and there is no one who does not use criticism."

"Moroz was not in 'opposition' either. He acted as an outsider to his people and his country, just like his masters abroad. He had seditious intentions that contradict the principles of democracy and basic human rights... Because of international detente and very exceptional character of Moroz-type cases, the Soviet law does not punish such subversive activity with death... in the 30's and 40's... the Soviet law protected the freedom of Soviet people with more severe punishment of all 'agents and spies'."

"Anti-Soviet activities were manifested in his attempts to forge a con-

spiracy in his college... Moroz offered his services to the foreign, subversive, reactionary and 'special' organization and became their paid agent. That is why his trial couldn't be public.

"Moroz tried to smooth the road for eventual military attack on the USSR..."

"His crime consisted of seditious intention and conspiracy and not of thoughts of noble inspiration, as he is pictured by his masters in the West."

"He used subversion to stir the nationalist, social and ethnic discord."

"Moroz justified terrorism of nationalistic gangs from the smashed OUN underground."

"Moroz set about forming and hammering together a conspiracy with seditious intention among high school students..."

Actual charges

The Soviet authorities assure us that Moroz was caught "red-handed" and that he is serving his sentence in accordance with article 62 of the Criminal Code of the UkrSSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda).

The fact is that these charges are incompatible with article 62 and would necessarily be covered by other articles in the Criminal Code, namely: article 56 (Treason); article 57 (Espionage); article 63 (Propagandizing of War); article 64 (Organizational Activity Directed to Commission of Especially Dangerous Crimes Against the State and Also Participation in Anti-Soviet Organizations); article 66 (Violation of Equality of Rights of Nationalities and Races).

The Soviet authorities consider it necessary to justify Moroz's imprisonment by alleging "crimes" for which Moroz was clearly not indicted. It appears that they felt that the actual facts

of the case were not convincing enough to justify either the harshness of the sentence or the closed nature of his trial before Canadian public opinion.

Moroz was tried for his authorship of four articles:

1. Report from the Beria Reserve
2. In the Midst of the Snows
3. Moses and Dathan
4. Chronicle of Resistance.

This fact was acknowledged in the newspaper **Soviet Education** by Ya. Ranchenko in his article "An Apostle and His Standards" published on August 14, 1971 where he states:

"And so, the convicted V. Moroz not only systematically wrote slanderous anti-Soviet 'works' but personally disseminated this poison illegally, and conducted anti-Soviet propaganda; for this he stood trial a second time and received his just desserts."

Readers can obtain these writings under the title **Report from the Beria Reserve** and judge for themselves the nature of Moroz's works.

Notwithstanding the nature of these articles the application and interpretation of Article 62 by Soviet courts is so broad that it in effect nullifies the right of freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed by the Constitution (Article 105 of the Constitution of the UkrSSR, Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 19). Contrary to the assertion of Soviet jurists that Article 62 does not interfere with these rights, its practical application has been made to fit any expression of opinion which the authorities may consider to be ideologically harmful at any time.

As to Moroz's trial itself, despite attempts by Soviet authorities to invoke the issue of "state security" after his trial, there was absolutely no basis for the trial being closed to the public. The

question of "state security" was simply not raised at the trial. Article 91 of the Constitution of the UkrSSR, Article 111 of the Constitution of the USSR, as well as, Articles 20 and 22 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR clearly stipulate the right to public trial. This is said to be a basic democratic right in the Soviet Union; the public nature of the judicial process is a guarantee of adherence to the law by the agencies of justice and an educational process for the people. All of the above provisions were violated in Moroz's case and must be considered a violation of procedural norms sufficient to nullify the verdict by dismissal or annulment (Articles 370 and 389 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR).

To vilify Moroz by innuendo of Nazi collaboration, racism and antisemitism when his writings clearly condemn these phenomena, is highly reminiscent of the Goebbles-Stalin style of propaganda and constitutes an insult to reasoning Canadians.

Instead of their communiques we challenge the Soviet authorities to provide Canadians with full and unaltered transcripts of the proceedings of Valentyn Moroz's trial and in light of the illegality of Moroz's trial we demand his immediate and unconditional release.

December, 1974.

**Committee for the Defense
of Valentyn Moroz**

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

**The Soviet Union
A Prison of Nations**

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

A Communist Attempt of Takeover in Estonia in 1924

Dec. 2, 1924, was the 50th anniversary of an abortive Communist coup d'etat in Tallinn, initiated and directed from Moscow.

A successful coup in Estonia would have been followed by similar coups in Latvia, Lithuania and Finland as G. E. Zinoviev, chairman of the Comintern, expected in an article in Pravda of Dec. 1, 1923.

The Estonian coup was scheduled for Dec. 1 to coincide with the verdict of a trial which had begun in November and in which 149 Communists were charged with subversive activities.

In the same evening the military leaders of the coup began to arrive in Tallinn after secretly crossing the Russian frontier. They had a thorough military training in the Red Army.

The revolt started at 5.15 a. m. local time in Estonia. Some 50 Communists attacked the Military Academy but retreated in disorder when the cadets opened fire also. About 20 men attacked the 10th infantry Regiment killing three officers, and then fled to the Tank Regiment where they were repulsed after a short fight. The same thing happened at the Signalling Battalion, at the Ministry of Defence elsewhere.

The spots the rebels managed to occupy temporarily were those not defended by soldiers. These included the Central Post Office from where they were soon expelled, however, by an armoured car operated by Col. O. Raudvere and by a five man group under the command of Gen. E. Põdder. The Communists occupied also the Central Railway Station where the supreme leader of the revolt. Jaan Anvelt made an appearance and killed the policeman on duty. Mounted police failed to expel the Communist force but then two platoons arrived from the School of non-Commissioned Officers and took the station. Anvelt fled and killed Lt. -Commander K. Stern whom he met by accident. He reached the

Soviet Legation and hid there until next January when he returned to Russia.

Everything was virtually over in two to three hours. The Communists held out slightly longer in the airfield just outside the town but it was also recaptured before noon.

In the fighting 21 people were killed, including the Minister of Communications, K. Kark, five officers and four cadets. Twenty-five privates and 16 civilians were wounded.

Moreover, 12 Communists were killed and 140 were caught alive. Six of the latter were employees of the Soviet Legation in Tallinn and 33 were workers of the Soviet commercial organizations Dobroflot and Centrosioiuz which operated in Tallinn.

After the abortive coup a new coalition Government under Mr. Jüri Jaakson was formed comprising all political parties and Gen. Johan Laidoner was appointed the Commander-in-Chief. But he already resigned in January when order had been restored.

The events connected with the abortive coup constituted a clear proof that the Estonians cherished their independence and were prepared to defend it.

Books published in Russia before the 1939-1945 war and after and also in occupied Estonia, have attempted to regard the coup as a heroic although unsuccessful uprising supported by the broad masses of the population. In the same context they claimed that there was widespread unemployment in Estonia at that time and that the failure of the Communist coup was followed by a wave of White terror throughout the country. These charges are, of course, complete fabrications to justify the Communist attempt.

What the Estonians wanted, and still want, is to live as an independent nation in a free and democratic State. The failure of the Communist coup enabled them to remain free for 16 years more.

Esmo Ridala

Ukrainian Parliamentarians in Ottawa

Beginning his eleventh year in the Canadian Senate, Sen. Yuzyk (PC) was appointed to the post by then Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, and became the third Ukrainian to hold a seat in the upper legislative house. A writer and scholar, Sen. Yuzyk is a professor of history at the University of Ottawa. Sen. Yuzyk serves on the executive board of many national and international Ukrainian organizations, and is UNA's Supreme Director for Canada. The 61-year-old Senator's latest book, "For A Better Canada", was published recently. Married to the former Mary Bahniuk, the couple have four children.

Mr. Andre (PC), born in Edmonton, Alta., has a doctorate in chemical engineering from the University of Alberta. He is an associate professor in that field at the University of Calgary. Mr. Andre, 34, was first elected to the House of Commons in October 1972. Married to the former Joan R. Smith, the couple have two children. He is a member of several community organizations and politically oriented groups.

Mr. Cafik (LP) was first elected to the House of Commons in 1968, following two previously unsuccessful attempts. Since his election, he has held several parliamentary Liberal Party positions and government positions. Mr. Cafik was elected chairman of the Ontario Caucus, chairman of various parliamentary committees on external affairs, national defense, foreign policy and C.B.C. In 1972 he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to Marc Lalonde, Minister of National Health and Welfare. Mr. Cafik, 45, and his wife, Patricia Ann, have five children.

A member of the House of Commons since 1958, Mr. Skoreyko (PC) is active on both parliamentary committees and local community organizations. The 52-year-old MP was born in Edmonton, Alta., and completed his education there and in Senlac, Sask. He graduated from college with a degree in business management. Married to Helen Martha, the Skoreyko's have four children.

Mr. Masniuk (PC), 54, is active in many Canadian civic organizations. In 1939, he began working for the Canadian National Railroad and stayed with the company until his election to the parliament, except for his service in the Royal Canadian Army. Moving through the ranks of the CNR, he now holds the position of contact man of lodge 323 Maintenance of Way CNR. Married to former Rose Kowalchuk, the couple have four children. Mr. Masniuk has been an MP since 1972.

A physician by profession, Dr. Yewchuk (PC) is a resident of Lac La Biche, Alta. He completed Fort Kent High School in 1954 and received his medical degree from the University of Alberta in 1960. Dr. Yewchuk began his political career during the 1967 Alberta provincial elections. In the House of Commons he serves on committees on external affairs, Indian

affairs, caucus committees of youth, agriculture and external affairs, and is chairman of the House Alberta Caucus. The 37-year-old legislator was first elected to the Parliament in 1972.

Born and raised in Saskatchewan, Mr. Korchinski (PC) received his higher education at the University of Saskatoon. His first political office was as reeve of the rural municipality of Invermay from 1952-1958. Married to the former Marcella Ron, Mr. Korchinski, 45, was first elected to parliament in 1958. He has served there continuously since then.

A member of the House of Commons since 1968, Mr. Paproski (PC) served on the House Committee on Labor, Manpower and Immigration. He also served on special committees dealing with broadcasting, Indian affairs, and northern development. A graduate of the University of Arizona and North Dakota, Mr. Paproski was a one time member of the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, his hometown. He is employed by the Alberta Concrete Products Co., Ltd., as general sales manager. Married to the former Mary Elizabeth Coburg, the couple have five children.

Nationalism in USSR

The Soviet melting pot simmers with racial tension, prejudice and signs of separatism and some observers predict a nationalist explosion in the USSR, states John Dornberg in an exclusive article written for the Boston Globe and Mail and published by that daily in its January 19th edition.

Mr. Dornberg is a widely recognized specialist in East European and Soviet affairs. Until a few years ago, he served as chief of the Newsweek magazine's Moscow bureau. He currently resides in Munich, West Germany.

In the article, excerpts of which appear below, Mr. Dornberg analyzes the current movement of dissent which has enveloped the entire Soviet Union. Efforts by the authorities to suppress it and, at the same time, to paint a picture of harmony to the outside world have been unsuccessful, says Mr. Dornberg.

Soviet officialdom portrays the USSR as a unique, happy melting pot of the peoples and nationalities once conquered, subjugated and colonized by the Czars.

Kremlin propaganda pictures them now as one big harmonious family — almond-eyed Tartars, fair-haired Latvians, ruddy faced Russians, olive-skinned Azerbaidzhanis — moving happily and enthusiastically toward a brighter Communist future.

With 15 pseudo-autonomous republics, 15 official languages, four alphabets scores of dialects and more than dozens of nationalities which were absorbed into the Russian empire through colonial expansion under the Czars, the Soviet Union is by far the largest multi-lingual and multi-national country in the world.

Actually, the melting pot simmers with racial tension, prejudice and signs of separatism.

Some observers forecast a "nationalist explosion in the USSR" within a decade.

Within recent months there have been signs of greater unrest and growing resistance to Soviet nationalities policy in some of the principal republics and among a number of the key non-Russian groups.

Jews, Volga Germans and Meskhetians are demanding to emigrate. Ukrainians and Lithuanians are being tried for forming a secessionist movement.

Several hundred thousand Crimean Tartars have petitioned, demonstrated and rioted for full rehabilitation and the right to return to the Crimea, from which they were deported during World War II because Stalin considered them sympathetic to the Germans.

In Soviet Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Armenia there have in the past been violent and bloody racial and nationalist clashes.

A few, such as the members of the clandestine Armenian Nationality Unity Party who are on trial in Yerevan, are militating for outright secession.

Moscow's response to the challenge has been threefold.

In many instances, the Kremlin has simply stuck its head in the sand, refusing to acknowledge publicly that the problem exists. On other occasions it has tried to come to grips with it by stressing "Soviet" nationalism and pride in economic achievements as an answer to the fragmented loyalties among the empire's nationalities.

And when those approaches have failed, the Soviet leadership has attempted to suppress nationalist and separatist manifestations with the most draconian means at its disposal. Thus, more than half the political prisoners now in Soviet labor camps are reported to be serving terms for various acts and expressions of "bourgeois nationalism".

Invariably, "bourgeois nationalism" is nothing more heinous than writing protests or circulating petitions.

To an extent, much of the recent pressure can be attributed to the relative success of the Jewish campaign for free emigration.

Not only have nearly 100,000 of the USSRs estimated 2.5 million Jews already emigrated, but tens of thousands

of the 1.8 million ethnic Germans have applied to leave too.

Descendants of settlers originally invited in the 18th century by Catharine the Second, the Germans have begun employing the same tactics to plead their case as the Jews have used. They have staged demonstrations and sit-ins and distributed petitions which inevitably find their way to foreign correspondents posted in Moscow.

Recently they have also turned to underground samizdat publishing with a journal called *Re Patria*. It deals with Soviet Germans' history and culture, preservation of their language and literature, their legal struggle for emigration and their campaign to restore the Volga German Autonomous Republic dissolved by Stalin during World War II. One section of the publication provides a search and location service for relatives missing since the Germans' forcible deportation from the Volga basin to Kazakhstan and Siberia during the war.

Even the Meskhetians, a small Moslem group deported from their native region in the Caucasus during the war because Stalin questioned their loyalty, have been campaigning for permission to emigrate to Turkey.

In Ukraine, the second-largest Soviet republic and potentially the most viable as an independent nation, hundreds of prominent intellectuals have been pleading for more cultural and economic independence. Thus their pleas have been met with massive propaganda campaigns, arrests and stiff prison terms.

The best known case at present is that of Valentyn Moroz, a historian serving a 14-year, prison, labor camp and exile sentence for his underground essays against Russification and Russian chauvinist policies in the republic. Moroz is one of scores of Ukrainian intellectuals arrested and imprisoned in the past two years.

In the three Baltic republics, especially Lithuania, there have been bloody clashes between national-minded

and religiously motivated youths and the police since the self-immolation of a 20-year-old Lithuanian Catholic student in May 1972.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are in a special category, having been independent from 1918 until 1940, when they were occupied by the Soviet army and incorporated into the USSR.

The major complaint in all three has been about the incursion of Russians and Moscow's attempts to impose cultural and economic hegemony.

The problem in Lithuania is compounded by official Kremlin suppression of the Catholic Church, which has played an important role in Lithuanian history and is symbolic with Lithuanian nationhood. An underground "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" has been published there since the summer of 1972. A series of massive KGB crackdowns, apparently involving scores of house searches and the arrest of dozens of its contributors, have thus far failed to suppress it.

A 10th issue of the chronicle recently reached the West and shows that the clandestine journal is becoming less religious and more political and nationalist in character. It reported on trials of dissenters and the drive against amateur ethnographers and people engaged in the study of regional folklore and the history of Lithuania and Latvia.

Among the articles was a report on the trial of a group of students, sentenced to terms of two to six years for forming an "underground organization" which militated against Russian chauvinism and Lithuania's cultural "de-nationalization".

Further unrest has been stirred by recent Soviet attempts to curb the Baltic Republics relative freedom in literature and the arts and the planned forcible relocation of 100,000 Lithuanian peasants from scattered villages into centralized "agro towns".

Potentially the most volatile, though far the quietest area, is Soviet Central Asia. Although there have been reports of occasional racial clashes between

Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Tadzhiks on the one hand and Russians on the other, Soviet officialdom has tried to tread softly in these republics bordering or close to China.

But in Kazakhstan there have recently been stirrings of Pan-Turkism.

Once in a rare moment, a Soviet newspaper or magazine today will admit that relations between the races aren't what they are reported to be.

But the general practice and official policy is to ignore it and to accuse those who raise the issue of being "anti-Soviet" or "agents of foreign propaganda".

And that, as a Moscow journalist once confided, poses the greatest dilemma.

The Plea To Arrest Shelepin Vanished

Axel Pringer Dienst published the following news on the 31st January:

Luckily for Alexander Shelepin and the Social-Liberal government 'point of view', somewhere between Karlsruhe and Munich a message demanding the arrest of the ex-chief of the Soviet Secret Service, was lost.

The widow and three children of nationalist leader Stephan Bandera who was killed in Munich in 1959 at the order of Alexander Shelepin who is now visiting the German Trade Union's chief Oscar Vetter, submitted a plea to the Federal Court in Karlsruhe to arrest murderer Shelepin. Because Shelepin was sentenced by the German Federal Supreme Court as the orderer of Stephan Bandera's murder, the family demanded that Shelepin should be arrested on the German territory and punished for his criminal guilt.

The Federal Minister of Justice Hans-Joseph Vogel left the prosecution of Shelepin to the competent authorities to deal with and at the same time informed the Lands Ministers of Justice that Bonn does not put this case as an important matter.

News and Views

Détente and the Military Balance

It is generally assumed in the West that **détente** by its very nature reduces the need for reliance on military strength. It is thought that relaxation in international tension is the obvious occasion to reduce military establishments and to run down weapons programmes. An inspection of military programmes in the Soviet Union and among its allies, however, shows that they do not share this Western view. Even in simple numerical terms, **détente** has brought no diminution, nor even a levelling, but rather a programme to expand both Soviet strategic offensive and defensive systems, as well as adding to the capacities of general purpose or "conventional" ground, sea and air forces. Behind these military armament programmes lies an extensive defence programme, a major military training programme for Soviet adolescents and a mass of well-trained reservists, continually swelled by the Soviet conscript system. In brief, there is **no** sector of Soviet military policy where expansion, diversification and modernisation cannot be observed. The growth of the Soviet Navy serves as but one example of this relentless process.

In terms of strategic offensive weapons the SALT1 agreements of 1972 served the Soviet Union handsomely, investing it with a 40% advantage in ICBMs — 1618 for the Soviet Union to 1,054 for the United States — and missile-launching submarines — 62 to 64, over 30% more submarine-launched ballistic missiles — 950 to 710 and a massive three-fold lead over the United States in total destructive power. It was argued, nonetheless, at the time that the United States could afford this numerical disadvantage by virtue of superiority in technology,

namely, the multiple independent targetable warhead (MIRV). Strategic bomber forces were not included in this initial agreement. In the 21 months that elapsed after the SALT-1 agreement, the Soviet command steadily increased its submarine missile strength to some 580: numbers, however, tell only part of the story, since four **new** ICBMs with large yield have been developed; an improved version of the DELTA-class missile-carrying submarine, capable of carrying sixteen rather than twelve 4,000-mile range SLBMs is under development; and at least one of the new ICBMs is mobile. All the while ICBM plants have been modernised, facilities for testing missile engines expanded, and new "cold launch" techniques for ICBMs developed, utilising varied diameter canisters enables the Soviet Union to circumvent the SALT-1 limitation on numbers of **missile silos**, since they make it possible for one silo to house a range of missile types. Thus, the "numbers game" has been exploited in favour of the Soviet Union; while the other factor which it was believed at the time of SALT-1 would prevent the balance of advantage from tipping in the Soviet favour, namely US superiority in technological innovation has crumbled. The Soviet Union has itself developed MIRVs for its massive new ICBMs, thereby compounding the Soviet lead both in numbers and in missile throw-weight (meaning MIRVs on bigger missiles). Meanwhile, a new strategic bomber, the BACKFIRE, is entering the Soviet arsenal and adds to the strategic offensive potential while the USAF B-1 strategic bomber is not yet in full production.

While the Soviet MIRV is disquieting, the most alarming element of the strategic weapons build-up is its scope

and rate, with significant long-term implications. The pattern of **détente** based on undisputed Soviet strategic superiority has not been fully explored in the West. Existing evidence is sufficient to suggest that military superiority is incompatible with the mode of political accommodation which is what the West thinks **détente** ought to be. This kind of **détente** could best be served if the Soviet Union accepted this conception. The crisis at the SALT-2 negotiations tends to confirm that it does not.

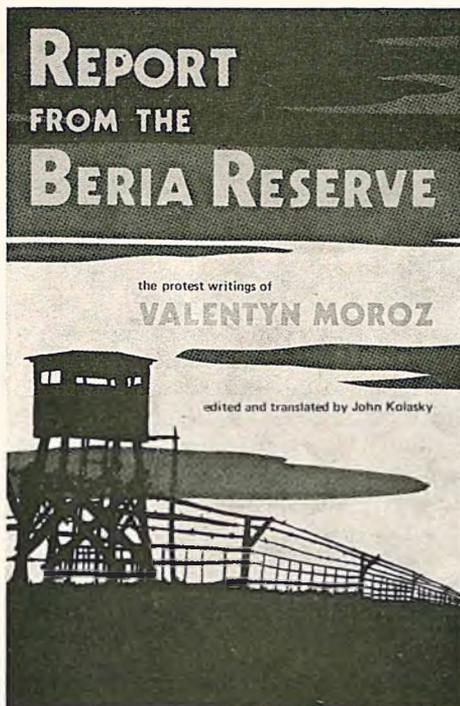
Meanwhile, the Soviet general purpose forces have grown and continue to grow. The Soviet Navy, modern and powerfully armed with a wide range of missiles, displays its oceanic presence and presents an oceanic challenge. The Soviet Air Force modernises and improves its tactical air power, with ultra-modern aircraft, such as the FOXBAT, and significantly adds to its capacity for strategic and medium-range air-lift; this was shown in the recent Middle East War. It is in the European theatre,

however, that Soviet policies of military reinforcement expose the emptiness of the talk of political **détente**. Over the past 5 or 6 years, the ground forces of the Soviet Union, which form the core of the power of the Warsaw Pact Countries, have undergone major improvements in combat capacity. In the past three years some 9,000 tanks have been added to the Soviet tank force, more than 4,000 armoured personnel carriers have been introduced into Eastern Europe, tactical air power has been improved both in quantity and quality, the number of nuclear weapons assigned to the ground forces has been increased, more than 1,000 additional guns have been provided for the Soviet divisions and stocks of conventional ammunition have been augmented. A marked improvement has also taken place in the Soviet logistical system, with emphasis on serving armoured and missile units. The net result is to give the Soviet command a preponderance in the European theatre of at least 3:1 in armour and of more than 2:1 in tactical aircraft. And once again, in line with the SALT-2 negotiations, Soviet conduct during the present (1974) talks on the reductions of forces shows no sign of yielding any element of this superiority.

Even on this brief inspection, the Soviet policy of preaching **détente** while increasing military strength is demonstrably the reverse of our own. More than that, however, the **détente** sought by the Soviet Union is viewed by that country not as the justification for accepting the prevailing military balance, but as an opportunity to spurt forward towards unchallengeable superiority.

East - West Digest (1974)

Is it not love that unites, builds
and creates, just as enmity de-
stroy's? Hryhoriy Skovoroda



Book Reviews

What Everyone In The Free World Should Know About Russia

by Jan V. Nanuashvili

The author is a native Georgian, a former citizen and soldier of the Soviet Union. Through his first hand experience he gives us a thorough study of Russian imperialistic drive from Ivan the Terrible to the present day.

As a special example he details the history of his homeland Georgia which was incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1783 after a breach of obligations and promises on the Russian part.

He divides the western world into three camps: The first constitutes the USSR, the second the West, the third the subjugated nations. There is the constant struggle and resistance. Maneuvering for position in the cold war,

has tended to help Russians. He emphasizes that the nations under Russian domination will eventually fight for their freedom and only with the freedom of all these nations can be founded the durable and solid peace on the Eurasian continent.

The author raises some intriguing questions of the western World's Wars I and II and their inability to curb Russian expansionism. He does conclude that Russia can be contained within her ethnographical borders and the time is ripe for it.

Published by Vantage Press, Inc.,
516 West 34th Street, New York, N. Y.
10001.

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NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

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Redaktion och ansvarig utgivare:

Jur kand Bertil Häggman, S:ta Gertruds väg 92, 593 00 Västervik.

L'EST EUROPEEN

Les abonnements sont à souscrire à L'Est Européen,
Boîte Postale 351 - Paris 9^e - C.C.P. : La Source 30 754 04.



RESISTENCIA y LIBERACION

A B N - BOLETIN DE NOTICIAS DE LOS PAISES OPRIMIDOS POR EL IMPERIALISMO
MOSCOVITA SOVIETICO

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.

„MILLI TURKISTAN“ — P. O. B. 2112, 4 Düsseldorf (Germany)

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

Millions Of Poor Vietnamese Escaping Communist Hell

Betrayed By The Mighty Powers — So help them !



Horror-stricken at the sight of father carrying his dead child

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ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antiboldshevik 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.

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Annual subscription DM 18,— in Germany, 9 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 9 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 Antiboldshevistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN),
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon: 48 25 32

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

An Alternative To The So-called Balance Of Power, Cooperation And Convergence Politics

The Western powers carry on politics from their position and in their interests, not always understanding the essence of Russian expansionist policy. Neither the policy of appeasement, nor co-operation have up to now halted Russia's goal of world domination, which is being systematically pursued regardless of policy and conceptions of the West.

There exists one alternative to today's variations of western politics — the policy of liberation. It is the alternative to all Western conceptions of politics so far, including that of bipolarity, modified into multipolarity in the s. c. balance of power, between two or five centres of power, respectively, starting from these universal truths;

a) Each nation has the right to a national independent state on its own territory;

b) Each person is guaranteed human rights by the laws of nature and of God;

c) Each nation has the right to organize its life according to its own will, its own decisions and its own aspirations;

d) The sovereignty of a nation requires all attributes inherent in this right and privilege to be put into practice, such as its own diplomatic missions, its own legislative body, complete independence from any imperial centre and the withdrawal of any occupation forces from its territory;

e) All forcible state associations such as "unions" and "federations" constitute a historical anachronism;

f) Any kind of imperialism, colonialism, chauvinism, racism, tutelage, subjugation and exploitation must be wiped out;

g) The UN Charter, UN Resolution On Decolonization and The Universal Declaration of Human Rights must be realised throughout the world, including USSR — the Russian colonial empire — and all Communist dominated countries.

The West should:

a) Initiate an offensive policy of liberation with respect to the Russian prison of nations and individuals, confronting the afore-mentioned universal national and human rights with the reality in the prison of nations and the terror, genocide, murder, concentration camps, persecution and forced integration within this prison;

b) Fight for the disintegration of the Russian colonial empire — USSR — into national independent states of the subjugated nations and the liquidation of the Communist system.

c) Carry on this offensive systematically and according to a plan, placing aggressor and colonialist into a hopeless situation;

d) Continually mobilize public opinion against the trampling of the fundamental rights of nations and human beings, referring to the attributes of a sovereign nation and the human rights and always be in the offensive psychologically;

e) Point out the discrepancy between the demands of Russian imperialists and colonialists, in connection with newly founded states of Africa, the attributes of sovereignty demanded for them by Russia and the attributes of sovereignty of s. c. sovereign republics in the USSR, or the satellites where Russian occupation forces are stationed;

f) Break off all relations with the USSR, referring to the violation of the basic national and human rights;

g) Recognise as spokesman of the subjugated nations not Russian puppet governments which are imposed on them, but the representatives of the national liberation movements;

h) Give political and moral support to the liberation movements of the subjugated nations;

i) Eliminate the UN as a forum for Russian and Communist diversion and propaganda;

j) Create a new international organization with representatives of the subjugated nations, and not of Russian puppet governments;

k) Confront systematically the ideologies and politics of two diametrically opposed worlds and values: the free world and the world of tyranny, continually requesting the decolonization of Europe and Asia and carrying it out throughout the whole world, infiltrating freedom-loving ideas from all sides into the realm of tyranny and making the Free World join the struggle of the subjugated nations and individuals instead of giving them up as a prey to the tyrants at the cost of the future loss of freedom for the still free world;

l) Oppose "the convergence of two systems" and fight against the system of tyranny, with political confrontation instead of co-operation and support for the subjugated, not the subjugators.

International development confirming this position — from empires to national states — the historical reality of numerous new nations becoming independent, the tripling of UN members since its foundation along with the detection of the mendacity of the USSR ought to systematically drive it into a defensive position. The fact that the USSR itself refers to the sovereign attributes of the newly founded states on the ruins of western empires — undermines the prison of nations, the enslaved confronting the fictitious non-existent sovereignty of their so-called republics with the actual sovereignty of the newly founded nation states.

In fact the Russian prison of nations is closely surrounded by sovereign nations of the whole world, and will not be able to continue its existence amidst these nation states when this fact is presented as a political issue in connection with the complete decolonization of the world, including Europe and Asia.

If Russia supports the so-called anti-colonial movements in the remnants of Western empires, the West is compelled to give universal support to the national liberation movements of the European and Asian nations imprisoned in the USSR and its satellites, contributing these to the decolonization process of the world, decided even by the UN in the Resolution on world decolonization; western spokesmen, however, flowing in the waterways of the USSR have limited this process to no longer existing western empires, preparing their own disaster, **the largest colonial prison of nations in the world — the USSR**. The USSR is not the subject of political attack by Western anti-colonialist governments in connection with the essential issue of the national subjugation of numerous nations. The economy of the USSR undermines the system and leads the empire into a permanent crisis due to the unnatural Communist principle of economics and the resistance offered by the subjugated nations and individuals. From the beginning of the existence of the Russian Communist empire, this empire and system were constantly saved in the times of crisis by western states. In particular Nixon's, Kissinger's and Brandt's economic policies contributed to the consolidation of the enslavement of nations and individuals. Unrequited economic preference enables the USSR to build up its war technology, whilst the West helps it in all possible areas to develop its non-existent peace-time economy. The aid to the so-called peace-time economy, a differentiation between what serves peace and what serves war being practically impossible — results in that the USSR directs its economic potential mainly towards the war industry. While "Fiat" builds cars, "Volga" is building tanks or rockets. The West does not help the subjugated, but the subjugators. Instead of developing Siberia for Russia, it is preferable to support the resistance movement against the occupants. Moreover, the West has had enough practice in feeding its grave-diggers.

INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT
by VALENTYN MOROZ

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

Published by
Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67

Richard H. Ichord (US Congressman)

Is Détente Worth The Price ?

The world today is still locked into a life and death struggle between the forces of freedom and the forces of tyranny. I strongly believe in conformity with the founding fathers of the United States of America that man has a God-given right to be free. No man ever chooses to live in slavery! Those living in totalitarian societies at this very moment would long to be here with us today if they had the choice to do so. Perhaps there are those living in the world who have never known the taste of freedom and would be hesitant to venture away from the only life they have known, but I feel that only a small portion of those living in Communist lands would fall into that category. I am very concerned, however, that all too many of those living in the luxury of freedom having never known what it is like to lose this precious gift of God do not really appreciate the liberty they enjoy. Freedom — like good health — is a treasure that many people don't really appreciate until they lose it. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a man who knows from first-hand experience what it is like to live without freedom, made this very astute observation in the seventh section of "The Gulag Archipelago":

"Oh, freedom-loving 'leftist' thinkers of the West! Oh, leftist Laborites! Oh, progressive American, German, and French students! For you, all (that I have written) counts for little. For you, my entire book amounts to nothing. You will only understand it all when they bellow at you — 'hands behind your back' — as you yourselves trudge off to our archipelago."

The President of the United States tells us that we have moved from the age of confrontation into the age of détente — that the goal of his administration is to create a generation of peace.

Certainly we all share the hope of seeing peace in the world — no rational man wants war. Yet, we cannot help but ask ourselves: what price are we willing to pay for détente? What type of peace are we really talking about? What does the free world have to gain and/or to lose by the course we are following at the present time? What risks are reasonable for us to take in our pursuit for better relations and understanding between the two superpowers? The answer or answers to many of these questions will depend to some degree upon our definition of détente to which I shall shortly turn my attention.

First, let me make the point that we must consider the fact that the world situation has changed drastically in the past twenty years and the balance of military power has shifted. We may not want this to be so but we have to face the realities of the matter. At the time of the Korean War, the uprising by the Hungarian freedom fighters, the Berlin crisis, the Cuban missile crisis, the United States of America was the unchallenged military power in the world with absolute strategic superiority. At that time, US policy was that we could best preserve peace in the world by maintaining military superiority. During the course of the 60's, our military policy changed from superiority to parity and "assured destruction". In other words, the powers that be in the high counsels of government made the determination that we could control the Soviet nuclear threat by maintaining the ability to retaliate in kind if they launched a nuclear attack. The balance of military power in the world is in a very precarious position with the Soviet Russians now holding superiority in virtually every area except in the most advanced technology.

Yet, the struggle between the free world and Communist bloc countries has never been limited to a simple military struggle: the economic and political struggles are certainly of equal if not greater importance. We have to some degree understood the basic military, economic, and political conflicts between the free system of government and the Communist system, but we have never quite understood still a fourth dimension of struggle — the psychological struggle for men's minds and loyalties. We don't define terms and mean the same thing by our words as do the Communists. For example, what does the word "détente" mean to us and what does it mean to the Communist? I am not totally certain exactly what "détente" means to this administration, and I am totally convinced that it means something entirely different to the Communist than it does to us. The dictionary defines "détente" as a relating of tensions and a bringing together of two rival camps. Does this mean that the Soviet Russians have abandoned their goal of world conquest? Are they now ready to cease fanning the fires of revolution all over the world and to stop supporting so-called "wars of national liberation" in Vietnam, the Middle East and anywhere else there seems to be a chance for a Communist takeover? Are the Soviet Russians now ready to redirect their priorities from military to domestic concerns and truly join the family of peaceful nations? If so, where is the evidence? I submit to you that such an examination of the evidence indicates exactly the opposite is true.

To properly understand the meaning of détente from the Soviet point of view and the challenge we are facing we must clearly understand what they mean by "peaceful co-existence". I am convinced that the average American believes that "peaceful co-existence" means "live and let live" just like he feels that détente means that the Soviets have somehow given up their goal of world domination. Yet, all of

the Soviet Russian leaders from Khrushchev to Brezhnev have taken great pains to emphasize that "peaceful co-existence" does not mean the abandonment of the struggle with the West and that there can be no such thing as a long term co-existence with bourgeois ideology. Quite to the contrary, they make no secret of the fact that "peaceful co-existence" is only a temporary strategy or a temporary stage in their "life and death" conflict with capitalism. Khrushchev stated the point very descriptively in January of 1961:

"The policy of peaceful co-existence, as regards its social content, as a form of intense economic, political and ideological struggle of the proletariat - against the aggressive forces of imperialism in the international arena."

Brezhnev, the father of Soviet détente, told the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March of 1966:

"It goes without saying that there can be no peaceful co-existence where matters concern the international process of class and national liberation struggle in the capitalist countries or in the colonies. Peaceful co-existence is not applicable to the relations between oppressors and the oppressed."

In the February, 1973, issue of the **World Marxist Review**, an article written by Kurt Erleback, Presidium Member of the Communist Party of East Germany, makes the most important point:

"Peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems is not new in socialist foreign policy. Its essence was disclosed by Lenin and world revolutionary change has made it one of the sharpest issues of our times. The successful struggle to impose it on the imperialists represents a vast achievement for all the revolutionary forces. "Lenin considered peaceful co-exist-

ence with bourgeois states possible only for a short time and to be adapted to an international situation on the understanding that it could at any time be replaced by military confrontation to extend the revolution. Cooperation with bourgeois states, therefore, was likewise possible only to a limited extent."

Similar definitions have been parroted by the Communist Party, USA, over the years. It is clear beyond a doubt that the Communists know what they mean by "peaceful co-existence" and have been extremely consistent in their definition of this type of struggle. Yet, confusion remains on the part of the American leaders dealing with their Communist counterparts. Détente is an outgrowth of peaceful co-existence and a further extension of the Communist goal of obtaining from the West certain things that they want and feel that they need in the overall struggle. In a speech in Cuba in 1972 honoring Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, Brezhnev reaffirmed support for "all the revolutionary forces of our time" and declared that the détente with the United States in no way signified a possibility of the weakening of the ideological struggle with the West.

This brings us down to the practical point of asking what do we want from détente and what can we expect to obtain? What do the Soviets want from détente and what do they expect to receive? What price have we already paid for détente? How great are the prospects for détente leading to a lasting peace? And what price should we be willing to pay for the goals that we hope to achieve?

In 1970 Romania suffered extensive damage due to floods. Some countries rushed aid to the stricken areas. According to one anecdote the Americans sent 2 million dollars, the Chinese \$ 5 million and the Russians sent hand-books on how to swim.

It is quite obvious that the Soviet Russians are seeking economic gains and military concessions. They want American goods, credits, and technology to expand and improve their staggering economy. They also hope to receive similar military concessions in SALT II as they received in SALT I. The United States, on the other hand, appears to be striving only for political moderation and cooperation from the Soviet Russians and a slowing down of the arms race together with an eventual, mutually balanced troop and arms reduction.

How is each side faring in its pursuits? Based on the evidence I have been able to obtain, the Soviet Russians are coming out much better than we are at this point in time. Let's look at the record: on July 8, 1972, the Commodity Credit Corporation agreed to loan the Soviets \$ 750 million at 6 1/8 percent interest to purchase \$ 750 million worth of wheat from private US exporters. This sale of wheat to the Soviets at a subsidized price and interest rate saved the Russians from a famine, allowed them to withstand the pressure to reform their system of collectivization of the farming industry, and cost the American taxpayer some \$ 300 million in subsidies in addition to a tremendous inflationary rise in the cost of food. Secondly, in a secret agreement on October 18, 1972 the Administration agreed to loan the Soviets up to \$ 500,000,000 in Export-Import Bank credits at a 6% interest rate before we would require the Soviets to submit financial information required for all EXIM Bank transactions. Most of the requested loans have already been granted and preparations are being made for even larger loans and exportation of American technology. Thirdly, it now appears clear that the eagerly sought Soviet signature to the first installment of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) may have locked the US into second place in strategic power. I would conclude based on

these facts that the Soviet Russians are coming out very well in the initial stages of détente.

What about our side? What concrete expressions of cooperation and friendship have we experienced from the Soviet side? Honesty would compel me to speculate that the Russians probably did offer some assistance in the Vietnam settlement. However, this may not have been much of a concession for them since it still appears that we are in great danger of losing South Vietnam in the long run. The Soviets certainly were of no help in the Middle East crisis — they armed the Egyptians and Syrians to the hilt, their threatened intervention in the war caused us to put our troops on worldwide alert, they not only made no contribution to the cease fire, and they encouraged the Arabs to use their oil won dollars to disrupt Western currencies. The Russians have all but scuttled the European Security Conference aimed at a reduction of forces between the NATO and WARSAW Pact countries and as I mentioned earlier, taken advantage of the SALT I agreements to engage in a new arms race.

These facts all lead me to the conclusion that we are paying a very high price for détente and appear to be willing to pay an even higher price in spite of every indication that the Soviets are pressing ahead with each of our concessions to further their goal of world domination. In recent months, I have led a fight in the Congress to force the Export-Import Bank to refrain from making any further loans to the Soviets until Congress has had the opportunity to thoroughly debate all the ramifications of our giving credit and technology to the Russians and until we have worked out some of the basic problems between our two societies.

How can we offer the Soviet Union huge loans of American money — at low interest incidentally — and make our modern technology available to them and yet have the President turn

around and request a record-breaking \$ 85 billion plus budget for defense? Now I certainly am not opposed to spending \$ 85 billion or whatever we need to maintain the military strength we need to defend ourselves and the free world. As a matter of fact, I have consistently fought for more money for research and development in order that we do not lose what advanced technological lead we have over the Soviets. But what I am saying is how can we justify loans and assistance that will make them better able to divert even more of their money and resources to military matters and then have to spend even more ourselves to keep up?

My standard approach is to ask why we spend over \$ 80 billion dollars for defense in the first place. Surely we are not worried about some military threat from Cuba, India, North Vietnam or even Red China! No, we are worried about the Soviet military threat. The Soviet Union is now engaged in the largest peace-time military buildup in the history of man. By the Soviet Union's own suspect figures they are spending as much or more on military matters as we are, which would represent over 12 % of their GNP. When you consider that the United States spends some 55 % of its defense budget for manpower compared to 25 % of the Soviet budget for manpower, this means that they are spending at least \$ 20 to \$ 25 billion more each year on military weapons systems and hardware than the United States is spending. In the face of all this, on January 8, 1974 the Soviet Defense Minister called for the strengthening of the Soviet military might and additional military spending. This would lead me to conclude that détente is not working in the most important area.

Apparently, turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to this Soviet military buildup and their lack of commitment to a really meaningful détente, that lessens tensions in the world, we are even be-

ing urged by the Administration and some business leaders to volunteer our financial resources and technology for the development of the Soviet oil and gas fields in Siberia. Rather extensive plans have been drawn up which would ultimately involve the United States in investments of over \$ 10 billion in loans and extensive use of our drilling and pipeline technology to develop the oil and gas reserves in Western and Eastern Siberia in return for a Soviet Russian promise that they would repay us with the extracted product. Such a proposal completely ignores the national security interest of this nation and would cause us to become partly dependent upon the Russians for our vital energy needs.

In my efforts to block further loans to the Soviet Union, I have focused my attention especially on these proposed oil and gas deals and hopefully — in view of the fact I obtained 223 co-sponsors, a majority of the membership of the House of Representatives, for my resolution calling for a moratorium on credits to the Soviet Union — these transactions have been halted for the present. The real fight will come in the next few weeks when we consider the bill to extend the life of the Export-Import Bank and the proposal to expand their loaning authority from \$ 20 to \$ 30 billion dollars.

I intend to insist that provisions are included in the Export-Import Bank legislation that will extend and preserve congressional control over the policies of the bank. I will further insist that any future loans to the Soviet Union be contingent upon a re-ordering of priorities on their part from a military oriented economy to a domestic economy. If they want our money and technology let them abandon their aggressive ways and show signs of working for peace in the world. This leads me to another point that those of us who love freedom cannot ignore. I do not like as a general rule to meddle in the internal affairs of other nations but I

cannot love my freedom without sympathizing with and striving to improve the lot of those who are denied it.

A source of constant concern to a bi-partisan majority of the Congress is the matter of granting concessions or otherwise extending favors to the Soviet Union while that Communist tyranny and its satellites continue the persecution of the peoples for their intellectual, political or religious beliefs.

Thanks to a relatively few brave men and women who have had the courage to write and to speak out despite the awful prospect of confinement in labor or concentration camps, mental hospitals or one of the scores of Soviet prisons, we have been able to verify the dimensions of the terror that has gripped the USSR since Lenin's time, destroying or crippling tens of millions of people.

We know the same cruel oppression exists in Communist Cuba and the Communist-run states in Asia — mainland China, North Korea and North Vietnam. We know it was about to occur in Chile under Salvador Allende until the people themselves, aided by their army, brought that ill-starred regime to an end.

And we know from the experience of many that the Communist system which has already enslaved half the world can, ultimately, enslave us all if we let down our guard, relax our vigilance and fail to compete on every front with the Communist challenge.

The world in this last part of the Twentieth Century must not — not more than could these United States during the presidency of Abraham Lincoln — continue half slave and half free without vigorous and unrelenting protest from all free men.

Frankly, I am far more inclined to heed the advice of those who have experienced the suffering of the oppressed under Communism than the rather

wishful thinking that I sense among those who argue that détente is so beneficial that we should extend the credit and technological knowhow of the United States as a concession for détente's continuation.

I see no evidence of the benefits of détente — except to the Soviet Russians. I see no evidence of a Soviet willingness to provide any quid pro quo for the concessions we are presently considering. I see no evidence that the Soviets and their Communist satellites are prepared to extend civil

and human rights to their peoples or to opt for greater freedom.

Those of us who believe in freedom must remain unremitting in our determination not to pay the high price of détente presently being demanded by the Communists. If the Communist world wants to pick America's brains and pocketbook, it is up to them to pay the price and that price is no higher than the simple, clear granting of those inalienable rights of man: those freedoms which are fundamental to any free society.

A. Radygin

Estonians And Georgians In Russian Concentration Camps

I am often asked how I, raised on different principles and traditions have such sympathy, such understanding of justice and such a desire to support or even to help the cause of nations different from mine.

It is not an easy answer.

I became acquainted with Estonians late in my youth. Separated from them by language, I did not understand much, did not notice much of what was obvious to all of them and their pain. From the second invasion in 1944 and until the time that I came to Estonia people were disappearing either from our village or from the neighboring one. In the cultural centre, which was a beehive of activity, all things Estonian also began to disappear: Estonian music, dances, language . . . The faces of my Estonian friends became grimmer and grimmer. The composition of the dance and drama group became more and more Russian and finally there was not a single Estonian left . . . They were not interested in dancing.

Later on I met in prison one of the native Estonian young men (I cannot give his name, for he is still there), who told me about the cruel and merciless purge that was going on that time; then I understood how blind I had been; I was as blind as the Russian population, who does not want to see the evil and through their indifference force this evil on the nations "liberated" by them.

This was not the first time that this small, hard working nation had suffered. Even then I had noticed that the Estonians spoke about "the German period" the "Estonian period" (those were the twenty happy years of Estonian history, without the "older brother" and our period — "the Russian period".

Even then it seemed strange to me: "How is this possible? The country is Estonia, the population is Estonian, the language on the whole is Estonian, but the period is Russian? So a nation no longer had their own period? But this was so . . ." I was impressed by the Estonians' approach to work, their punctuality and their cleanliness. I was impressed by their musicality; almost every Estonian played some sort of instrument, and very well, and all of them sang and danced. I was especially impressed that from the youngest to the oldest they sang und danced as much as they could; this was considered completely natural at a time, where in most countries old people were only listeners. The Estonian rhymes and melodies were not as rich as those of the Ukrainians or Georgians, but there was an innumerable number of folk-songs and a constant desire to sing them. I was impressed by the fact that the Estonians adopted and translated, all that was good in foreign music. Later I learned about the unusual courage of Baltic patriots, who for many years, without any hope for victory, fought against the overwhelming power of the invaders. The Estonian sense of virtue, moral and physical cleanliness, their hard work and their determination during hard times, have all left a mark on my soul.

I became better acquainted with Georgians only in prison. Their chivalrous magnanimity to a person of a different nationality, the desire to do and say good, to meet and deal with people openly and honestly is well known to all. But it is behind bars that these qualities become truly precious and serve as examples for all. I will never forget that Georgians, no matter from what part of the country they came and how little they knew each other, if placed in the same cell, would automatically begin to sing; after a few songs a beautiful choir would be formed. They sang softly but oh how beautifully. What voices, what a feeling for harmony, what love for the native word and song. Even though I did not understand the words I asked "More, more". They told a tale about it: when God was dividing the earth among people, giving the Pyrenees to the Spaniards, and the Peleponesus to the Greeks, the Georgians, being late, had nothing left. However, God took such a liking to them, to their songs and dances that he was moved to say: "Well, I will give you that part of the earth that I was saving for myself." He then gave them Georgia. There is something poetic in that tale, something filled with an unbounded love for their country. **(Te bo continued)**

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

Benjamin Franklin

Admiral John McCain, Jr., USN (Ret.)

Communist Military Threat And National Liberation Of Peoples In The USSR And The Satellite States

(Speech delivered at the Seventh Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) — April 1975, in Washington, D. C.)

General Lane, ladies and gentlemen, again speaking from a brand new position, namely that on the floor of the house, I want to point out to you first that the free world and the United States are in a grave and dangerous situation. I don't believe that I have to tell any of you in this room of this fact, because the future is certainly hanging in the balance. If ever before in the history of the world, and it has occurred before previously, never before, however to the degree that it applies today are the actions of such nations as the United States and other nations that are represented in this conference, as necessary as they are if men are going to lead the free life that they should lead in a world such as we are a part of today.

Well 1918, you might say, started the real decline of the British Empire. As you are well aware, for two centuries the British held a great number of strategic points throughout the world, and when I speak of strategic points, I'm not speaking purely from a military viewpoint, but I'm also speaking from the standpoint of psychology and also from the standpoint of pure economy, and at the end of World War II, we began to see the decline of this empire as was known to that time.

If you will look at this chart here where you see those ellipses, throughout the world there are a number of points that the British held which, in turn, you will notice, controlled such vital waterways as the Suez Canal, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Straits of Malacca. They did not have to be concerned about the Panama Canal because the United States had that; how-

ever, as a safeguard, there was still the British West Indies.

Now also there was Malta in the Mediterranean; there were such other islands throughout as indicated as you see there. Now the point that I want to make to you is that with the decline of the British Empire, these ellipses began to evaporate or disappear, and as they did, there was a strong movement on the part of Communist governments, particularly Soviet Russia, to move in on areas as indicated here.

Now as we take a look at the next slide showing what these people were doing you can see, for example, they were interested in the Seychelles and the Mauritian Islands in the Indian Ocean. As you will also recall, very recently in Malta the Chinese Nationalists were evicted, and now there is only a Red Chinese embassy there. The Russians have someplace in the neighborhood of several thousand military advisors in Cuba, and Cuba controls the approaches to the Panama Canal.

There is the Island of Socotra off the Red Sea, which controls the approaches to the Suez Canal — in which Russia has shown great interest — and there are many other points of this sort that I can make to you as indicated by the number of ellipses on this chart that you see here.

Now Soviet Russia has also planted in a small number of strategic points, buoys such as you see here. These buoys are for the purpose of anchoring or tying their ships so that they can replenish and at the same time repair any machinery which may be in need of repair at that time. I want to thank Soviet Russia because they were kind

enough to put across the top of this buoy, as you can see, "Property of the USSR" in English so that the very poorly educated like myself can read whom it belongs to.

Now another point is that Soviet Russia has introduced into the oceans a certain number of anchorages throughout the world where they will anchor a naval task force overnight and again, at those points say, take aboard food, supplies, oil and other necessary items to maintain voyaging at sea.

Now when I was Commander in Chief of the Pacific, my headquarters were at Makalapa Heights, up on the Island of Oahu, and they looked down on the broad expanses of the Pacific Ocean. The Soviets sent in a naval task force which anchored off of Maui: they stayed there overnight; they replenished, repaired and did just what I've been saying to you several times already. The next morning they got underway. They steamed within full sight of my headquarters and at some subsequent point turned north and I suspect toward Vladivostok or that section of Soviet Russia.

Now in this concept of strategic islands that I'm discussing with you, strategic islands are not necessarily islands surrounded by water. In a broader sense, they are entities or centers either on land or at sea from which Soviet Russia can and does project power and this power is in several categories: political, economic, military and psychological. And I want to emphasize to you again and again in this world in which we are living there is no such thing as just pure military power. It has its association with political and other factors as these nations of the world move through time.

Now, up to Stalin's death, this was considered practically a solid bloc all the way from Eastern Europe to the Pacific, and on his death, this broke down into a number of competing entities of which not the least, of course,

is that long border between Soviet Russia and Red China as shown here.

Now there are five areas in the world today, any one of which, getting out of control of the human race, could lead to catastrophic results, and I believe that the platform for World War III is being established now. But in any event, this has to do with that long border between Soviet Russia and Red China as shown there. It has to do with Eastern Asia, North and South Vietnam, the borders between India and Pakistan and Red China, again the Middle East, and finally the problems that the world is faced with in Central Europe, as shown there.

In the Pacific, the free world is faced with four powers: Russia, North Korea, Red China and North Vietnam, and I want to say this: in the four years that I had that command out there, we can thank God that these four powers did not get along because if they did, the problem would have been of unprecedented proportions.

Now again, too, Soviet strategy takes many forms and this moves through the entire gambit from military forces to military and economic aid, right on through to trade, and it finally ends up in the broad area so well known in the Communist world and our own as propaganda.

Now these are the reasons that you cannot take a look at any situation in the world and apply only a military yardstick because there are many other factors always involved where human beings live.

Soviet Russia, as far as the Pacific is concerned — and I might add that these are more than augmented by her forces in Europe, in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Indian Ocean — has an army of some 300,000; she has a navy of some 30 major combatant vessels and she has a large air force of over 1,000 jet bombers. But one of the things that is being done today is that she is moving seaward, Soviet Russia, and

she's not only moving seaward from a pure military viewpoint, but also from the standpoint of her merchant marines and from the standpoint of fishing industry, and you might be interested to know that during the Arab-Israeli crisis of October just passed, that where the United States had some 60 ships in the Mediterranean Sea, Soviet Russia had someplace in the neighborhood of 90.

Now, as far as a ballistic missile comparison is concerned, although these figures date back to 1972, you can rest assured that they're not much different today. The most important fact is that the growth of the missile capability of the United States as indicated by those two blue, vertical missiles, was much less than that junk as far as Soviet Russia is concerned, as indicated by the vertical red columns shown there. Again, too, the Communist world is moving into the launching or the capability of launching missiles from submarines at sea with the 62 Soviet missile submarines, as indicated here in this chart.

Now in 1968 when I was Commander in Chief of the US Naval Forces in Europe and my headquarters were in London, Soviet Russia had some 14, 11 to 14 ships operating in the Mediterranean Sea, and as you can see, this number jumped in 1972, to 52 ships in that year.

Now, what's more interesting, however, and I repeat to you again, is that during the Arab-Israeli crisis, the Russians had 90 ships operating in this sea where the United States only had 60. Now granted, the Russian ships did not include carriers — and I want to point out to you the importance of carriers, because they are a mobile air field from which you can project air power from the seas anyplace in the world it may become necessary to do so.

When I moved out and took that command in the Pacific, which included the Indian Ocean, I might add, and

Diego Garcia, you will notice how the numbers grew from — I think that number is five, there, isn't it? — three and then moved right on up to twenty five shown in that tallest column, and incidentally, that occurred during the India-Pakistan crisis. But I also want to point out to you, however, that these figures will grow and they are going to continue to grow as the Russians become more interested in the oceans of the world.

Now, when you take a look at the Indian Ocean, you will see there are a number of geographical locations with red dots and a number with yellow dots. Now where you see those red dots are points of specific interest of the Communist world as shown there. Where you see the yellow dots are nations of the free world, principally such nations as the United States, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, by way of example, and you will also notice that I have on this chart Diego Garcia right in the middle of the Indian Ocean. You can rest assured that the naval strategists, the military strategists of the world, recognize the importance of all of these points that I've shown you there on this chart.

Now as we move one step further and take a look, for example, at the island of Socotra, which I mentioned to you before, you can see the range of the Soviet Badger and the Soviet Bear plane from this island and what great command, from the standpoint of air power, it does give: it does control the approach to the Red Sea and subsequently, the Suez Canal.

Now when we take a look at Cuba and the Panama Canal — and Cuba, of course, is not in the most friendly status with the United States one might say — you can see what she can do with the Soviet Bear plane and the Soviet Badger plane, and I also want to point out to you that there are, again, some 2-3,000 Soviet military advisors in Cuba. Cuba controls the Caribbean Sea down there and also the appro-

aches to the Panama Canal, which is another one of these highly important waterways of the world through which a good percentage of the world's commerce passes. It is of profound importance to the United States in that if for no other reason, it provides ready access of the East to the West Coast of the United States in the passage of men-of-war in the event of trouble.

As we look at the oil situation, of course, this brings into sharp focus the Middle East. There isn't any question about the importance of the Middle East in the crisis of oil, as you all who are here in Washington, D. C., and other places recognize from the standpoint of a lack of heat sometimes. I certainly have trouble getting gasoline for my own automobile in the last two or three days in an effort to move around town in the fashion to which I was previously accustomed.

Now, again too, Japan is absolutely and completely dependent on external sources for not only oil but all of her other raw materials. Now where is this negotiation which is going on for this oil pipeline — from — to — all the way down to as shown on the chart, and in any sort of a mutual agreement between Japan and Russia, Japan is expected to donate someplace in the neighborhood of one billion dollars to this particular program.

Now, again too, Soviet military aid has contributed to the major trouble spots of the world and just some of them, of course, are indicated on this chart, the Middle East being not the least. It amounted to \$6.5 billion up to 1971, but this figure has continued to grow.

Now as far as Soviet aid, it is responsive, and within days after the overthrow in Libya, she had military aid in there. Again too, she has moved into South America for the first time with military aid to Ecuador. The rest is self-explanatory on this chart, as you see.

As far as Soviet military aid to non-Communist countries, you will notice

that 63% goes into the Middle East, as shown there.

As far as economic aid to non-Communist nations, someplace in the neighborhood of 60 some per cent is in the Middle East and Northern Africa, just to give you some idea of the importance of these areas.

As we get into other aspects, this is the Aeroflot line and I think that there's going to come a time in the history of the United States where we're going to regret extremely that we did not go into the supersonic transport as Russia has done, but you can see where this airline of Soviet Russia reaches.

When we get into the business of the merchant marine and fishing fleets, as far as the fishing fleets are concerned, there are about 4,000 ships, and there are a number of these fishing trawlers that are equipped with the electronic equipment to make them excellent — to use ordinary language — spy ships.

As far as the merchant marine is concerned, there's someplace in the neighborhood of over 1,000 ships and they visit someplace in the neighborhood of 800 different ports throughout the world.

As far as military advisers are concerned, they are spread through Africa and through the southern part of Asia, as shown here, and they're also in the Western Hemisphere.

There has been an increase in diplomatic activity throughout all of South America, as indicated on this chart.

As you know, the Soviets have these optical tracking stations worldwide and the only reason to bring this into focus is the fact that it joins in conjunction with all the other things I've said to you and that is this increasing presence of the Communist world, so to speak.

Now as far as Red China is concerned: 850 million people and they are just beginning to stir. The armed forces are astronomical as everything else is in Red China. Two and a half million personnel in their army, and you'll no-

tice she has a militia down there of 70 million personnel and also an air force of over 4,000 combat aircraft. Red China is no novice in the world in which we're living today and her expertise is increasing continually and constantly.

Now again, too, when you take Red China and take the medium range ballistic missile, which has a range of 1,200 miles, and draw that envelope, as you see, outside of Red China, you begin to see the full impact of the missiles. Red China is going into the intercontinental ballistic missile business or is expected to in the not too distant future.

Now as we look at the free world, there is a linkage of nations as shown here, starting with South Korea, to Japan, to Taiwan, down to Australia and New Zealand, the Philippines, Indonesia and we get up into Burma, Thailand and Cambodia and South Vietnam. They comprise another type of living entirely, namely, that of the free men of the world, and this is a highly important organization, as shown there, and if any link of that chain gives, then the free world is in for very serious trouble.

Now as far as the organization of SEATO is concerned, I worked with this organization for four years. I had previously worked with the organization of the United Nations for two years on the Security Council, and I would like to say to you distinguished ladies and gentlemen, that these international organizations are highly important if for no other reason than they make the member nations sit down in the same room. I go to know many, many friends in other countries that otherwise I would never have met had it not been for such multilateral organizations as SEATO, NATO, the United Nations, ANZUS — Australia, New Zealand and the United States — and to the right, a number of bilateral treaty arrangements with Japan, the Philippines, Korea and so forth.

Now there are certain regional arrangements out there of which the

United States is not a part. However, it behooves the United States, in one sense, to take an interest, because they do tend to balance out some of the other forces at work against peace. These regional organizations, as shown here, do act very strongly in that direction.

Now the Nixon Doctrine says we will honor our commitments, remain a Pacific power (I should say a world power as a matter of fact), continue our nuclear shield and furnish economic and military aid, but the threatened nation must assume its own responsibilities. This is the essence of this doctrine as I am talking to you this morning from this platform.

Looking at some of the strategic realities of life, I don't have to tell you the importance of Okinawa. It sits in the same position relative to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, to Malta in the Mediterranean Sea, and Cuba in the Caribbean, and from it can be projected air power and other forms of power, missile power if it becomes necessary.

Now again, too, one of the more important factors in the Far East off the coast of Red China is the island of Taiwan and the Chinese Nationalists, for whom I have the highest respect.

As we move down we get into Australia and New Zealand, ANZUS, and then again, we move on to Singapore, which is one of the critical points in this entire hemisphere out there because of the Straits of Malacca and the relative position of Singapore to that Southeast Asian peninsula, and also its relative position to Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines.

Now we get to India, of course, and we know that out of the last confrontation in that section of the world came the establishment of Bangladesh. There are real problems, however, still remaining in India, Bangladesh and this section of the world.

Now as we move onto the mainland, in the northern borders of Burma are

increasing Communist activities and these are in the newspapers very nearly daily. As shown by the red on that chart, the same thing applies in Thailand. There's increasing Red Chinese Communist activity along those borders up there.

We then move into Cambodia, and I want to point out to you that Cambodia to the southwest, that is to the left, is more heavily populated than it is to the right, and the Communists being well aware of this fact, the greater part of the activity of the Communists is as shown, the red being the principal transgressor in this regard as shown where the red is there.

Now we move on to Laos. Fifty per cent of Laos is occupied by the Communists. As you know, Laos has just gone to a coalition government and the Red Chinese, for the first time, have taken this as the keynote as far as their own attitude towards all of Southeast Asia. They feel that the battle has been won in Laos, and I'm not so sure that they are not correct because I don't know, and you don't know either, what the ultimate outcome of this coalition government is going to be. But take a look at Northwestern Laos: this was the roadway that Peking was putting in, as shown there. I've been told by many intellectuals that this roadway was for economic purposes and things of that sort, and they have stopped construction since the coalition. But to give you some idea of the importance they still attach to that road network, you can see how they have defended this roadway up there. They intended to use this for something besides just a drive in the evening after dinner for the commanding Red Chinese generals in that area.

Now as we move on, we get to North Vietnam; this pipeline which has been put in by the Communists, North Vietnamese, Viet Cong, and Red Chinese, as you notice, goes all the way down to the DMZ.

Now also in the operation on May 8, 1972, when I was Commander in Chief

of the Pacific, we got orders to resume the bombing and to lay the minefields off the entrance to these harbors as shown here. But certain outstanding periodicals in the United States, which I read only because I want to keep myself up and tuned with thoughts that come from the other side of the fence, namely the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, condemned this. I can tell you that it was one of the finest operations that we have done and it brought immediate return in the battle that was going on in Viet Nam at that time when we started this bombing and the laying of these minefields.

Some of the results are indicated here as far as the bombing is concerned and the use of laser bombs and others.

Now we get into the Vietnamese troop strength. We're reducing that and we've got less than 100 there in South Vietnam at the present time.

Now under the Nixon Doctrine, we are reducing our presence overseas everywhere regardless of where that may be, but you know when I took that command over in 1968 there were 1,051,000 men in that command. When I was relieved in '72, it had dropped to 410,000, and though a great portion of this did come out of Vietnam, again I point out to you that this is a large sized decrease.

Now we get into actions on the part of the United States and the free world. This gets into the business of the use of air and naval power in coordination with the proper diplomatic and psychological factors of a viable military assistance program and the proper use of national and bilateral treaty arrangements. In conjunction with other nations of the free world, we're going to maintain a balanced presence necessary to meet this threat world-wide.

In conclusion, the interests of the United States go all the way from trade, travel, journalism, right on down to scientific interests. In the Far East the United States has \$ 9 billion invested, and furthermore, there are certain companies out there exploring for

oil, as shown, and as we take a look at the world as a whole, I go back to the \$ 9 billion in the Far East, but you can see from those figures that the interests of the United States are not inconsiderable.

Now we get to the final business of the number of crises that the United States has been through since World War II, such as the Cuban crisis. I want to point out to you that in each one of these crises, the United States had to use every last available instrument that modern warfare placed at its disposal, along with diplomacy and psychology, in order to handle these properly.

President Nixon says that maintaining the strength, integrity and effectiveness of the free world alliances is the foundation on which all of our interests rest and the peace and security of the world must rest.

In 1942, when we really began to show our strength there, the Japanese, as you can see here, had occupied both North and Southeast Asian peninsulas. Then, during the time of the Dulles po-

licy of containment, the Communists had gone beyond that, as shown by the red here on this chart. But always there are these strategic islands worldwide which are of great interest to both ourselves and to Soviet Russia, as shown by some of the things I've had to say, and finally, the United States finds itself in a position where it's got to meet these responsibilities because the United States just simply can't get out of the world.

This has been a presentation of the situation we're faced with in this world today, and this comes from a number of years of experience and reading myself and studying on this, particularly some of the things that some of you distinguished gentlemen have had to say on this subject. And I want to say, General Lane, that this has been a great honor and a great privilege to have had this opportunity to discuss with such a distinguished group something of such grave importance to every one of us sitting in this room, because believe me, the human being requires it.

TELEGRAM WITHOUT ANSWER

*His Excellency
Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt
Bundeskanzleramt Bonn*

Munich, 29th January 1975

On behalf of the Ukrainians in the whole world I protest against the visit of Alexander Shelepin, the perpetrator of two murders on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany against the Leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stephan Bandera, and Professor Lev Rebet.

On October 19, 1962, the Third Senate of Penal Appeals of the German Federal Supreme Court sentenced the Chief of the Russian Security Service — KGB — Alexander Shelepin as perpetrator of two political murders.

The justification of the verdict states that "nobody escapes his just punishment as in the long run nobody can escape his guilt".

I request the imprisonment of Alexander Shelepin on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany according to the German Supreme Court Verdict.

*Yaroslav Stetsko (Long term prisoner of NAZI concentration camps)
Last Prime Minister of Independent Ukraine.*

A Diseased Europe

(Continuation)

By stipulating that after all "the Communist Party is a party like any other" and inviting it to dinner at the Elysée, the government provides it gratis with what it deserves least — thus increasing its audacity and injuriousness tenfold: a **warrant of honorability**.

The situation is just as alarming in the other European countries. Although the Communist parties in these countries are considerably weaker than in Italy and France their leftist "feelers" show the same amplitude and pugnacity capable of intimidating the established order through the presence of all subversive enterprises. There is no need for a powerful Communist party in West Germany which — although profoundly bruised by Communism — is seeking its good graces, abandoning its East German brethren and throwing its talents into the Kremlin's abyss. It is notable that the leftist socialist Willy Brandt performed this task yielding not to the superior power of the Soviet State but rather to the political pressure of Germany's own internal leftism.

European Communism and leftism are mainly concerned with cultivating **Anti-Americanism** in all surroundings in which they have succeeded beyond all expectations. Even the moderate Europeans yield to this inclination and consider themselves obliged to declare that they want to create "an independent Europe, not subjected to the United States" although the United States have never subjected anybody and encompass the same free and humane civilization as Europe thus providing it with the **only** shield capable of preserving its freedom.

Even those European leaders who do not want to see Europe follow the

Soviet track believe that they can only avoid the Red frying-pan by jumping into the neutralist fire claiming that Europe must become a "Third Power". A vague and fuddling formula that flatters the European aspiration to greatness and makes its compass run off the line. The leftists whisper: don't allow the two blocs to monopolize the scene and dictate their laws, but raise your tall stature between them and let them hear and respect another voice keeping for yourselves what this other voice has to say. This dangerous trick must be denounced immediately for this **bleating Anti-Americanism** is always followed by **defeatist Neutralism**.

First of all, there have never existed **two blocs**.

Only the Soviet empire barbed with obedient colonies and satellites deserves this name as it alone constitutes a monolith endowed with an immense military and subversive warfare machinery at the service of unrestrained expansionism and colonialism. It was held that against this NATO constituted a united power bloc comparable to the Soviet empire, but that it has meanwhile been worn out by time, national meanness and General de Gaulle and reduced to dust.

Subsequently, NATO supposedly limited itself to America only to maintain the "second bloc"-position. Unfortunately, America does not always form a bloc since its internal structure is as friable as the Atlantic Alliance. It is a giant without will power, hesitating, torn apart and undermined by its own leftists turning more and more to Soviet dictatorship policies at the international level. In spite of these handicaps Washington tries **to face** the Communist bloc, as well as it can.

From time to time it seems capable of displaying some energy, as in the case of Berlin, Cuba, the Middle East, when the Soviet menace is becoming too acute, and one should see how **fast** the Kremlin is off... At any other times, however, Washington assumes a compromising, yielding attitude gorging its enemy with goods and showing its good will even to the detriment of its allies, South Vietnam, Greece, Portugal yesterday and Israel today.

It would be just as fallacious to regard both blocs as **equivalent imperialist powers**. In doing so one would pretend not to know that America, free, rich and satisfied with its fate has no hegemonious ambitions whereas the Kremlin, master of an inefficient and tyrannical system is pushed to extend its power by a squandering economic covetousness and an obsessive political imperialism. The opposition between the **Soviet bloc** and the **American nebula** is not a traditional conflict between national interests which Europe would be entitled to keep apart from. What is actually at stake for Europe is the western civilization, the common inestimable treasure of Europe and America which the Communist bloc seeks to destroy. The **combined** forces of the whole European West and America would hardly be sufficient to resist the terrible Communist assault. It would be a shameful desertion to divide the West into two power blocs, to leave America alone at its breach and even worse, to push it towards making more and more concessions to the common enemy.

This would also be self-murdering folly, for in Communist expansionist strategy it is not America which is considered the prey no. 1, since it is too powerful and too far away, but Europe being within the Communist reach, disarmed, dismembered, stuffed with truffles of Communist relays and suffering from leftism, briefly a wide open gap. The Kremlin does not yet think of installing itself in Chicago, but it can

imagine itself quite well as commander in Paris, Rome, Athens, Bonn and Zurich as soon as our only armour-plate, the **American military presence**, is gone. Making Europe "a third power" would in fact mean open the way to the "first power", i. e. that of the Soviet empire.

Oh you ancient Europe that in times of fortune and misfortune gave birth to the most beautiful and glorious civilization of history, are you going to founder in shreds in the night of tyrants?

REMEDIES

The decay of Europe, as described above, the passiveness and even complacency with which it tolerates the decomposition of its vital force by Communism are all the more distressing as there is nothing that makes them compelling. Europe still has the necessary potential to stand up again without making arms clash. The **affirmation of its will** would suffice.

I should finally like to review the measures possible for shaking Europe's numbness and, at the same time, deferring the Soviet threat.

Economics

(1) The European countries must immediately unite their scientific and technical power, which should be generously endowed, free of national aspects, and this pool should adopt a **crash programme** for the discovery of **new sources of energy** in order to become independent: this may include oil prospectings in zones under European control or the making available of other sources of energy, such as the hydrogen motor or nuclear energy. The efforts made in this direction have actually not yet reached a degree of intensity comparable with that of nuclear research during the last war, although we have to fight a crucial battle for our survival again now.

(2) The **haemorrhage of money, products and technology towards the Communist countries** must be stopped and trade must be restored in compliance with normal standards, especially the long term credits at derisively low rates of interest granted to these countries should be stopped (e. g. France offered a loan to the USSR at a rate of interest of 3 percent while the inflationary rate reaches about 18 percent in France).

(3) A European convention stipulating the **workers' rights** should be concluded to prohibit the unions from enregimenting and politicizing their activity and demands, and to impose limits on **the right of strike**, i. e. prevent it from becoming a **right of sabotage**.

Morals and Ethics

(1) We must resist **the leftist bluff** intimidating us and claiming to be a progressive force, and we must denounce its actual alliance with Communist obscurantism. We should recover confidence in the value of free enterprise, morality and western civilization and defend them against forces which although calling themselves "leftist" are retrograde historically.

(2) We must consolidate **our struggle against toxicomania** without being afraid to denounce its promoters in the Far East and its collusion with certain subversive trends. The abominable campaign tending to surround toxicomania with an aureole must be silenced and young people must be warned against this mortal poison for civilization.

(3) **Urban guerrilla, piracy** and all forms of brigandage must be mercilessly opposed. All interested states should conclude an agreement stipulating that no negotiations be accepted on the basis of **hostages** and that brigands resorting to this crime be declared to be **in the state of war** and knocked down after being expeditiously tried by a court-martial. At the beginning there

will perhaps be unfortunate hostages that will have to pay with their lives for such firmness on the part of the governments. However, in the long run many human lives will be saved this way, for the only means to discourage blackmailing of hostages is to absolutely refuse negotiation and apply absolute sanctions. In the light of the evidence that the only result of piracy is death its makers will make it rapidly disappear, and subsequently the insolent leftist brigandage will disappear altogether.

Politics

The **minimum requirements** the Soviet empire would have to meet if it wishes to obtain a normalization of its relations with the European countries must be formulated about as follows:

(1) **The colossal apparatus** of political, psychological and subversive warfare which the Communists support in the free countries must be **dismantled**. We must abandon the absurd idea that it is a "normal" situation that Europe is strictly prohibited from interfering — even timidly — in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, while the Communists are massively and aggressively interfering in our countries.

(2) Applying the same principle of reciprocity we must demand a complete opening of the Communist countries to the intellectual works of Europe, especially as the Charter of the United Nations stipulates the **freedom of movement for ideas and men** across the borders.

(3) The USSR must recognize a further principle being just as fundamental, laid down in the Charter of Human Rights, i. e. **the right to national independence of 250 million Europeans** forcibly subdued by the Kremlin. It is shocking that the European states reproach Israel for refusing to return the small territories it has conquered which are essential to its precarious security and where it has established a humane regime,

while at the same time these states consider perpetuating the Kremlin's possession of vast territories also conquered by armed force but by no means contributing to the security of the USSR (threatened by nobody) where tyranny rages.

(4) We must resolutely reject any project of bilateral withdrawal of foreign forces from Europe since the result of such a "duped" balance would be a withdrawal of the American forces from a territory of more than 5,000 km from the Ocean and a withdrawal of the USSR forces from just a 300 km strip behind a pasteboard frontier.

(5) We must resolutely refuse any idea referring to the erection of Europe as a "Third Power" between the United States and the USSR. Such an idea reflecting outward European pride in reality hides its cowardness vis-à-vis America when coaxing the Communist enemy. If economic and geographical imperatives constrain the free European nations to achieve unification among themselves the higher imperative concerned with the safeguarding of our civilization requires the united Europe to maintain a tight solidarity with America vis-à-vis their common enemy.

What Happened To Leonid Plyushch?

On December 17, 1974, Reuters Agency sent the following dispatch from Moscow: "The wife of the Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch today stated that if she is not given permission to visit her husband in the psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine, she will bring charges of murder against the prison authorities. Tatiana Plyushch stated that the doctors of the hospital in Dnipropetrovsk have been injecting her husband since the end of last month with extremely large quantities of an antischizophrenic drug.

In her statement, sent to the chief medical officer of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR and distributed to correspondents in Moscow, Mrs. Plyushch stated that her husband must be so ill that the authorities are afraid to let her visit him. During the past week she was twice denied a visit, and if she does not obtain immediate permission she 'will bring charges of willful and premeditated murder of my husband by the medical personnel of the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital'."

The correspondents of foreign and Ukrainian newspapers have expressed many times their fear for the life of Leonid Plyushch. It was known that

Dr. Plyushch was in such a state of physical and mental exhaustion brought on by the harsh conditions of his imprisonment and the constant poisoning



by drugs that he could barely move his extremities, was unable to go for walks, take in any food or write letters. Such was his condition at the beginning of last year.

Leonid Plyushch was born in 1939, finished with distinction the gymnasium in 1956 and in 1962 graduated

from Kyiv University with a degree in mechanical mathematics. In the second half of 1962 he began working as an engineer-cybernetist in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1965, 1966 and 1967 he published several scientific papers. In 1968 he was fired. In spite of his good references he could not find another position until May 1969. On January 15, 1972, the KGB arrested him and charged him with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He was under investigation for one year, and then was sentenced *in absentia* to the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital, where he is still confined.

His health had been damaged by tuberculosis of the bone, from which he suffered in the 1950s and it deteriorated during his confinement in prison. News about his ill health have been known since 1974. As can be seen from Plyushch's recently published letters to his family and friends, at the beginning he submitted to prison life with dignity and optimism, in spite of tortures and sufferings during the interrogations. According to the book "History of the Sufferings of Leonid Plyushch" recently published in London by the Herzen Foundation, he was confined in isolation in the Kyiv interrogation centre until May 29, 1972; he was then transferred and isolated in

the interrogation centre of the Lefortov Prison in Moscow. In October of that year he was again returned to Kyiv and in December the interrogation was completed. During his interrogation Leonid Plyushch was silent. The trial was conducted in the court of the Kyiv oblast, in the presence of three judges, a prosecutor and a lawyer. In approximately a week, the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR sentenced "Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch to a special psychiatric hospital". He has retained his dignity to the present day. His fate is accepted with dignity by his sons and his wife.

The Reuters dispatch of December 17, 1974, reminds us about the fate of Leonid Plyushch; we must strengthen and increase our action in defence of Ukrainian political prisoners. It is only recently that another press agency sent the following report from Australia: "A man protesting the imprisonment of dissidents in the USSR began a hunger strike in front of the Russian Embassy in Canberra. His name is Oleh Kavunenko, aged 55; he is an Australian citizen, born in Ukraine and residing in a suburb of Canberra. His hunger strike is on behalf of all Ukrainian political prisoners, especially on behalf of the historian Valentyn Moroz.

I. Dmytriv

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated

by John Kolasky

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Taras Chuprynka

On the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Heroic Death of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

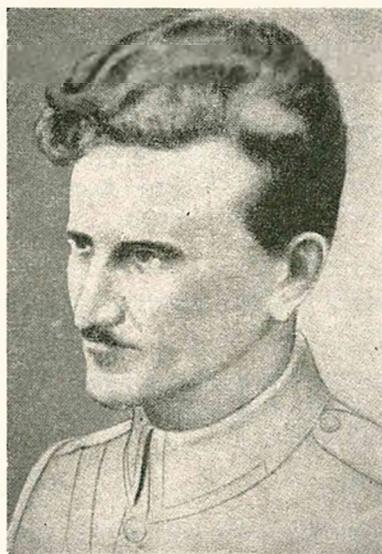
25 years ago, on March 5, 1950, General Shukhevych — Tur-Taras Chuprynka — R. Lozovsky presiding the OUN Leadership, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (UPA) and Chairman of the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) — the revolutionary government of Ukraine — died the death of a hero in Bilohorshcha near Lviv.

A quarter of a century has already passed since that tragic date in Ukrainian history. General Roman Shukhevych is one of the most outstanding figures of the Ukrainian liberation struggle in the past centuries. He was a great strategist of the Ukrainian Revolution, a political leader and statesman and is now the image of a model fighter for the heroic ideals of a nation as to character and individuality. In the pantheon of heroes of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle he is a unique figure combining a talented strategist with the political leader of a nationwide revolutionary liberation organization, a leading warrior with a statesman in a state he was building up on the Ukrainian territories which had been freed.

General Roman Shukhevych is unique as well because as a national leader and chief he did not leave his country but died in its defense together with his soldiers. There are only few examples of such exemplary characters in world history.

General Roman Shukhevych mainly focused his attention on building up Ukraine's national power on its territory as a prerequisite for its universal development. He insisted on national power based on armed forces, i. e. Ukraine's own army, and passed this idea on to his soldiers and his staff.

As contributor to the Act of June 30, 1941 (proclaiming Ukrainian independence), Viceminister of Defense of the Ukrainian Government and commander of the troops of the Ukrainian nationalists he laid the basis for



Ukraine's war in two fronts, i. e. against Germany and Russia. The stage of the Ukrainian Revolution from 1942 to 1953 (3 years after his death) can be designated as that of a nationwide insurrection.

UPA — the army of heroes as he himself called it placing it above the heroes of Thermopylae — was invincible. In 1947 three states — the USSR, Poland and the CSSR — concluded a pact for liquidating this army.

General Shukhevych — Chuprynka, a strategist of a modern — **insurgent** — type of liberation struggle, was constantly looking for new forms and methods, including for instance raids to the territories of other captive nations

and the free countries of the world, in order to strike as many military and political blows as possible to the occupants of Ukraine. Even Stalin, the most formidable tyrant of all times and nations, was afraid Roman Shukhevych Chuprynka, would initiate an armed uprising of the captive nations when in 1943 he convened the Conference of the Captive Nations in the region of Zhytomyr, whose goals have been taken up and are continued by the ABN.

With his army of heroes General Roman Shukhevych - Chuprynka defended his nation against destruction, deportation, German and Russian Bolshevik robberies. Chuprynka's ingenious strategy preserved the population of western Ukraine from being deported to Siberia. UPA - OUN has become the shield for the entire nation.

OUN - UPA laid the basis for the stage of struggle from 1953 to 1959, i. e. the uprisings in concentration camps, and the next stage in the sixties and seventies, i. e. the revolutionary renaissance of national traditionalism being of exceptional importance in Ukrainian history.

The son of Roman Shukhevych, Yuriy Shukhevych, the symbol of unity of all generations of our nation in its struggle for freedom and statehood, has remained loyal to Ukraine as his great father having died the death of a hero and having become the **image** and **symbol** of our nation, i. e. its **banner**. For refusing to renounce his father and his ideas Yuriy Shukhevych has been detained in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps for 30 years now. He is the great son of a great father. S. P.

**A Letter To The Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Re: Valentyn Moroz**

Honorable Thomas E. Morgan
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 5, 1975

Dear Tom:

During the past few weeks, several Bills have been introduced demanding Presidential action on behalf of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian-dissident who is now imprisoned by the Soviet government. He had been on a hunger strike for 145 days, breaking it only after Soviet authorities promised to improve his prison conditions. Now Moroz is very ill and needs medical treatment but it has been refused to him. Immediate intervention by the President with the Soviets on behalf of Moroz must take place.

Therefore, I strongly urge you as Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to schedule hearings on all the pending resolutions on this issue, including H. R. 1436 and H. R. 649, and thus move quickly to bring them before the House of Representatives for action. This situation needs immediate attention.

Thank you for your concern.

Sincerely,

JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY
Member of Congress
Congress of the United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

The Fifth Congress of OUN

In the autumn of 1974, The Fifth Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandera Movement), took place with a large number of delegates from all five continents taking part. The congress of OUN is the most important decision making organ and source of power within the organization. It makes decisions on all the important questions concerning ideology, programmes, strategy for the liberation struggle, external and internal politics, cadres and all others which arise in the course of the work of OUN.

At the Fifth Congress of OUN which on the whole was a success, the presence of young delegates was marked, and during the plenary sessions and on various committees, they made their own distinct contributions, giving their opinions on the different problems that were explored and discussed (with the appropriate conclusions being drawn).

The liberation struggle in Ukraine, the Russian terror and Russian encroachment on all sectors of Ukrainian national life, examination of world politics and different positive and negative developments in Ukrainian emigrant life, were all analysed in depth and conclusions drawn so that OUN could accordingly adopt policies for the continuance of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for its rights as an independent and sovereign nation.

At the same time it must be emphasized that the liberation struggle in the homelands is continually evolving and gaining momentum, it takes in the cream of the Ukrainian nation and includes all generations, especially the younger, and all aspects of national and social life. The extraordinary courage of the Ukrainian people, particularly of its better representatives cannot be overstated, it is the courage which guarantees that victory in the struggle with the Russian imperialist occupier is not too far in the future.

Taking these things into account and disregarding the strengthening of the so-called detente between the superpowers, and disregarding also the attempts to strengthen economic and technical "co-operation" between the Western nations and the Russian empire, it must be confirmed that our ideals of national liberation, dissolution of the Russian Empire, reestablishment of sovereign national states (in their place) are gaining the upper hand, and better understanding throughout the whole world, and are recruiting all the time more fighters into the struggle against Russian Imperialism and Communism, they are gaining this support not only from within the countries occupied or threatened by Russia, but also from among the peoples of the free world.

The resolutions on the Fifth Congress emphasise the necessity of carrying out our actions on a broader basis, in the defence of Ukrainian political prisoners, human rights and statehood of Ukraine. Also, the task of our internal politics should be to receive the most effective help for the liberation struggle, from what is organically a part of Ukraine, the Ukrainian emigrant communities.

Those who partook in the Fifth Congress of OUN after listening to and discussing the reports of the head of the Presidium, members of the Executive Board, the head of the Advisory Council, the head of the Auditing Council and also the speeches on the organization programmes, confirmed that OUN is going about its work correctly and had been fully justified in all its actions to date.

The Fifth Congress of OUN, elected as head of the movement, Yaroslav Stetsko, the number of members of the Presidium prescribed and other author-

ities of the organization. The Congress approved the necessary resolutions and appeals to the Ukrainian nation, to the Ukrainian emigration, to the subjugated nations and to the peoples of the Free World.

The successful conclusion of the Fifth Congress of OUN opens up the next stage in its activity and uncompromising struggle for the fulfillment of the highest goal of Ukrainian nationalists, the establishment of an Independent, Sovereign, Ukrainian State. (UCIS)

Kyiv Versus Moscow!

Appeal of the Fifth Congress of the OUN to the Free Nations

At a time the free nations are hoping for a lasting peace — based on the present division of the world with respect to political power — there are still many nations under the severe colonial yoke of Russian imperialism and Communism. The nations living under the Communist-Russian yoke are exposed to a growing danger of genocide and a most cruel type of exploitation while in Africa colonialism is coming to an end.

The Soviet Union is a state at the service of the Russian imperialists striving to subdue other nations. One of the present authors of Ukraine characterizes the situation as follows: "The fact that people fighting against chauvinistic oppression in Ukraine are thrown behind bars at a time of national revival in the entire world compromises the government tolerating this".

"Peace" based upon the coexistence of free nations and a colonial empire enslaving and oppressing many nations is neither just nor will it last. Communism and Russian imperialism have not changed: they are striving for further expansion and are therefore dangerous for all free nations. Recent developments — in the Near East, in Southeast Asia, in Czecho-Slovakia, in the Balkans, in the Indian area and in the disarmament negotiations — indicate that the "Peace" policy is utilized by Moscow only as a means for preparing new imperialist aggressions.

On the other hand, the free nations tend to increasingly dismiss the sense of international justice and engage in a fatal cooperation with totalitarianism, dictatorship, Communism, colonialism of the worst type striving to destroy entire nations being enslaved thereby. International justice implies struggle against imperialism, totalitarianism, despotism and enslavement. If there no longer exists the desire to fight for freedom and justice the imperialism of Moscow is free to realize its grasping objectives.

Only the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism are constantly striving to overthrow this barbarian empire and rebuild their own sovereign states. For this reason they refuse "Peace" to be attained through

the deaths of millions of people and the destruction of entire nations. "The nations do not want to be dependent, however sweet the promises of their conquerors may be and however severely their strivings for freedom may be suppressed!" — This is the voice of the unyielding Ukraine. Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, northern Caucasians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Turkestanians, Tatars, Slovaks, Czechs, Rumanians, Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, Poles, eastern Germans, Bulgarians, Albanians and other nations think and act in this direction.

Freedom-loving men and nations!

There are many nations free today which have been courageously fighting for their freedom against aggressive occupants. We know that no nation would voluntarily accept enslavement. All the above-mentioned nations, however, have been enslaved as a result of aggressive wars waged by the Russian imperialists. Nevertheless, they do not yield and are courageously fighting for their liberation and national existence. A document from Ukraine states the following: "What is at stake is not just an organization or a group of persons but something that is much greater and deeper: emerging everywhere the spontaneous and diverse processes of a nation's "self-defense" against the apparent prospect of disappearing from the human family".

The captive nations are conscious of the fact that "each nation **must** inevitably fight for its national existence" and "if national existence is in danger the struggle for its restoration swallows up all forces . . .", these forces being enormous and inexhaustible, and they can neither be checked nor kept under control by any political spy system.

There cannot be peace in the world if there is a permanent relentless struggle between colonialists and genocidal elements, on the one hand, and the liberation movements of the enslaved nations, on the other, within the Soviet Union — this Communist Russian empire.

Hundreds of thousands of the best patriots of all the subjugated nations in the USSR detained in Russian prisons, concentration camps, mental asylums and exiled thousands of miles from their home countries undeniably prove the existence of this grand epoch making struggle. These people, including men and women, minor and old, people of various degrees of education and social status — such as peasants, artist etc. — stand for entire nations.

Their liberation struggle comprises a variety of activities: practicing Christian and other religions, claiming private property, opposing economic exploitation, defending and cultivating national languages, cultures, traditions and customs, fighting for human rights, and above all, striving for their own national power, respectively. They fight for the preservation of their national, i. e. ethnic, substance, oppose the mass deportations of their populations to foreign, mainly Russian territories where these

populations are denationalized. They equally oppose the influx of millions of Russians on their subjugated territories where these parasitic colonialists occupy leading positions in all cultural and administrative fields leaving the secondary jobs to the local population and imposing Russian "culture" and a foreign way of life.

The most severe struggle is waged in the political sphere. The subjugated nations are trying by all means to resist the terror of the KGB and the other organs of the colonial state by opposing the antinational administration which acts exclusively in the interest of the Russian nation and the Communist Party which is an instrument of the Russian occupants. Further, the enslaved nations refuse the rule by the foreign occupation forces on their territories altogether striving for their own sovereign states.

Since the Second World War the chief motor of the liberation movement of the Ukrainian people has been the OUN — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Since 1929 the OUN has acted as a revolutionary organization, therefore the Russian occupants severely persecute its members imposing very severe punishments when getting hold of them. The name of the OUN leader Stepan Bandera is used to designate everything Ukrainian, and everybody offering resistance to Moscow is called "Banderevec" (=Bandera-man). For the Russian imperialists this term means an uncompromising fighter against their rule over Ukraine.

The Fifth Congress of the OUN held recently stated that its members scattered all over Ukraine and the Russian empire as well as in the Diaspora in the free world are resolved to continue fighting for the dismemberment of the USSR and the reconstruction of sovereign states for all the enslaved nations instead. The other nations of the USSR and the satellite countries fight for the same goals as the Ukrainians thus being united and strong through their common interests.

We have to point out again that Russian imperialism does not require world peace but rather uses the catchword "peace" for new side-linings and an internal consolidation of its empire. Therefore we call upon all freedom-loving nations to join our liberation movements in a common struggle against Communism and totalitarism.

The political objective of the free nations should not be "peace at any cost" but the union of all freedom-loving forces against the foes of men and nations! The Christian world believing in God should rather unite with the underground eastern Christians in a joint struggle for truth and justice, against atheism, tyranny, despotism and dictatorship!

In economic respect, the free nations should support the economic liberation of the subjugated nations instead of aiding the Russian economy and furthering its growth.

In cultural respect, we appeal to the free nations to abstain from a so-called cultural exchange with the genocidal Russians and to support

cultural creative processes within the enslaved but unyielding nations in the USSR instead.

Whereas the imperial "culture" is an uninspired, antiartistic production created by order, the creative work of the unyielding Ukraine and other subjugated countries is inspired Promethean creation of high quality enriching world culture.

As to strategy the western states should rely on the liberation revolutions of the nations enslaved by Russia as constituting a non-fraudulent "balance of power" relative to Russia.

The prerequisites have already been met: there exists a common coordinating centre of the liberation movements of the captive nations, i. e. the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), and for years the European Freedom Council and the World Anti-Communist League have acted in the free world. These organizations have constantly struck blows to Moscow: although they have hardly been noticed Moscow's attacks against the ABN and its leaders are sufficient proofs.

We appeal to all freedom-loving individuals and nations of the world to support the national liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and colonialism for the restoration of their own states! Only then true and lasting peace and justice can reign in the entire world!

Freedom for Nations! — Freedom for Individuals!

Appeal to All Captive Nations

In its Fifth Congress the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Revolutionists (under the leadership of Yaroslav Stetsko) appeals to all nations of the Russian Communist Bolshevik empire and the so-called satellite countries including Titoist Communist "Yugoslavia", which are enslaved by Russian imperialism and various hostile Communist regimes:

Fellow-fighters in our common liberation struggle: More than ever our nations must unite their forces and coordinate their activities directing them to our common objective, i. e. the liberation of our nations from the yoke of foreign occupants and the institution of free, independent national states for all nations on the ruins of hostile and artificial imperial structures which have become obsolete long ago.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists as spokesman of the Ukrainian nation's sovereignty has been openly and persistently fighting — using various means and forms — for the liberation not only of the Ukrainian nation, but also of all close and remote neighbours of Ukraine, namely practically all nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Com-

munism. For many years the national liberation formations of other captive nations, especially the members of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, have formed together with the OUN a united front against their occupants and captors.

This fact entitles us morally to address to you fellow-fighters the following appeal:

Those already fighting with us are requested **to reinforce our lines and our activity!**

Those having kept aloof from our common front of liberation so far should join **our fighters** and thus extend our common Anti-Russian and Anti-Communist front!

Our enemies are using all methods of struggle and employing all their forces for fighting our nations. They are striving to mix them in a common Russian "Communist boiler" having already proclaimed the "existence" of a novel historical community, "the Soviet people".

Let us decide and fight together in all domains of national and civic life to defy our enemy and prove to the world that this "fictitious fact" does not only originate in **nasty intentions** of our common enemy but that it is also **dangerous for the still free part of the world**. Our nations will never give up fighting! They actually prove it by **opposing Russian genocide, economic exploitation, the destruction of millennial religious, cultural and other achievements of our nations**. The national liberation movements are facing many specific tasks that cannot be postponed, mainly in order to preserve their nations from a complete annihilation by forcible Russification and by the imposing of a foreign and hostile ideology on the young generations of our nations, from the destruction of traditional Church and religious organizations, national cultural institutions and of the way of life of our nations with their millennial traditions.

Our movements must offer resistance to the hostile attempts at undermining our nations physically by deporting and exiling them to foreign territories; they must also oppose the plans of our enemies using one nation to undercut and enslave others.

We must follow the example of the brotherly cooperation between the political prisoners, especially in Russian prisons and concentration camps where they form a common Anti-Russian front at the service of their respective nations. The spokesman of national liberation movements who are living abroad in conditions of freedom must consolidate their cooperation and extend their common Anti-Russian, Anti-Communist and anti-imperialist front of struggle not only to those captive nations not yet included in this struggle and their representatives, but also to the so-called "Third World", i. e. nations which have recently acquired their national statehood.

They contain reserves for our common struggle which we must utilize together for the vital interests of our nations.

We must warn the free world, particularly the newly instituted national states against the permanent threat of Russian chauvinistic imperialism and its present mask — Communism — striving for and consistently aiming at its realization using all means, and unfortunately not without success.

Fellow-fighters: Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Don Cossacks, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians, Northern Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, Albanians and Siberians! Let us together resolutely oppose the cooperation of the two ruling systems in the world today — Russian imperialism and western liberalism-capitalism — as well as status quo politics which are ruinous for our nations and extremely dangerous for the still free part of the world.

Let us resist together any "peace", "security", "disarmement", "détente" etc. conferences imposed by Moscow on the western world, since such conferences are held without the participation of our nations and against their vital interests.

Moscow is trying to divide the world into two blocs controlled by two superpowers — as a first step towards its hegemony in the world. Our nations of the Anti-Russian front constitute the third physical as well as spiritual and moral superpower. Let us prove this by fighting together and coordinating our external activities! Our nations do have not only the right but also the possibility to incline the "balance of power" in favour of our nations and their liberation struggle.

Members of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, you are requested to form a united front: the front of struggle for the God-given rights of all nations!

You should always and everywhere reinforce the lines of the fighters for independent national states within their ethnographical boundaries! Only by means of the captive nations' own forces — united in a powerful bloc — we shall achieve freedom for our nations.

Let us unite our forces to support those standing in the front line against our enemies: the underground national liberation movements, the political prisoners and all fighters within the Russian empire and the so-called satellite states!

- **Down with Russian imperialism!**
- **Long live the independent national states of all nations enslaved by Russia and the Communist regimes set up by Russia!**
- **Let us consolidate and extend the Anti-Russian and Anti-Communist front!**

Presidium of the Fifth Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

SIMAS KUDIRKA ABOUT UKRAINIAN PRISONERS

Simas Kudirka, the Lithuanian sailor who spent four years in Soviet prisons and concentration camps (Perm, Kucheno, Yavas, Vladimir Prison) is at present living in the United States with his family and delivering talks and lectures to various Lithuanian groups in the US. At his lecture in Cleveland he stated that he spent some time in the concentration camps with Evhen Sverstyuk, Lev Lukianenko and others.

These are courageous and strong people. Lukianenko, Sverstyuk, Pokrovsky (who spent 25 years in camps) took part in a hunger strike, June 21-23, 1974, in Yavas; it began as a protest against the severe beating of a young (19 or 20 years old) student. Yes Sverstyuk is a great person, physically exhausted, because the food stinks and the work is hard, but morally and spiritually he is strong and very serious. Lukianenko, after 14 years of imprisonment is also there.

To the question why Ukrainians are not being freed from the camps Kudirka answers:

You must realize that in those camps Ukrainians are in the hand of a mad, wild beast.

What keeps up the spirit of prisoners who spend their time in such inhuman conditions?

These are people of high ideals, with a humanistic philosophy of life. They strongly believe that truth is on their side. This holds people of different nationalities together. They draw strength from each other. They know about our actions in the free world, mostly from their families, who come to visit them. Such news is more important to them than food. It is absolutely necessary to write to the prisoners; it would be best if such letters were written by people who are not politically active; the letters should be short, filled with general news and sent by registered mail. Maybe a prisoner will not get 10 or 20 such letters, but if he only receives one, for him it is a very important event.

Kudirka himself received 4 such letters from the people in the US and he compares that to giving oxygen to a person who is suffocating. When a prisoner knows that someone is thinking about him, that someone cares, this gives him strength to hold on one more day, one more year. He is not even afraid to die, because he knows that, even if he dies, he will not die forgotten and unknown.

Kudirka recalled Mykhailo Osadchy who said:

My perspective on life is all topsy-turvy; this does not upset me in the least. Even if I do not contribute anything to my nation through my writing, but if my suffering will give someone an inspiration and a desire to work, I will see this as my life's contribution.

Soviet Russian Imperialism in Turkestan

FOREWORD

The aim of the present paper is to analyze open resistance (extralegal) of the peoples of Turkestan against Soviet Russia since the Bolshevik seizure of power. Due to its geographical position, natural resources, and a large population (largest non-Slavic), Central Asia plays an important part in the Soviet Union. However, because of its geographical remoteness, there is a distinct lack of information about this vast area, especially on the part of the Soviets. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to produce a comprehensive study of the two main traits of the Soviet reality: a policy of repression and Russification of its multinational population, which is being carried out under the slogan "national in form, socialist in content"; and of the resistance of non-Russian peoples toward these policies. Although this resistance has many manifestations, for the purpose of this paper only open resistance will be studied.

Turkestan or Soviet Central Asia — the area under discussion — embraces the territory of Karakalpakistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, as well as the former khanates of Khiva (Khorezm), Bokhara and Kokand. With the exception of Tajiks, the rest of the population is of Turkish origin and the accepted name **Turkestanian** or **Turkistani** is applied to the native residents of any of the four Republics.

The division of Turkestan into „Soviet Republics“ has been performed according to the principle of **divide et impera** and is, in fact, quite artificial. Chokaev* explains that the word „Tur-

kestan“ „flavours of nationalism“ and for this reason has been excluded from the political dictionary.

INTRODUCTION

Imperialism is an abstraction acting as a common denominator for a variety of historical phenomena related in their outlying forms but radically different in their essence which depends on the traits and motives of the driving force. British expansion in South-east Asia, French possessions in North Africa, Muscovy-Russian penetration into surrounding Asian and European territories are all examples of „imperialism“ undoubtedly with many similarities, but with even more profound differences.

Richard Pipes maintains rightfully that what really matters in the drawing of lines between different types of imperialism are the motives of expansion and the method of control. He further poses three key questions, the answers to which are basic to an understanding of the nature of imperial domination and the type of opposition this may warrant from the indigenous population:

1. Was the conquest carried out for the purpose of colonization, of economic exploitation, or of acquiring strategic bases?
2. Was control established from without or was an effort made to develop a loyal native civil service?
3. Was the imperial power content to administer an alien people or did it strive to assimilate the natives?³⁾

Differing from the imperial experiences of other Western nations, the

* Mustafa Chokaev, "Turkestan and the Soviet Regime", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XVIII. p. 403-420.

³⁾ Richard Pipes, "A Reply to Mr. Seton-Watson", *Problems of Communism*, XIII, No. 1 (January-February, 1964), 24.

Russians tended to confound the process of nation-building with that of empire-building with the resultant unfortunate consequences brought about in the realm of international relations and power politics, not to mention scholarship, by the confusion of two distinct historical processes. Much of this confusion originated due to the Russian unawareness of ruling an empire because they considered their expansion into the neighbouring non-Russian lands a part of their own national process. Thus, their acquisition of Central Asia, the Caucasus, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic and lands claimed by East European states clearly proceeds along the lines of the conquest of Novgorod and Kazan by the earlier Muscovy state, for instance. Another factor which Richard Pipes notes is that the Russians have failed to evolve a special method of administration for imperial possessions distinct from that used in their own country, and, finally, that they have failed so far — for all practical purposes — to recognize their neighbouring peoples as culturally distinct and nationally viable. The result is that to this day the Russians actually tend to think of their empire — tsarist or Soviet — as a nation-state. Consequently centralization and uncontrollable attempts at denationalization and Russification and assimilation of the non-Russians is an inevitable offspring of this attitude. Imperialism as such does not require, however, that the subject peoples adopt the ways, language, and culture, of their ruler, as the British imperial policy has shown in many instances. There is another reason for this adoption and Pipes sees it as one "deeply imbedded in the ethos" of the imperial power — in our case Russia, which "lacks a culture sufficiently mature and self-confident to know its form and limits".⁴⁾ A form of an aggressive national inferiority complex.

The above assertions have been

⁴⁾ *ibid*

clearly corroborated by the new Party Programme adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU as late as 17-31 October, 1961. Casting aside all standard Party euphemism for centralization and Russification (i. e., the Russian idea of the USSR being a nation-state), the following tasks have been set in the sphere of national relations:

1. To continue the all-round economic and cultural development of all the Soviet nations and nationalities, ensuring their ever **closer co-operation and drawing together in every field**, thus strengthening the USSR.
2. The establishment of the material and technical basis of Communism will call for a **still closer inter-relationship** and mutual aid among the republics. The closer the intercourse between nations and **the greater the awareness of all national tasks**, the more successfully can manifestations of parochialism and national egoism be overcome.
3. Attaching decisive importance to the development of the socialist content of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR the Party will promote the further **mutual enrichment and drawing together**, the strengthening of their **international basis** and thereby the formation of the future single world-wide culture of Communist society.
4. The voluntary study of **Russian** in addition to the native language is a **constructive feature** since it facilitates reciprocal exchanges of experience and access of every nation and nationality to the cultural achievements of other peoples of the USSR and of world culture. **The Russian language has in effect become the common medium of international intercourse and co-operation between all peoples of the USSR.**

5. To continue the consistent implementation of the principles of **internationalism** in the sphere of national relations; to wage a relentless fight against manifestation of **any kind of nationalism and chauvinism, against tendencies of national narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness.**⁵⁾

The contradictions contained in these statements of Party policy are evident in the light of an earlier statement in the text of the Party Programme that the USSR is "the Union and consolidation of **equal peoples on a voluntary basis** in a single multi-national state".

In view of the above, Russianism has been clearly equated with a strange brand of internationalism which puts the Russian nationality on a higher level than all other nationalities which are classified as non-international remnants of the past subject to harassment if they show any signs of being viable entities.

The spokesman on the national question at the Congress was N. A. Mukhitdin(ov), the Uzbek Secretary of the Central Committee. Although his speech added nothing to what is in the Party programme, he eliminated all doubts and ambiguities as to the position of Russians and non-Russians vis-à-vis the idea of internationalism in the USSR and the socialist bloc in general. He also repeated what should be the correct response of the non-Russian towards the new Party programme. Mukhitdinov attributed the decisive role in the successful implementation of the nationalities policy to "the **great Russian people — first among equals...** whom the Soviet nations call their **elder brother**". The merit of the Russian people, he continued, is that they set an example of "profound **internationalism and humanism**". In regard to the study of Russian, Mukhitdinov said

that "in further development of **every socialist nation**, of the international education of the rising generations and the completion in the country of the cultural revolution, the Russian language is of fundamental importance", and it has become the "second **native language**" of all nations. "In **Russian** the Soviet nations have acquired a powerful means for **their own development and mutual intercourse**." "Life itself, the interests of each nation and the building of Communism **demand** still greater efforts in the organization of a **profound** study and mastery of the Russian language by all peoples of the Soviet Union."⁶⁾ This is an obvious case not of internationalism in its true meaning but of undisguised cultural aggression in the form of Russification. In his report to the Congress on the new programme Khrushchev stressed that "in the course of the full-scale construction of Communism **complete unity (yedinstvo)** of the nations will be achieved" with an eventual "merging" (slijanie). And to those who "lament" that national differences are being obliterated, he replied that Communism will not preserve and perpetuate national differences".⁷⁾

The consequence of the growth of Russian colonization in a non-Russian territory, then, might be the abolition of the Union Republics as happened in 1956 with the Karelo-Finnish SSR where the percentage of the indigenous population had become so small that the Republic lost its reason for existence. It became the Autonomous Karelian Soviet Republic and was therefore integrated into the RSFSR. Kazakhstan, for instance, may follow suit since the indigenous population of this Republic as of 1959 constituted of thirty per cent whereas the Russian settlers were the most numerous ethnic group in the country — 42.7 per cent of the total.⁸⁾

(to be continued)

⁵⁾ "The National Question of the XXIIInd Congress of the CPSU", *Central Asian Review*, X (1962) pp. 51-56.

⁶⁾ *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷⁾ *ibid.*, p. 54-5.

⁸⁾ *Itogi Vsesoluznoi perepisi naselenia 1959* (Moskva, 1962), Table 54, p. 206.

Protest Against The Visit Of Russian KGB Chief **The Former Russian KGB Chief Alexander Shelepin Will Go Ahead** **With His Visit To London Next Month**

... The first of a string of demonstrations against Mr. Shelepin took place yesterday when 300 Ukrainian exiles marched to the Soviet Embassy in London, and set fire to a Russian flag.

Mr. Ilko Dmytriw, vice-president of the Association of Ukrainians, told me: "There is a prospect of real trouble if Shelepin comes. There are exiles from the Russian empire in London who might try to attack him."

Ukrainian organizations in Britain represent more than 30,000 Russian empire exiles. They are campaigning on

behalf of 400 fellow-Ukrainians who are held in Russian prisons and camps because they sought freedom from Soviet oppression.

One of the speakers at a Press conference held by the Association of Ukrainian Women yesterday was Mrs. Slava Stetsko, wife of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of the Ukraine and leader of the Ukrainians exiled outside Russia. ...

(The Sunday Telegraph,
March 9th, 1975)

Hitler Will Dance in Hell when Shelepin Steps on British Soil

"The death of my father caused me very much suffering. We had a good family life... After the murder of my father we were advised to emigrate and to change our life style" ...

The above words come from Miss Lesya Bandera, a Ukrainian student. Her father, Stepan Bandera, the famous leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, was assassinated in Munich, West Germany, in 1959.

Who was it that, by murdering Stepan Bandera, caused so much pain and suffering to Lesya, her sister Nataliya, her brother Andriy, to their mother, Mrs. Yaroslava Bandera, and to millions of Ukrainians all over the world?

The actual act of murder, with the help of a specially constructed poison-firing pistol, was carried out by a Soviet citizen, Stashynsky, who was instructed first to test the effectiveness of the weapon on another Ukrainian, Prof. Lev Rebet, a year earlier, after years of a thorough training at the Soviet schools for assassins.

But the decision to murder Stepan Bandera and other Ukrainian leaders was taken by the then Head of the dreaded KGB, the Russian Gestapo, on the express instructions of the entire Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, of which Brezhnev and Kossygin — who are also to come to Britain later on — were and are still members.

The odious Head of the KGB at that time was Alexander Shelepin.

He was and is personally responsible for the murder of S. Bandera and many other Ukrainians, as well as leaders of other nationalities!

Shelepin's hands are stained with the blood of freedom fighters!

Now Alexander Shelepin is expected in Britain as an honoured guest of the Trade Unions Congress.

If Shelepin steps on the free soil of Britain it will be one of the darkest days in the country's history! The event would be similar to one if Hitler's butcher Himmler, were to land here for a "fraternal" visit.

An invitation from the TUC for Shelepin to visit this country must be viewed as an affront not only to the refugees from the totalitarian Russian Communist regime in the Soviet empire, but as an outrage against the public decency.

Whoever fraternizes with Shelepin and his ilk is condoning murder and honours the murderers!

Shelepin's place is in the dock at a new trial of perpetrators of crimes against humanity!

(Leaflet distributed at the demonstration of the Ukrainian Women Association, London, 8th of March, 1975)

Dr. Ku Urges Emergency U.S. Aid to Vietnam, Khmer to Save S.E. Asia

Adequate emergency US aid to Saigon and Phnom Penh is imperative for the survival and freedom of the Republic of Vietnam and the Khmer Republic, says Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, honorary chairman of the World Anti-Communist League.

Commenting on President Ford's another plea for aid totaling US \$ 522 million from Congress, Dr. Ku said in Taipei today (March 1) that this is also "an effective measure to save the entire Southeast Asia from communization".

"America's moral obligations and treaty commitments in the face of her free allies are now subjected to a severe test because of the critical situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia."

"If the two Indochinese countries were unfortunately to fall into Communist hands, the US would lose the trust now held in her by all the friends and allies and leave an indelible smear in history."

Emphasizing that the matter involved is not just not moral obligation but more importantly treaty commitments as well, Dr. Ku issued an urgent call that the US Government and Congress "provide powerful support, both spiritual and material, to the two suffering Indochinese nations. This is the only way to turn the tide in Southeast Asia and enhance US-centered free world unity"

The WACL leader also noted that both the World Anti-Communist League and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) have been consistently supporting the struggles of the governments and peoples of the two nations for freedom and independence.

"The fact that the Communist goal of world conquest and human enslavement cannot be expected to change and is well reflected in the continuing Indochinese turmoil. This worsening situation is an evil consequence of the policy of detente", he added.

Dr. Ku therefore urged Washington to seriously review the limitations of detente and take steps to avoid further mistakes. He called upon all the member units of WACL, APACL and WYACL (World Youth Anti-Communist League) to provide positive and effective assistance through all the available channels to the Republic of Vietnam and the Khmer Republic "until a final anti-Communist victory is gained".



OBITUARY

With our deepest regret we announce the death of



Levan Zourabichvili,

who died after a prolonged and serious illness at the age of 68 years.

The Leader of the Georgian National Political Center and Chairman of the Georgian Delegation in the Central Committee of the ABN, who participated in international conferences of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) was an outstanding Georgian patriot and a well known community worker, an uncompromising fighter for the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations and the revival of independent national states of the captive nations and a leading figure of the ABN .

He remained true to his principles at all times and under harshest conditions, exemplifying revolutionary virtues, loyalty to his ideals and high morality, self-sacrifice and total dedication to the national cause. He was a profound Christian.

The Central Committee of the ABN sincerely condoles with the Georgian fellow-fighters for such a great loss and assures them that the problem of the independence of their country is a common matter of concern for all members of the ABN. The ABN members present their condolences to the family of the deceased, confident that his patriotic children will continue to defend their father's ideas.

The funeral took place in Paris on February 15, 1975.

May he rest in peace!

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

News and Views

Gabriel Ronay

Stalin's 1936 Charter Of Rights Praised As Moscow Grapples With Ideological Issues Of Fundamental Law

Leonid Brezhnev's new "model constitution" for the Soviet people, designed to reflect the great changes in the country and justify his policies, appears to have run into serious difficulties.

Its draft should by now have been presented "to all the people for examination and discussion", as promised by the Soviet Communist Party leader in a speech on December 21, 1972.

On Constitution Day last month, however, the Soviet media went on paying traditional lip-service to Stalin's 1936 constitution which still serves as the country's fundamental law.

In the avalanche of thin platitudes offered to the Soviet people about the "truly democratic nature" of the dictator's outdated charter of rights, there was no mention of the new constitution. Yet, already in the 1950s Nikita Khrushchev appears to have realized the utter irrelevance of Stalin's charter to the changed conditions of a super power state.

In 1962 Mr. Khrushchev set up a drafting commission under his own chairmanship. The brief given to it included his ideologically daring assertion that one of the constitution's purposes should be to create the conditions "for the transition to social Communist self-management".

But the uncertainties of increased freedom and less state control, enshrined in this idea if taken to its logical conclusion, did not find favour with the rest of the Soviet leadership.

Two months after the ousting of Nikita Khrushchev, Mr. Brezhnev took

over the chairmanship of the commission. He wanted a mandate suited to the needs of a country "constructing Communism".

In practice, however, ideological pitfalls abounded. Because of this, the essential character of Stalin's old constitution was to be retained and the rights contained in it were restated with the variable emphasis required by the 1970s.

These rights are extensive, yet within months of their having become law, millions of law-abiding Soviet citizens were murdered, jailed or buried alive in the Arctic camps in Stalin's great purges. And certain elementary human rights, duly enshrined in Stalin's constitution, are to this day systematically violated, indicating the striking difference between formal and actual rights.

One of the rights in Stalin's charter is the constituent republic's right to secession.

A deft new formulation of the nature of the "Soviet people" has provided Mr. Brezhnev with an ideologically impeccable ground for doing away with the right to secession in his constitution. The Brezhnev thesis that there are no nationalities but just "one Soviet people" is being used to revise the received dogmas on national autonomy and self-determination.

On this basis of this "qualitative change" the constitution is to turn the Soviet Union into a federal state in which the constituent republics would lose their national character; the country then would be regrouped into large economic units better suited to the economic needs of a superpower.

This would enhance the party's leading role and sanction centralism, the two pillars of Mr. Brezhnev's strict internal policies for the decades to come.

The most contentious issue which apparently keeps delaying the final draft of the Brezhnev constitution is the role of the dogma on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Powerful groups understood to be looking for leadership to Mr. Yuri Andropov, the KGB chief, are said to be opposed to any watering down of the class struggle.

Izvestia, in a leading article on Constitution Day, indicated the outline of the controversy, using the time-honoured device of putting the views of those opposing the present party line in the mouth of "enemies of Communism".

These people were "distorting and magnifying the violent side of the dictatorship of the proletariat" even though they ought to know that it was aimed "solely against the dispossessed exploiters".

As there are no "exploiters" in the Soviet Union the inference is obvious: the class struggle ought to be toned down.

It remains to be seen how long it will take to reconcile the various and seemingly contradictory stands of Mr. Brezhnev's constitution, but time is running short as the draft must be approved before the twenty-fifth party congress.

(The Times, Friday, January 10, 1975, London)

Congressman Moakley on Moroz Resolutions in Congress

Congressman John J. MOAKLEY (D., Mass.) informed the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America that he has written a letter to Congr. Thomas E. MORGAN (D., Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, urging him to schedule hearings on all the pending resolutions regarding President's action on behalf of Valentyn Moroz and move quickly to bring them before the House of Representatives for action. Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian historian, who withstood 145 days on hunger strike at the Vladimir Prison, continues to be imprisoned by the Soviet Russian government.

"Now Moroz is very ill and needs medical treatment but it has been refused to him. Immediate intervention by the President with the Soviets on behalf of Moroz must take place", wrote Cong. Moakley.

In his letter to the Boston Ukrainian Congress Committee, Mr. Moakley stated: "All of us in Congress must move promptly to mandate the President and the Secretary of State to intervene with the Soviet government on behalf

of Moroz. The ultimate goal for us should and must be Moroz's freedom, and eventually complete freedom for the people of Ukraine, and those struggling for this basic right throughout the world."

Having congratulated the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America for its efforts on behalf of the Ukrainian people, Congr. Moakley concluded his letter: "It is both fitting and proper that all Americans, who cherish their freedom, encourage and support you in this noble effort."

On February 4, 1975, Cong. Moakley introduced into THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Boston City Council's resolutions concerning Moroz's freedom, as well as "Ukrainian Independence Day" proclamations, which were issued by Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis and Boston Mayor Kevin H. White.

Boston UCCA delegation visited Cong. John Moakley on January 25. Konrad Husak is president of the Boston UCCA, while Orest Szczudluk is handling its public relations.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ESTONIA

In Estonia four "criminals" were executed for "criminal deeds" 30 years ago. However where the trial took place the "Soviet Estonian" does not inform. Two others were sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment for the same "criminal deeds". According to the newspaper all defendants took part in the Estonian insurgent army after the USSR occupied the Baltic states in 1940.

EAST GERMANY

Georg Bensch (Berlin)

Intensified Persecution of Refugees

The eastern information services have decided to cooperate more closely in order to make any escape from their cage to freedom impossible. As is known from a reliable source several weeks ago the vice-chairmen of all eastern secret services met in Warsaw. There was only one subject under discussion: the detection of the routes of escape and of the organizations helping the refugees. The meeting — in which for the first time a chief of the Yugoslav secret service participated — was organized on the initiative of Mielke, Secretary of State Security of East Berlin.

The Ministry of State Security of East Berlin has by now been informed about the routes of escape via Yugoslavia to the West in all details. The East Berlin State Security Chief requested the Yugoslav secret service resolutely to cooperate with the other information services of the eastern bloc states. As a result of the severe negotiations with the vice-chairmen of the eastern secret services the Yugoslav representative promised to refuse asylum to any citizens from the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia.

He promised that all citizens of the eastern bloc states requesting political asylum would be extradited from Yugoslavia to their countries of origin. Thus Yugoslavia has joined the ring of the eastern secret services and placed itself under the control of the Soviet KGB.

In this connection a joint decision of the Warsaw Pact secret service chiefs and their Yugoslav "colleague" is of particular importance. It was agreed to set up a central office for "detecting" the routes of escape and "recording" the organizations helping the refugees. Meanwhile well-informed circles made known that this so-called central office has its seat in Schweidnitz, Silesia. Under the leadership of the Soviet KGB it has already started its work. Thus the Yugoslavs were provided with the notorious "search books" containing lists of the names of "undesirable persons". It must be presumed that Yugoslavia now follows the example of Kairo giving the Schweidnitz central office tip-offs whenever such "undesirable persons" appear on Yugoslav territory.

The activities of the secret services of the eastern bloc countries can, however, hardly be overlooked. The GDR has for instance introduced a close-meshed informer system in order to be able to infiltrate the human facilities stipulated in the so-called "Grundvertrag" (basic treaty) with the Federal Republic of Germany. For months GDR-citizens have been obliged to give up their contacts with the West by making corresponding declarations and the measures of control have been intensified. In the past weeks at least 130 persons were arrested in the GDR on political grounds. It has been ascertained that the arrested persons were by no means so-called "accomplices of refu-

gees" but mostly GDR-citizens allegedly maintaining illegal contacts with the West.

The Czecho-Slovak state security service has engaged about 50,000 informers in the past two years in Prague alone. It is known from a reliable source that the reporting office of these informers is located in the Bartolomeyska street where the reports of a special group of "STB agents" are evaluated as well. Another group is now again concerned with observing tourists from the western countries. In all international hotels of Prague microphones (having been removed during the "Spring of Prague") have been re-installed.

Poland officially admitted to a western correspondent that its secret service actively participates in the detection of the routes of escape from the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany and of the organizations helping the refugees and that it also operates in the NATO area for this purpose. The government news-paper "Zycie Warszawy" recently published details about the arrest of Klaus Tiesel helping refugees and of 13 GDR refugees. It was apparent from this report that Tiesel was already shadowed in Frankfurt/Main. The Polish secret service also operates in Bulgaria as may be gathered from Polish news items concerning the trial of Andreas Silver from West Berlin who wanted to help his wife living in Poland to escape, which took place in Warsaw. Silver was sentenced to 5 years of prison after having been arrested in Varna (Bulgaria). With the approval of Sofia the Polish secret service maintains its own branches in Bulgarian tourist centres.

It is finally pointed out that trips to the eastern bloc states may become very dangerous for former inhabitants of these countries who have taken refuge to the West. Well-informed circles have warned such people against running the risk of being arrested and extradited, the Socialist states having con-

cluded mutual legal aid agreements. For instance the Penal Code of the GDR stipulates imprisonment of up to 2 years for "leaving the country without permission". Similar punishments are provided for in the USSR, CSSR, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania.

The perfect cooperation between the eastern secret services and the development of the blockade system along the boundaries with the western countries have increased the danger for refugees substantially. The GDR regime has stationed 47,000 armed men for preventing escape at the intra-German boundary alone.



The Present Situation in Hungary

The western press does not very often report about Hungary. Actually, everything seems to be calm there, reflecting somewhat the calmness surrounding a dead body that is exhibited before being buried.

In reality, this is only an apparent calmness being the result of the efforts made by various Soviet services engaged behind the Iron Curtain as well as in the free world. Moreover, Russians having Hungary under control are exposing it to the western world as a Marxist-Leninist country that enjoys a relatively high standard of living which the populations of the Soviet Union do not possess. However, what is in reality hiding behind this façade of calmness or rather inertia?

Neither in Hungary nor on this side of the Iron Curtain anybody has forgotten about the vast national rising of 1956. This was the last occasion for the whole Hungarian people to make known its profound political ideas to the world and to itself.

The Russian tranquillizing attitude in Hungary is due to the "great fear" of 1956. Furthermore, this country sooth-

ed by economic and psychological appeasement, as time passed on, has become a sort of shop-window of the secluded Bolshevik world.

We are now going to discuss the actual facts: What is the particular position of Hungary in this nervous world teased by its aspiration to a true *détente*, on the one hand, and the increasingly manifest danger of war between the Soviet Union and the free world, on the other?

(1) In the ideological context of our time,

(2) in view of Hungary's strategic position in Central and Eastern Europe,

(3) in view of its disputed presence in various international institutions and especially its participation in the Vienna negotiations a balanced withdrawal of military forces from Central Europe,

(4) in view of its ethnic presence in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia which is, of course, exploited for Russian interests — just as any other element of the so-called Hungarian politics,

(5) in view of the fact that the essence and the consequences of the Peace provisions of 1946 for Hungary have not yet been cleared up and there are still some obscure points as well as legal and political gaps left, and

(6) in view of the present boundaries of Hungary which have been fixed by the Treaty of Trianon and are actually serving as basis for direct and indirect Soviet threats vis-à-vis Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia as they have never been ratified by the three great powers, i.e. the United States, the Soviet Union and China, it is apparent that in spite of its exiguous dimensions on the map Hungary has become an important element on the European chess-board.

We should remember that the Soviet Union maintains an important army and sets up all sorts of military constructions in Hungary, especially mis-

sile bases directed against Western Europe and the Mediterranean area.

Moreover, in view of the above, the Soviet Union plays those Hungarians living in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia off against the actually enslaved Czecho-Slovakia, the refractory Rumania and against Yugoslavia where it expects the imminent expiration of the Titoist regime, for political blackmailing which thus need not be based on ideological, political, economic or psychological factors being more or less ephemeral but entirely on irrefutable realities.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the *détente* cherished so much by the West is growing ever more precarious due to Soviet prejudicial activities. In spite of all efforts made the flow of western ideas hits upon closed doors in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. It is moreover evident that the Soviet Union seeks to provoke an unprecedented economic and financial fuel crisis in the free world by its Arab policy, hoping to incite a more intense political whirlpool than that of 1929 to 1933, which, this time, shall not rise from rightist dictatorships but — the basis being already laid — from leftist dictatorships.

What can Hungary do in this international situation?

In this connection the activity of the "United Party of the Hungarian People" (Magyar Néppárt Unio) in Hungary should be recalled. This party has already given no end of trouble to the government installed in Budapest by Moscow and is listened to by the entire people.

Through its activities this party proves that Hungary is preparing itself for playing, at present and in the future, a political, ideological and perhaps military role due to its vocation, its history and the vital needs of our age of troubles and uncertainties, a role that surpasses its present boundaries, namely in a spirit of cooperation at the European level. We must

not forget that already 18 years ago the Hungarian people found a path surpassing Marxism-Leninism socially speaking and going beyond chauvinism nationally speaking.

This is a precious heritage enlightening this obscure world which is filled with uncertainties and still devoted to the alarming phantoms of a terrible past.

News from Hungary

The Hungarian Association of Journalists has elected József Pálffy as its new President. In his inaugural address Pálffy emphasized that the Party line was to be decisive and that he would not tolerate any deviation therefrom. The Soviet occupation forces in Hungary have been equipped with the most modern weapons. The old weapons have been deposited in Hungary. In case of a critical military situation the called-up Soviet soldiers trained in these weapons are to be equipped therewith. (E. R.)



(1) Arrests Continue in Ukraine

In May 1974 there was a report on intensified repressions against the Ukrainian Catholic priest, **Rev. Ivan Mykhaylovych Kryvyi** from Lviv. It is by now known that Rev. Kryvyi was sentenced in summer 1974 to 4 years imprisonment of strict regime only for having performed his sacerdotal functions. He is detained in Lviv prison. Rev. I. Kryvyi is married and has two children. His wife is unable to work and is living in misery. There are numerous Ukrainian Catholic underground priests, students of theology and nuns in the Lviv region who are subjected to intensified repressions and blackmailing on the part of the KGB, for instance **Rev. Dean Kalyniuk Zenon Adamovych**, born 1887, **Rev. Tymchuk Hieronym**, **Rev. Novak Yosyp**, **Rev. Kluchyk Antin**, **Rev. Hren**

Mykhaylo. They are charged with having requested the revival and legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine; having periodically performed their sacerdotal functions; instructed young priests and with preaching the word of God.

The engineer **Dankiv Ivan** teaching music in Lviv school, **Mendrun Bohdan** and the electrician **Skrak Mykhaylo**, born 1933, are being blackmailed for having arranged one room of their apartment in the Mickievich street as a miniature convent with a mini-church furnished with a sanctuary, a cross of Christ, chalices, icons and other objects, where they used to pray and receive the holy sacraments. All of them are in danger of being arrested.

The talented young poet from Chervonohrad (former Khrystonopol), **Rozlucky Vasyl**, was arrested in 1972 already and sentenced in Lviv to 3 years of prison. He was charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" and is presently detained in the Mordovian concentration camp.

Trials, arrests and searches of Ukrainian patriots are continued in the Ivano-Frankivsk region as well. It has been reported of arrests and trials of major groups of young men from Kolomyia and Horodenka. In connection with these trials the KGB is arresting other people and searching for underground literature. On October 11, 1974 the apartment of **Pcpovych Oksana** in **Ivano-Frankivsk** was searched by the KGB and although nothing had been found she was arrested on October 28, 1974, and is still on remand for supposedly being connected with the group of young men from Horodenka who have already been sentenced. At the same time the KGB searched the apartment of the former political prisoner **Zalyvakha Opanas**, an artist and painter, and others.

(2) 20 Ukrainian Workers Arrested

In November 1974 the KGB arrested about 25 Ukrainian workers in the vil-

lage Maydan, oblast Ivano-Frankivsk, charging them with anti-Soviet activities.

(3) Plyushch's Life in Danger

The French section of Amnesty International reports that the Ukrainian mathematician Plyushch is in a critical and miserable condition in the psychiatric hospital of Dnipropetrovsk: "His body is like a desert. He can neither write nor read, is completely bald and no longer able to take part in the daily one-hour walks." It is further reported that the Serbian Institute of Moscow labeled him as a schizophrenic for opposing the regime and that therefore in January 1973 the Court of Kyiv had sentenced him to imprisonment in a mental asylum for an unlimited period of time. Since July 1973, he has been detained in the psychiatric hospital of Dnipropetrovsk where he is administered high dosages of insulin and other chemicals that are ruining his health. His wife Tatiana submitted an appeal against the medical personnel of the hospital charging them with knowingly attempting the life of her husband.

This source also states that the University of Frankfurt/Main has invited Plyushch as lecturer of mathematics. This was also reported by the press agencies "dpa" and "afp" and "Die Welt" of January 25, 1975.

(4) Political Prisoners Transferred to Ukraine

It is reported from Ukraine that recently Mykhaylo Osadchyi and Ivan Hel were transferred to Lviv prison, Ivan Svitlychnyi and Vyacheslav Chornovil to Kyiv prison.

Mykhaylo Osadchyi, born in Sumsk oblast, former member of the USSR Association of Journalists and instructor in the Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party of Lviv, was first arrested in 1965 and sentenced one year later to 2 years camps of severe regime. In 1972 he was arrested

for the second time and sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 3 years of camps.

Ivan Hel from Lviv oblast was also sentenced twice: first in 1956 in Lviv to 3 years of camps, and for the second time in 1972 in the camp where he was detained to 5 years of imprisonment and 5 years of camps.

Ivan Svitlychnyi, an outstanding Ukrainian literary critic and translator, was on remand for eight months from 1965 to 1966; he was arrested again in January 1972, was sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of camps. Recently he was staying in the Perm camps, Osadchyi and Hel in the Mordovian camps.

(5) Murzhenko Transferred To Vladimir Prison

As reported from Moscow the political prisoner **Oleksa Murzhenko** was transferred from concentration camp to **Vladimir prison in February 1975**. Oleksa Murzhenko, born 1943 in Kharkov, was sent for 8 years to a prison-like school of strict regime at the age of 13 years subsequently for 6 years to concentration camps for political prisoners. After being released for a short time he was sentenced anew to 14 years imprisonment in 1970 in Leningrad for having attempted, together with others, to get hold of an airplane and escape to the West. The group was composed of Jews, except for Murzhenko. First, he was detained in the **Mordovian concentration camp, point No. 10**, where in December 1971 he staged a hunger strike for being refused to see his wife. Subsequently he was detained together with **S. Karavansky** and other Ukrainians in the **Mordovian Camp No. 1**, of particularly strict regime, where the prisoners are working in glass grinding mills located in the neighbourhood of their cells with the dangerous dust being everywhere. Moreover, they were prohibited from walking in the open air.

Ukrainian Herald (Ukrainian underground magazine) On The Persecution Of The Faithful

On the roads to the villages of Babukhiv, Verylivtsi and Zaluzha, in the district of Rohatyn in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, on the night of December 19, 1973, all the crosses were either sawed or broken; some of these crosses dated back to the time of serfdom. This information is reported by the Ukrainian Herald (No. 7-8), which also contains many facts about religious persecution and destruction of churches in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Herald poses the following questions: Maybe after reading these few facts the "exarch of Ukraine" Filaret will not be able to state that he does not know about the requisition of churches and the persecution of the faithful in the last years? Maybe now he will be able to tell us what he did with Father Save, a priest in the Cathedral of Saint Vladimir, who preached sermons in Ukrainian? Or maybe he will tell us why in 1972 the Seminary in Odessa accepted only 4 students from the Lviv region? Why are the church services in most areas of Ukraine, with the exception of a few western provinces conducted in Russian? Why is there no religious literature written in Ukrainian? No! Filaret will not be able to answer these questions, but we will answer them for him. The reason for all these events is that there is not a Ukrainian Church in Ukraine. Moscow has usurped control over the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the East in the 1930's and over the Greek Catholic Church in the 1940's. Russification is perpetrated through the Russian Orthodox Church. The positions of power in the Russian Orthodox Church are filled with obedient lackeys, who only think about material goods and receive from diabolical rulers rewards for their black philistine deeds.

In Chapter V of this issue of the Ukrainian Herald information about the

destruction of churches and the persecution of the faithful is given (we transmit this in an abbreviated form:

in Eastern Ukraine one can hardly find any churches in the villages. Once there was at least one per village. All the churches were destroyed in this area in the 1930's; the destruction of churches is still proceeding in Western Ukraine. In the Lviv region there were 1,200 active churches after the war; in 1961 there were only 528. Every year their number decreases. This decrease is accomplished in a very subtle manner: when a priest dies or retires in most cases he is not replaced or is replaced by an ignorant or a trouble maker, so that the faithful no longer wish to attend the services;

in the spring of 1972 the people of the village of Volitsia, in the Nesterivsky region demanded that the archdiocese of Lviv send them a priest. The Soviet authorities categorically refused to assign one. The kolkhoz workers went on strike for a week, with the cattle keepers showing great bravery and not being intimidated by threats. The KGB immediately began to investigate who the organizers of the strike were. But good organization and courage won out. The villagers were successful. So far, this is the only known example of an unequal duel, where the pariahs of Soviet society were victorious;

in 1972 on the street Artem in Lviv an old church was demolished. The inhabitants of Lviv threw themselves under the bulldozers and the faithful were forcefully dispersed by the militia;

in 1972 in the village of Pidlisky, in the Nesterivsky region on the highway from Lviv to Kyiv a

church was demolished to make way for a tea-shop;

the faithful are constantly persecuted. During the most important holy days the persecutions are intensified and take on the character of mass campaigns against the faithful;

if Easter or Christmas falls on a week day, regular working days are scheduled;

school children are forced to attend outings and other functions during these holy days;

in 1973 in the whole of Lviv region, school principles were called out before the Christmas holy days and informed that if any pupils were seen in church or around the church (the churches being watched by special personnel) the principals would be dismissed from their posts;

in December 1973 in the History Department of Lviv University a group of students were dismissed for reading the Bible;

in January 1974 a student was dismissed from the medical school of M. Melnyk in Lviv, because he brought flowers to the graves of the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army buried in the Janiw cemetery;

in the town of Kozov, in Ternopilshchyna, a priest was fined 50 rubles because his services exceeded the prescribed length of time.

The **Ukrainian Herald** gives the following information about the persecution of Ukrainian Catholics:

the strongest religious persecutions are directed against Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine and in the rest of the empire. They are carrying on an even struggle for the preservation of their Church, which was forcefully liquidated in Western Ukraine after World War II. All the churches in which the

priests did not agree to a union with the Moscow Church were closed and condemned for demolition. In some cases the parishioners did not turn over the keys of the churches to the authorities and gathered for prayers, secretly, without a priest. Therefore in the last few years persecutions have increased; this became especially apparent after a meeting of the Politburo of the CP of Ukraine. After this meeting V. Malanchuk stated that the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine has not been completely liquidated and that the Party must give more attention to this matter, since the Church has always been in the vanguard of Ukrainian nationalism. The persecution of Ukrainian priests, who perform their spiritual duties under extremely harsh circumstances has increased. They are abused, imprisoned and tortured.

The Herald gives further more facts about the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholics in the Lviv region and Chapter V ends with the following statement:

"Together with the millions of freedom loving Ukrainians the Ukrainian Christians of all dominations are fighting for their national and religious rights."

An American tourist came to Romania. In a conversation with a minor Romanian official he casually inquired: "How do you get along with the Russians?"

The host replied: "We manage to hold our own, we had 500 years experience with the Turks."

The attitude of the Poles to the USSR is clearly revealed in the following.

On a placard proclaiming "A Month of Soviet — Polish Friendship" someone added:

"Agreed. But not one day longer!"

Book Reviews

National Composition of the Party Leadership

(Excerpt from the PhD. thesis of Vasyl Kalynovych: *The Leadership of the USSR Communist Party in 1919-1921 — a Comparative Study*", Indiana University (1972), p. 417)

The national composition of the leading party organ since 1917 up to the present is of significance for mainly two reasons:

Firstly, the Communist Movement in Russia and elsewhere, has always theoretically emphasized the international outlook as opposed to the national one. The entire Marxist Socialist theory as adopted by the Russian revolutionaries was founded on class differences, and not national entities. All Communists were ideologically bound to abandon their national orientation in politics in favour of the international solidarity of all exploited classes.

Secondly, Russia having conquered many nations has become an empire. These nations were oppressed by the Tsarist regime in cultural and political respect. The Russian Communist leaders proclaimed a policy of equality among all nations in order to obtain the support of a large number of nations. The application of this policy in reality is partly evident from the composition of the leading party organ from the beginning of the Soviet regime up to the present.

The Year 1919

The national composition of the party leadership was quite varied in 1919. There were 5 Russians: Lenin, Khrestinsky, Kalinin, Bukharin and Stasova; 3 Jews: Trotsky, Kamyenev and Zinoviev; one Georgian: Stalin; and one Pole: Dzerzhinsky. Rakovsky was of Bulgarian nationality but a Rumanian

citizen. Although there were a few national representatives among the leaders, Russians and Jews were in the majority. Consequently, the leadership of 1919 can justly be called a Russian-Jewish group.

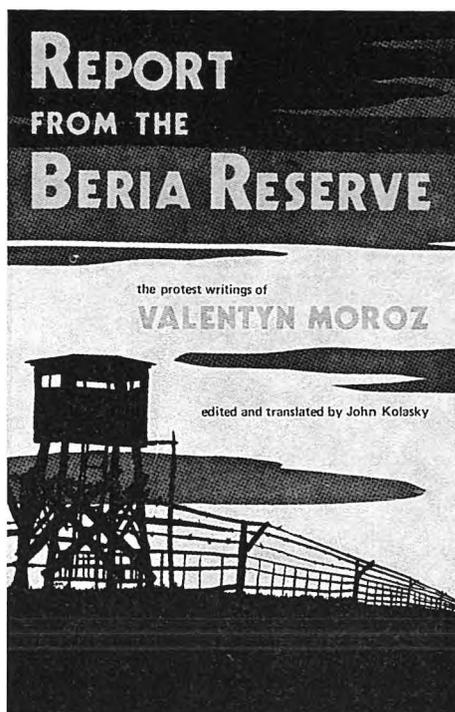
The Year 1939

With respect to nationality the leadership of 1939 was more homogeneous than that of 1919. There were 11 Russians, 2 Georgians, one Armenian and one Jew. Russians: Andreyev, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kalinin, Molotov, Khrushchev, Shvernik, Malenkov, Mekhlis, Mikhaylov and Shcherbakov. Stalin and Beria were Georgians, Mikoyan was Armenian and Kaganovich was a Jew. Thus the Russians constituted somewhat over 73 percent and the leadership of 1939 can justly be qualified as a Russian group. Such important nationalities as the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians and some other national groups were not represented in the leadership of 1939.

The Year 1961

The 1961 leadership was a multinational body. However, only 7 nationalities were represented, the Russians still being in the majority. There were 13 Russians: Shvernik, Khrushchev, Suslov, Kosygin, Ponomarev, Spiridonov, Brezhnev, Ilichev, Kozlov, Voronov, Grishin, Shelepin and Demichev. There were 3 Ukrainians: Podgorny, Polansky and Shcherbytsky. The other non-Russians included Mazurov - Byelorussian, Mikoyan - Armenian, Rashidov - Uzbek, Mzhavandze - Georgian, and Kuusinen - Finn. There were indications that the younger non-Russians were recruited as representatives of the parties of their respective republics in contrast to the non-Russians in the leading group under Lenin and in most cases also under Stalin. Mikoyan, however, was a veteran and it can hardly

be maintained that he represented the Armenian Communist Party. Kuusinen could not represent the Finnish Party either because the Karelo-Finnish Republic had been abolished in 1956. He was probably included in the leadership due to his activity in the Comintern and his consistent loyalty to the Soviet Union's leadership. On the other hand, Podgorny, Mazurov, Mzhavandze and Rashidov were included in the leading party organ as first secretaries of the parties of their respective national republics (the last three men still hold their positions). The other two Ukrainians had also made their career in the Communist Party of Ukraine. The intention is to have the different nationalities represented proportionately in the upper executive bodies. In 1966 this representation was even more balanced, the number of Russians being reduced and that of Ukrainians and Byelorussians increased. The same holds true for the leadership of 1971.



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

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



The 8th World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Conference held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, April 23 - 25, 1975

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibil-shevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
8 Munich 80, Zepelinstr. 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 18.— in Germany, 9 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 9 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depo-sitenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No. 30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolsche-wistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN),
8 München 80, Zepelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon: 48 25 32

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

The World Situation And Ukrainian Foreign Policy

The partitioning of the world (not the official, but the factual) into a Communist and a non-Communist bloc, exists today in the same measure as it did in the period of the so-called 'Cold War'. There is not the slightest indication that the so-called Russian Communist sector has repudiated its main goal — that of domination of the world — but on the contrary, there are numerous signs of an increase in its acts of aggression. And yet, the fact of the division, undeniable as it is in the procurement of a correct analysis of the world situation, does not in itself indicate the level of monolithicism in the two camps.

Immediately after the partitioning (at the end of the '40's) the partition was conceptualized in terms of the East-West division, a terminology which today does not reflect the actual state of affairs, particularly with regard to the term 'West', which does **not** encompass a large group of newly created states but limits itself usually to North America, West Europe and Japan.

Nor is the idea of the 'Free World' exactly an antithetical concept to Communism because, if it is true that all nations in the non-Communist sector of the world are wholly free, then it is not altogether true when talking about the individual. It seems that for our own analysis a different definition is needed. Therefore the delineation "Communist and non-Communist sectors of the world" more accurately reflects the current situation in the world.

Recently in the non-Communist sector two fundamental processes were completed:

a) With the fall of the Portuguese empire the process of de-colonization was completed, and the new states, which arose as a consequence of that de-colonization, are crowning this period of their formation (stamped as it is by various rebellions) with a more or less steady path of social-economic and cultural consolidation and development.

b) The USA, exhausted by its role of 'world policeman', which arose as a consequence of the politics of containment (of aggression) has transferred its responsibilities of conventional defence against Communism onto the shoulders of individual states thus forcing them to rely on their own forces, and has retained only the defence of the so-called 'nuclear umbrella' and financial aid.

A further consequence of such a process is the appearance of 'détente', which actually means 'political restraint' on the side of the USA and political infiltration on the part of the USSR, excepting that, speaking

figuratively, the knitted brows of the opponents have been replaced by the smiles on their lips.

Together with the countries of Latin America, the newly arisen states create a separate group of countries often called the "Third World". Such a name suggests a tri-partitioning of the world, whereas in truth it is only the manifestation of the heterogeneous nature of the non-Communist sectors manifesting themselves in the existence of various political regimes, various economic systems, various religious and local interests. And it is on this 'Third World' body that there arise various conflicts, including wars. The most critical of these is the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is the source of the energy crisis and ferment in the economic life of all the nations of the non-Communist sector of the world, particularly of the industrial nations.

The character of the Communist sector of the world (in contrast to the non-Communist), is basically homogeneous as a consequence of the all-powerful ideology of Marxism-Leninism, having a dictatorial platform of Communist parties and nationalised or planned economies. This sector's division arose as a result of two imperialisms: the Russian and Red Chinese. Externally it appears in the conflicting interpretations of an official ideology; in the attachment by one party to the other of the labels of 'revisionist', and in the territorial pretensions of China to the USSR.

The ideology of Marxism-Leninism is exclusive, universal and dogmatic, and one of its principal dogmas bears that 'scientific' allegation that Communism 'as the highest level of development', must rule the entire world. Such a dogma, coupled with Russian imperialism and messianism, prodded and continues to prod Moscow into aggressive expansionism against the countries of the non-Communist world. The same can be said about Communist China, except that the pressure is weaker because of its later appearance on the world arena.

Infiltration of the non-Communist by the Communist sector of the world exists through assistance to the 'Communist Movement' which aims at the institution of Communism in the entire world. This is a unique world situation, characteristic only of the twentieth century, particularly of its second half. It has no parallels in the past, because to the Communist party the ideas of international politics of the past, such as 'balance of power' or 'status quo', are traduced into fictions, and the stabilization of international affairs on the basis of agreements — into illusions.

Moscow and Peking compete between themselves to rule the World Communist Movement, which in perspective means to them — a rule over the world, and by various methods simultaneously conduct subversive acts in non-Communist states. Almost every conflict therefore between nations of the non-Communist world, and every crisis of a local or more general character, are only small incidents of the larger front battle in the

quest for world-rule. At present Moscow and Peking have the same thoughts in respect to Arab oil politics, the crises of Portuguese colonialism, the changing order in Spain — and in the economic crises of the 'capitalist world' they see the confirmation of their Marxist 'prophecies'.

Both above mentioned imperialist powers are intensively extending their military strengths, and it is not unlikely that they will use these strengths to conquer the world. For the present they use as a means of blackmail in their conviction that time is on their side. At the same time they suppress by various methods disagreements which exist because of contradictions between official ideologies and actual conditions. Resistance by the non-Communist world to Communist-imperialist attacks and diversions, strengthens internal liberation processes in both empires, and this on the one hand, will speed their internal decay, in particular that of the Russian empire, and on the other hand — it may promote the struggle between them.

Among all local wars, conflicts and crises, the most important factor is the aggressive advance of Russian Communism-imperialism in its endeavours to rule the world through its leading role in the World communist movement.

It penetrates non-Communist states by various methods, without attention to its dissimulating 'politics of peace' ('détente', 'retention of the status quo' etc.). And in such a struggle with hypocritical aggressor it is not possible to be either 'neutral' or 'non-united'.

The rulers of the Kremlin, in order to bypass the judgement of history, hide the imperialist and colonial character of the Russian Communist empire (USSR), deceiving the world that they have, so to speak, solved their national question. And it is at this point that the world significance of Ukraine enters. Holding a key place in the Russian Communist empire, having been the first victim of Russian Communist imperialism, and the proving ground of its methods of genocide, methods which today are used on other nations, having waged the longest and most successful struggle against the enemy of humanity — Ukraine can best apply itself to a successful completion of the anti-Russian and anti-Communist struggle.

General Principles of Ukrainian Foreign Policy

Foreign policy serves the main needs of a nation at a given stage. The main need of Ukraine today — is its liberation from the Russian Communist yoke, and therefore, a Ukrainian foreign policy must create the appropriate circumstances for such a liberation.

The eventuality of Ukraine's liberation is variously interpreted: as a result of a world war, as a consequence of the 'evolution' of the Russian Communist empire (including the possibility of a 'palace' revolution), or as a revolution of the USSR's captive nations. In defining the directions

of foreign policy it must be indicated which of the above possibilities is the most realistic in order that it can become the basis of our foreign policy of liberation.

From an analysis of the world situation it appears that a world war is possible but unlikely, as the leaders of the Russian empire and Red China are stepping carefully on the world arena. Their prudence arises not only from their sense of their own weakness or from the uncertainty as to their own strengths, but also from the conviction that time is on their side and that they have no need to hurry.

The so-called evolution in the USSR may facilitate certain social alleviations, but will never bring about the liberation of the captive nations, a liberation which must go hand in hand with the collapse of the Communist empire. This is something which an 'evolution' will never achieve, even in the event of a so-called 'Palace Revolution'.

The most certain path of liberation — is revolution, **because** it is created by the captive peoples, and a Ukrainian foreign policy should revolve around revolution.

Paying attention to the position and the role of the Russian empire in the present world, the problem of Ukraine's liberation by its character and aim is determined in accord with all the processes that occur simultaneously in Europe and the world.

Ukrainian foreign policy must be planned and actualized correspondingly. It must encompass all aspects of international life, all activities of world politics where by one or other method an opposition can be set up to Russian Communist imperialism.

The struggle of the Ukrainian nation in Ukraine and across the breadth of the Russian Communist empire against political, social, economic and cultural imprisonment has created in the world an ideological and political basis for external activities of independent Ukrainian political forces, defenders of its national interests on the international arena, which are actually expressions of the demands and aspirations of the whole nation.

A Foreign Political Activity Ought to Adhere to the Following Principles:

a) A struggle for the renewal of an independent, sovereign state on all Ukrainian ethnographic territory, for an extended consolidation and preservation of that state belonging to the Ukrainian nation.

b) Representation of Ukrainian interests — that is, Ukrainian foreign policies must be **in total** Ukrainian, stemming from the interests and needs of the whole nation.

c) On the primacy of the national idea, that is — international unions of every character and aim ought to be implemented on the principle of the nation state sovereignty and on the equal rights of partners,

and the main consideration in this is the liquidation of the Russian Communist empire.

d) On the primacy of one's own strength, that is — a Ukrainian foreign policy must be independent of external forces and factors, and must orientate itself on its own nation and on the revolutionary liberation struggle.

e) An opposition to the enforced isolation of Ukraine — a Ukrainian foreign policy must endeavour to create premises by which Ukraine and the matter of her liberation would be recognized by the world powers as a factor tied to their own national interests and security.

f) A proper picture of the world of tomorrow, that is a Ukrainian foreign policy must step out with its own conception of tomorrow's world order, and be prepared to give an opinion on contemporary issues.

Relations with Ukraine's Neighbours

Sovereignty for each State and the ethnographic principle constitutes the basis of territorial demarcation amongst nations. This is the position of the OUN towards co-operations with Ukraine's neighbours.

The Russian nation was and is the progenitor of Russian imperialism. All European empires have disintegrated with the only exception of the Russian one, which continues to exist as an anachronism of the past under the guise of the USSR. From this outlook a certain nervousness is apparent among Russians in their concern with the 'future of Russia'. However, the spirit of imperialism continues to predominate, as is evident from the minority's control of a larger group of Russians who would cast off their imperialism and accept the ethnographic principle as a basis of the renewal of sovereignty of the captive nations. The OUN is carefully searching the currently impenetrable Russian imperialist conception for the inevitable appearance of gaps and deviations.

Among the Polish people the spirit of imperialism is only slowly dying out and therefore it is difficult to induce ties of co-operation, and therefore it is worth while strengthening those ties for the sake of a better Polish-Ukrainian understanding.

It is essential to extend co-operation with the other neighbours of Ukraine according to the strategy of the liberation struggle and the demands of the foreign liberation policy.

Ukrainian Liberation Policy and the ABN

The Russian nation, the bearer of Russian imperialism — and the perpetrator of its current form — the USSR, is a minority inside its empire. The majority consists of the captive nations which are yet insufficiently organized and ideologically united to throw off the Russian minority's yoke. To achieve this — is the aim of the ABN.

The conception of the ABN is not only the external political aspect of the Ukrainian nation's liberation but an idea behind the struggle of the imprisoned nations, a fact which was stressed by the first Conference of the Captive Nations in 1943 as a real basis of co-operation that endangers the Russian imperialism and colonialism.

The mobilization of world anti-Communist and anti-Russian freedom-loving forces in support of the liberation struggle of the nations held captive by Russian imperialism, and an appropriate organization of such a struggle — can be actualized from the position of the ABN.

Ukrainian Liberation Policy and International Organizations

At one time the Communist conspiracy or world rule was obviously organized by the Third International, an organization which was dissolved by Stalin in response to the demands of the allies in the 2nd World War. But this 'dissolution' was obviously only a formality, because the actions of the Communist party in the non-Communist sector of the world were further organized and financed by Moscow.

Through the mediation of ABN, the OUN upholds and co-operates with such organizations of continental and world reach as the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the World Anti-Communist League (WACL).

Russia's defeat in the war with Japan led to the revolution in 1905. The March Revolution of 1917 and the so-called October Revolution of the same year were partially caused by the defeats of the Russian armies on the fronts of the First World War. Moscow is not now waging a regular war but is heavily engaged in another form of battle, the fronts of which are spread on all continents. The defeats of Moscow in this particular war may also lead to revolution, therefore Ukrainian liberation policies, with the help of international anti-Communist and anti-Russian organizations, ought to strike Russian Communist imperialism as many blows and as many defeats, as possible.

The Charter of the United Nations and its Universal Declaration of Human Rights conforms with the position of the OUN, only it is not applied to the nations of the Communist sector of the world, especially to the captive nations the USSR — because of Moscow's influence in the UN's numerous organizations. It is essential to strengthen the struggle for the improvement of the state of the UN. This struggle should be intensive and should be carried out with the assistance of the so-called Third World. Properly speaking, now that empires have ceased to exist, with the exception of the USSR, now that the wounds caused by European colonialism have nearly healed, now that the economic crisis has shown the reality of the danger from Russian Communist imperialism for all states of the non-Communist world, **now** appropriate conditions have risen to attack the inroads that Moscow has achieved in the United Nations. **W. G. K.**

Soviet Russian "Détente" In the North

At the beginning of February the Swedish Commander-in-Chief, General Stig Synnergren, prepared a military-political survey dealing in particular with Swedish-Soviet relations. On February 8, the official USSR telegraph agency TASS sneered at his statements "allegedly taken from the moth box of an imminent Soviet danger".

The commentator Baskalov clang to the ostensible Swedish stand point with respect to the close cooperation between the Finnish and the Soviet Railways and the development of land ways in North Finland. The railway network and the highways enable 12 Soviet divisions to simultaneously invade Finland and facilitate the movement of Soviet troops in the western direction. According to TASS "General Synnergren was trying to alarm the North European public by these facts, aiming at strengthening the position of the NATO propagandists trying to encumber friendly relations between Finland and the USSR, to promote tensions in North Europe and to prevent the consolidation of peaceful coexistence".

In order to emphasize these Soviet incriminations and thwart any doubts as to "Moscow's efforts of peace" General Synnergren's visit — he had been invited in 1970 to visit the USSR — was called off on the grounds that the Soviet Minister of Defense, General Kulikov, could not receive the guest "due to lack of time". No new term was set, probably in view of Palme's recent speech about the two super-powers and "their respective efforts at dominating the world".

In addition, the Kremlin directly and indirectly attacked the Swedish neutrality policy, the government organ "Izvestia", of February 5, for instance accusing Stockholm of "having abandoned the path of neutrality" by promising to sell the NATO members Den-

mark, Norway, Belgium and Holland tactical aircrafts of the type "Viggen" in case of war.

In order to correctly appreciate the Soviet drive the efforts made by the USSR formerly to improve, i. e. above all extend and build up a faster communications network with the Norwegian Atlantic coast, must be taken into consideration. What is also at stake, of course, is the oil in the Norwegian waters, and primarily military operation plans. In order to eliminate NATO in the North, Moscow needs powerful forces which can be quickly moved to the corresponding places in North Norway. This is the reason why the Krenlin is and has been so interested in the development of the railway Kiruna-Narvik.

The matter is brought to bear by the Swedish lieutenant-general Stig Löfgren, summarizing it mid-February in "Svenska Dagbladet" (organ of the Conservatives) as follows:

Since the only free passage from the USSR to the Atlantic is the Barent Sea and the Arctic Sea the Soviets have concentrated a strong military base system on the peninsula Kola, which by now is equipped with harbours, shipyards, airports, ammunition and fuel supplies, repairshops, detachment and communication stations, counter-intelligence agencies etc. Nowhere in the world a comparably powerful military combat with such effectiveness has been concentrated to that extent.

The Barent Sea Navy comprises about 500 warships with an overall garrison of 100.000 men. This giant navy makes use of all harbours from Pechenga (Petsamo) to Murmansk which are practically free from ice. In this part of the Soviet Union there are at least two army divisions comprising altogether 24,000 men and 250 tanks. The combat effectiveness of the units

can at any moment be increased very quickly by artillery forces. Furthermore, in Pechenga there is a special brigade consisting of 2,000 naval infantry-men, which disposes of a large number of amphibian vessels and tanks. 40 airports are situated on the peninsula Kola, about half of them being utilizable for modern tactical aircrafts. There are probably 300 aircrafts of various types on the bases mentioned. Even strategic bombers and transport aircrafts for air-borne troops have been perceived on the peninsula.

Air defense is highly developed there for two reasons: first, the passage for American missiles towards Leningrad and Moscow is the shortest via the peninsula Kola; secondly, the concentration of war material and military forces is especially vulnerable. The air defense system comprises tactical aircrafts, air defense missiles and ordinary type anti-aircraft batteries, all being under one command. It goes without saying that the necessary radar set is also located there.

Löfgren further states that this whole system is directed primarily not against Norway, but against the USA and NATO. However, should a conflict arise between the superpowers Norway would be between hammer and anvil due to its geographical position. Its se-

curity entirely depends on the relations between the USSR and the USA.

If in case of a conflict the USSR succeeds in strengthening its position in Norway the new situation would bring about a series of advantages for the USSR: Its air defense would be strengthened, it would have the possibility to place its navy in many Norwegian fjords and thus eliminate the now vulnerable concentration of military forces; NATO would lose its only airfields near the Soviet bases in the Barent Sea; finally, the possibilities of offense would considerably augment for the Soviet Union. It would gain control over the Arctic Sea and its navy could very effectively intervene in any struggle. All these possibilities are of course considered in NATO projects, and its member states know precisely that all will depend on acting quickly as soon as hostilities break out.

The Soviets foresaw this already when taking care of accelerating and reconditioning the communications network in Finland and also partly in North Sweden, as shown above. Decisions are usually taken at the last minute by the West — these improvisations being explained by political or tactical reasons — and this is one of the cardinal mistakes repeatedly made by the Free World.

Lukianenko Confined To Psychiatric Asylum

Lev Lukianenko, one of the Ukrainian —lawyers — freedom fighters who prepared a draft for the Ukrainian SSR's eventual secession from the Soviet Union, was confined in the Rubinske psychiatric asylum.

On December 19, 1974 Lukianenko was transferred by the KGB from the notorious Vladimir Prison to Rubinske. Dissident circles in the USSR concurred that Lukianenko was confined to the psychiatric asylum as punishment for not recanting his political views.

Lukianenko was born in 1927 in the Chernihiv oblast. After graduating

from the Moscow University Law School he worked in the regional office of the Communist Party in Hlyniany in the Lviv oblast and later as an attorney in the same city.

In the latter half of the 1950's Lukianenko, Ivan Kandyba and Stepan Virun wrote the platform of the Ukrainian Workers — Peasants Union which outlined legal methods of securing national and social rights for Ukraine.

The three, who eventually became known as the "jurists" having prepared a draft for the Ukrainian SSR's secession from the Soviet Union guarantee such an eventuality.

Estonians Appeal To The UN Secretary General

An appeal from occupied Estonia to the Secretary General of the United Nations has just reached the West.¹⁾

It reads in full as follows:

To his Excellency
the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim

As we have heard by radio, our appeal dated 24th October 1972, has finally reached the United Nations Organization, in spite of considerable delay. Although it was impossible to discuss it earlier, we are authorized to inform you that this document has in no way lost its authenticity and urgency. In fact, it is bound to remain urgent until the basic rights of the Estonian nation will be finally restored and the threat of gradual Russification eliminated.

Therefore, we ask you to take the necessary measures so that our appeal could be included into the agenda of the coming 29th session of the UN General Assembly. We take advantage of this letter to repeat our principal demands. We ask that the world community

1. Recognises the right of the Estonian nation to self-determination

2. Declares illegal and invalid the present regime of occupation in Estonia

3. Assures the evacuation of all Soviet armed forces from Estonian territory

4. Brings Estonian territory under temporary UN administration and introduces UN police-forces

5. Carries out and supervises free elections.

We want to inform you that as soon as the news of the arrival of our appeal was published, there followed in Estonia a wave of repressions. On 13th December, 1974, large-scale house-searches were executed and several arrests were made. As the number of security officers needed for such a sweeping operation was insufficient, KGB men from neighbouring Latvia had to be introduced. Since then a silent regime of terror has been established over our country, security forces repressing and suspecting every expression of liberal thinking.

In spite of these gloomy events, we consider that our primary goal has been achieved: the problem of restoring independence and basic human rights to the Estonian nation has been finally raised before the community of free nations. The monopoly of the Soviet Estonian puppet regime to represent the Estonian people has ended. No one can state any more that the Estonian nation as a whole agrees with the 35 years of foreign occupation and perspective of assimilation. As a result of our appeal the present regime was forced to show its true, inhuman and oppressive face.

Your Excellency, we appeal by this letter to all free nations and governments not to make any compromises on the issue of human rights. Innumerable men and women in the Soviet Union can prove at any time that, despite of the publicity, given by the Soviet Government to the goodwill and peaceful co-operation, the violent, repressive and inhuman nature of the Soviet regime has not altered. We firmly believe that the liberty and human rights of all nations are indivisible. You cannot ignore repression of basic hu-

¹⁾ See "Two appeals to the United Nations from occupied Estonia" *East-West Digest* Vol. 10, No. 18. September 1974. Pp. 702-709.

man rights in one part of the world without dangerously weakening the same rights and liberties at your own home.

Finally we ask you to raise the question of several Estonian citizens, who have been illegally arrested, accused in no other crime than the attempt to exercise their basic human rights. These include:

Kalju Matik, lecturer in the Tallin Polytechnic Institute,

Mati Kiirend, an engineer,

Arvo Varato, a physician,

Artjom Joskevitch, an engineer and others, all living in Tallin.

We also ask you to make this letter available to the international news media.

We are convinced, as is also the present Soviet leadership, that there can be no real peace and stability in the world until all the subjugated nations are able to exercise freely their basic right of self-determination.

Tallin, 23 December, 1974

Estonian National Front
Estonian Democratic Movement

Dodd Meets Imprisoned Plyushch's Wife

The wife of imprisoned Soviet intellectual Leonid Plyushch had a surprise last week at her Kyiv apartment: a visitor arrived in the middle-of-the-night.

The man who knocked at her door at 1.30 a. m. was a 30-year-old congressman, Rep. Christopher J. Dodd of North Stonington, D-2nd Dist., son of the late senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut.

Dodd, a member of a House Judiciary Committee fact-finding group, spoke of the unusual meeting after his return from a 13 day trip to the Soviet Union.

At the request of a Connecticut group, Dodd had been asked to present a petition to Soviet authorities protesting against the incarceration of the 34-year-old Plyushch, a mathematician, and historian Valentyn Moroz, 38 years old. Plyushch is being held in a mental institution. Moroz is in jail. Both were accused of "anti-Soviet" writings.

Dodd said that while he was in Moscow, he obtained Mrs. Plyushch's address in Kyiv. When the congressional group reached Kyiv, Dodd and an American Embassy interpreter got into a taxi and drove to her address.

"I knocked on the door at 1.30 in the morning and I guess we were there until 3 a. m." said Dodd.

During their conversation, Mrs. Plyushch described the conditions under which her husband is held as chilling.

Mrs. Plyushch can see her husband twice a month. "They are kept two metres apart (about 80 inches) and two policemen are with them at all times", said Dodd.

Dodd said Mrs. Plyushch told him that Soviet authorities repeatedly tell her husband that if he "renounces his anti-Soviet statements he will be a free man".

But Mrs. Plyushch said her husband has rejected all attempts to get him to renounce his views, said Dodd.

Dodd said he was certain, however, that the congressional unit's complaints would reach the Kremlin. He said that the group met with the head of the US and Canadian Institute, an agency that serves frequently as a conduit for information at top Soviet officials.

Dodd indicated that the visiting congressmen enjoyed a fair degree of freedom of movement during their trip.

"But we were followed", he said, "especially during the early part of the trip."

Dodd said he believed the surveillance was done by the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

CROATIA

Demands Freedom And Independence

On November 29th, 1943, a group of guerrillas and red activists, under the protection of the Soviet Union, met in a mountainous part of Bosnia at an assembly named "national liberation of Yugoslavia" — 95 per cent Communists and Serbs, without any democratic representation whatsoever, against the will and interests of the Croatian People.

With the military and propagandistic approval of the allies — Soviet Union, England and the United States — without ever considering the will and interests of the countries involved, they proclaimed the constitution of the future state of Yugoslavia, composed of six republics, five nationalities, four languages, three religions, two alphabets, a living President, Dictator Josip Broz Tito, and without regards for the oppressed.

At this time, the Croatian people manifested an unbreakable spirit to fight and to defend the fatherland, the traditions, and their own national state, free and independent. Thousands of Croats sacrificed their lives in the defence of the right and freedom to live freely and independently in their own state.

Fully supported by a false and slanderous anti-Croatian propaganda, the victors of the Second World War handed the Croatian Army and the civil refugees over to the mercy of Tito's fanatic blood-thirsty partisans. They committed a genocide — more than 300,000 men, women and children were massacred around the Austrian city of Bleiburg, followed by successive death marches. This terrible fact was now revealed in Lord Nicholas Bethel's book.

After the war the Yugoslav Communist Milovan Djilas wrote that these

massacres of Croats were necessary so that Yugoslavia could exist . . .

An illustration is the Catholic Primas of Croatia — Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac — who paid with his life in the Yugoslav prison for his testimony in defence of the Croatian people, its liberty and national independence. Afterwards, Tito admitted to the world famous Croatian sculptor Ivan Mestrovic — and this is published in his memoirs — that Cardinal Stepinac had to be condemned to satisfy the Serbian public opinion!

While Communist Yugoslavia publicly approves all leftist "national liberation" movements, giving to them an ample political, military and economic assistance — in enslaved Croatia, impoverished and depopulated, thousands of university students, workmen, writers, professionals and peasants rot in dark prisons and concentration camps, already sentenced or awaiting trial, as a result of recent mass protests, uprisings and guerrillas — whose activities have been partially published by the press of the free world.

We may mention here the poet Mirko Vidovic condemned to seven years of prison for four lines of poetry. He is a French citizen and had come home to see his sick mother!

Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Slovenians or Montenegrins are not Yugoslavians by official statistics. There does not exist a Yugoslav nationality. Yugoslavia is only a geographical notion which signifies "the country of the Slavs of the South". Albanians were never Slavs! Yugoslavia was constituted and formed by the Treaty of Yalta — against the will and against the interests of all enslaved peoples with the military aid of Russia and Red Bulgaria. They occupied Belgrade and installed Tito's government—

who took advantage of the Communist regime for national expansion over the other countries which make up the actual "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia". They have no fixed frontier on any side and they recently provoked conflicts with Austria, Italy and now Bulgaria. In a recent national census less than 1% (one per cent) of the population declared themselves to be of "Yugoslav nationality" — generally those of mixed marriages.

In the Communist Yugoslavia of today — dominated by the Serbs — in the same way as in the monarchic Yugoslavia before the war — all rights and political freedoms of the Croatian people have been suppressed. According to the Yugoslav government statistics, every third Croatian is imprisoned in a concentration camp, a "social rehabilitation" centre, exiled, or — dead!

Yugoslavia is not really a federal republic, but its federal system is politically fictitious, because in Belgrade, Serbian and at the same time federal Capital — the hegemony of Serbia — with the "League of Yugoslavian Com-

munists" — manifests a rigid political centralist system directed principally against the just claims of the Croatian people in defence of their natural right to self-determination, universally recognized.

Therefore it is logical and normal that the Croats were the first to protest massively against Serbian occupation and the Communist regime involving national, political, cultural and economic oppression in Croatia, whose rising buds have been cruelly suffocated by the Yugoslav Army and militia, both in the streets of Zagreb, Capital of Croatia, and in the woody mountains of Central Croatia in Bosnia.

Croats in exile repudiate their oppressors, the Yugoslav Communist government, at the service of Red imperialism, and demand a revolutionary fight for the reconstitution of the Croat state and the formation of a free, independent and sovereign State of Croatia.

Rio, April 22nd, 1975

Delegation of the Croatian Liberation Movement at 8th Conference of WACL



Hunger Strike Demonstration In Sympathie for Valentyn Moroz.

WACL Congress in Rio

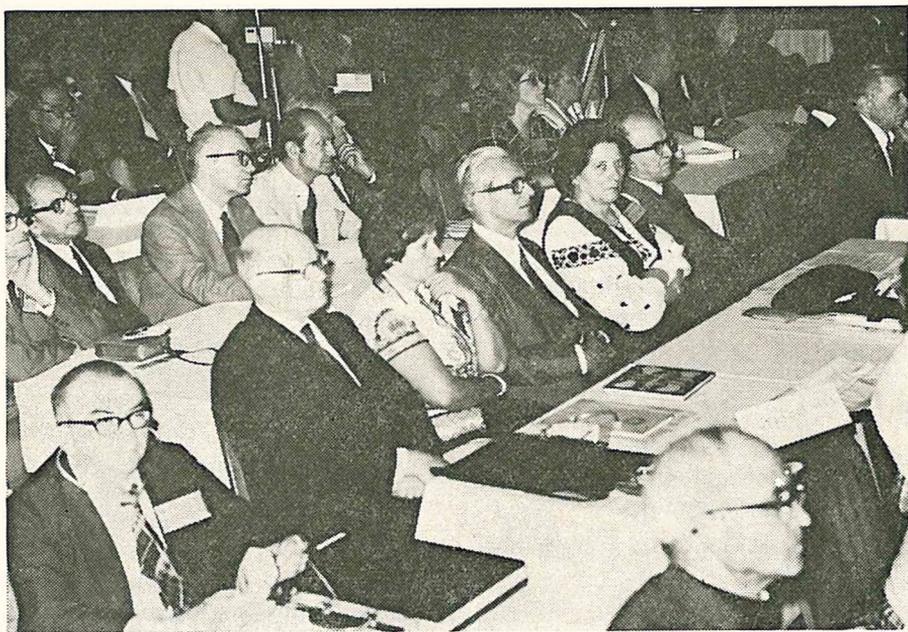
The VIIIth Congress of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), held in Rio de Janeiro, on April 21-25, 1975, was sponsored by SEPES (Political Economic and Social Studies - Society) Brazil. Sixty-four delegations were present at this Conference. These delegates brought countless and important considerations and theses to be brought up and debated during the sessions which were valuable contributions to committee and plenary session debates scheduled during the Congress.

At the beginning of the plenary sessions, and according to the scheduled program, the new President of WACL was elected, Dr. Carlos Barbieri Filho, internationally known for his efficiency and effort in support of the aims of this entity, and as President of SEPES, Brazil, the organization in charge of the VIIIth Congress of WACL. Participants from many countries, high authorities, and His Excellence, the Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, in which State this Congress was held, attended the meetings.

From among the many considerations and theses examined and debated by the different committees and plenary sessions, the following reports were approved and are listed below according to their country of origin:

1. Deliberative Proposal
Luiz Francisco de Oliveira
"Civic Movement", Director
2. Communism and the Intellectuals
SEPES — São Paulo
3. The Evidence of the Expansionary Character of Communism and the Imperialist Character of the Communist States.
SEPES — São Paulo
4. The Soviet Opposition Propounds its Ideology
SEPES — São Paulo
5. Marxist Distortions of the Shakespearean Theater, Cláudio de Cicco,
Professor at the University of São Paulo
6. No! To the Politics of Détente that Helps Communism
(Italian Chapter of WACL)
Nazzareno Molicone
7. WACL Stands for Freedom, National Independence, and Decolonization
Ivan Matteo Lombardo
Italian Delegation — European Freedom Council
8. Mass Work — Has the Communist Menace Ended?
SEPES — RIO
9. The Eighth WACL Conference in Defense of National and Human Rights against Russian Colonialism and Communism
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
10. Facing the World Crisis
Josedi Ghzau S. H.
Indonesian Association for Human Rights
11. The Situation in the Subjugated Nations
Yaroslav Stetsko
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
12. Ukrainian Herald (The underground magazine)
On the Persecution of the Faithful
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
The Present Stage of the Liberation Struggle in Ukraine
E. Orlowskyj — Ukraine
Ukrainian Liberation Movement
14. Russian Extermination Policy and the Domination of the Free World
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
15. In Defense of Ukrainian Political and Religious Prisoners
The Ukrainian Liberation Movement

16. Resolution on Communist Tyranny in Byelorussia
John Kosiak
Byelorussian Liberation Front
17. The Road to Freedom
Y. T., Shen, B. A., M. A., Ed. D.
Hong Kong Delegation
18. Information and Thesis on the Australian Branch (WACL)
Australian Chapter
19. The Eighth WACL Conference for Admitting the National Liberation Organizations of the Nations Enslaved by Russian Colonialism to the United Nations
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
20. An Alternative to the so-called Balance of Power, Cooperation and Convergence Politics
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
21. The Conference of WACL and WYACL Concerned for Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych — Ukrainian Liberation Movement
22. Report on the Situation in Hungary
Hungarian National Liberation Committee
23. Occupation and Oppression of Byelorussia by Soviet Russia
John Kosiak
Byelorussian Liberation Front — BLF
24. The Five Real Banners of Communism
SEPES — RIO
25. Communist Activity in Brazil — from 1963 through 1975
SEPES — RIO
26. The Communist Revolutionary War and its Principal Weapon — the Psychological Actions
SEPES — São Paulo
27. On the Necessity and the Urgency of an Ideological Reply
SEPES — RIO
28. Infiltration or Domination?
SEPES — RIO



ABN Delegation To The VIIIth WACL Conference In Rio de Janeiro

29. Resolutions Submitted to the WACL Conference
Captive Nations Week Committee, Australia
30. Narcotics and Subversion
SEPES — São Paulo
31. Youth and Social Reforms
SEPES — São Paulo
32. PROPOSAL
SEPES — São Paulo
Delegation of the WACL Dominican Chapter
33. Communism in Portuguese Speaking Africa
SEPES — RIO
34. Resolutions concerning Relations with Soviet Trade Unions and their boss, A. Shelepin, an Assassin and Former KGB Chief
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
35. Détente: A Record and Evaluation
Dr. Han-Lin-Wu - Chief
Delegate of the Chinese Delegation
36. Communist Infiltration in the Latin American Church
SEPES — São Paulo
37. Message
Women Civic Union — Brazil
38. Report from the Viva Portugal Movement
Movimento Viva Portugal
39. Mutual Distension
SEPES — RIO
40. Report of the Secretary General, Professor Woo, Jae-Seung
41. Communist Utopia
SEPES — São Paulo
42. Saudi-Arabia Delegation Report
Ahmed Salah Jam Joom
43. How the Communists Infiltrate Democratic Organizations
SEPES — São Paulo
44. Communism and Religion
SEPES — São Paulo
45. Sick Europe
Suzanne Labin - France
46. New Prospects for the Communist Movement - Portugal
SEPES — São Paulo
47. Island of Freedom
A. Bonifacic
The Croat Liberation Movement
48. Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — ABN
SEPES — RIO
49. The Particular Role of the National and International Women Organizations in the Movements for the Human Rights and Freedom of Religion
50. The Anti-Communist Power
SEPES — RIO
51. Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Report, Central Committee of the ABN
52. Report from Sweden
WACL SWEDEN Chapter
53. The Proselytism in the University
Djacyr Menezes, Ex-Rector of the UFRJ
54. Facing the World Crisis
Joesdi Ghasali S. H.
Indonesian Association for Human Rights
55. The Church of Brazil and Communism or the Church of Progressists
SEPES — RIO
56. Communist Revolutionary War 1935
SEPES — RIO
57. VIIIth Conference of WACL Draft Resolution, Delegation of Columbia and Uruguay
58. Anti-Subversion Doctrine
SEPES — RIO
59. VIIIth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League
SEPES — RIO

From the analyses of the aforementioned motions and theses and the content of the debates carried on during these sessions, the following ideas emerged as the most significant:

1. That the current world crisis is characterized by more than the conflict of interests between two world powers or two groups of world powers, i. e. a confrontation of two entirely op-

posite systems of cultural values: the one, as a result of considering the human being a material and spiritually immortal being endowed with a free will, responsible for his deeds before his fellowmen and before God the Creator, is based on moral norms which are permanently valid in their essence; the other, regards this same human being as a product of the casual combination of chemical substances, which due to their complexity confer on this above-mentioned creature the capacity to relate to the physical world in which he lives which basically and inevitably determines his formation. Such a conception excludes the free will and the existence of an individual conscience, resulting in the defamation of human dignity and debasement of the quality of relationships among people, and people's relationship with the authorities, characterized by a regression in the process of perfecting human civilization;

2. Equally evident is the threat coming from the anti-civilization culture, which is exposed in the above-mentioned item, and which acts against our societies by way of two factors of different origin: one is represented by the external activities initially originating from Soviet Russia and the Mainland of China and eventually passed on to their respective satellites; the other exists within our own societies which insist on embracing influences which make it difficult or which hinder their ability to efficiently combat against the external activities in which Communist imperialism is engaged;

3. It also became apparent that the efficiency of the afore-mentioned external actions almost always depends on the conflicts among them and on the consequences of those influences which we insist on embracing;

4. It also became clear that the validity of the ideological source of Bolshevik aggression, dialectic materialism, has been contradicted by recent scientific advances and that the solu-

tions for social problems proposed and applied by the Communists in those countries which they dominate have proven to be objectively of poor efficiency, which is not merely an opinion held but an actual fact;

5. From deduction of the previous item, the conviction emerged that the success of Communist aggressive imperialism, backed by traditional Russian colonialism, would not be possible unless certain negative factors existed in our societies, to which prior mention has been given;

6. From the effort made to identify those factors the conviction resulted that one of them is a liberal concept; above all with respect to the possibility of using psychological activities, through which the enemy, enclosed within his own borders, makes us vulnerable, and by way of patient and extensive infiltration, manipulating a large part of the centers which irradiate cultural prestige, such as literary movies, theater, plastic arts, and popular music, critics, professors who have their own chairs, religious leaders, etc., and thus strongly influencing political power in their own nations;

7. Another negative factor of extreme importance, also identified in our society, appears in the form of non-dogmatic materialism of a hedonistic nature, as apparent in international financial and capitalist circles, whose apathy regarding the survival of spiritual values, which they consider irrelevant, is the basic condition which makes the above-mentioned infiltration possible, an infiltration which is eroding our civilization, our national society norms and even international capitalism, which apparently has not recognized the gravity of the problem;

8. As a result of the conclusions mentioned up to now, we are obliged to submit the motion of the necessity of immediately revising the major institutional and judicial norms in our countries, which are almost all based

on concepts dating back to past centuries, when the fear of the despotism of absolute monarchies was present and systematic aggression did not yet exist, although today with ever-growing intensity, a new wave of barbarianism is moving into the free world, under the pretext of dialectic materialism which has been proven false; the above-mentioned required revisions should update those norms in such a way as to permit an effective action against Bolshevik aggression and at the same time guarantee the survival of the essential values of a true and modern democracy;

9. It is necessary to formulate a new anti-subversive strategy, since certain principles, accepted as valid for the above-mentioned strategy, have been found to be either inefficient or completely wrong in their conception;

10. The main reason for frequent military interventions as a means of carrying out the political process in different countries, especially in the Third World, attempting to stop Communist infiltration, also became very clear; contrary to the abnormal character which the critics attribute to these interventions they are fascinated

by the formal aspects of institutions, which are usually imported, however, these interventions being necessary from the sociological point of view as a natural consequence of the reaction of those national organs which were attacked, and which generally represent those forces very closely linked with cultural and historical traditions least affected by the infectious agents of Bolshevik aggression;

11. It is necessary to double the efforts to denounce Communist expansion, its violence and the crimes it committed up to now;

12. Above all for the Third World nations, it was evident, that principally the nature of the Western free societies to which we have already referred, implies the opportunity to promote a type of nationalism based on patriotism and a realistic vision of the true needs and possibilities of each nation, excluding the irrational chauvinist tendencies and the measures against other nations, mainly those instigated by international Bolshevism.

To conclude this report, this committee, at the request of interested parties, wishes to include the attached documentation.



View From WACL Council Meeting

Supplements To the Final Communiqué

Co-ordinated and simultaneous national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations are the only alternative to thermo-nuclear war.

Through such national revolutions, with the support of the Free World, the disintegration of the Russian empire and the annihilation of the Communist system will undoubtedly be achieved. Elements of a "superpower" are not only technological or thermo-nuclear capacity, but also, and most importantly, spiritual and moral values. To view the subjugated nations from this point of perspective another super-power is formed.

The 8th WACL Conference condemns Russian Communist neo-colonialism, ethno-lingual genocide, Russification, the attempted annihilation of national cultures and economic exploitation and subsequently demands the liquidation of concentration camps, the release of all nationally conscious political and religious prisoners, the termination of all chemical, medical and psychiatric methods of persecution, the immediate, non-conditional withdrawal of Russian occupational forces from the subjugated nations within the USSR and its so-called satellites and the restoration of national independence to all these nations. If for some reason these afore mentioned conditions are not fulfilled, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Geneva can only bring disaster and capitulation upon the free world, since there a base is being created for further Russian colonialist conquests.

ABN Delegation

WACL Stands For Freedom, National Independence And De-colonization

WACL recognizes 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 a de-colonization of the USSR and the re-establishment of the 1918/19 national states in Europe and Asia, WACL believes there will be an end to nuclear and conventional military confrontation, and the consequent immediate lessening of tension in Europe and in the world.

Since Russia has been a consistent advocate of national independence for all former colonial peoples, WACL urges Western Governments to adopt the same approach to all countries now under Russian colonial rule. De-colonization would also lead to the disbandment of concentration and labor camps, the end of Russification, religious and political persecution and of 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. WACL supports national independence for all nations in Europe and Asia, and condemns the continuing efforts for further Russian colonization.

WACL 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.

Ivan Matteo Lombardo

President of the
European Freedom Council

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

of the Eighth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, Rio de Janeiro, April, 25, 1975

As the international Communists are continuing to stretch their arms of aggression on a global scale and as the peoples of the Republic of Vietnam and the Khmer Republic in extreme hardship are heroically engaged in bloody battles of resistance for survival and freedom, delegates from sixty-four national member units and twenty international organizational members of the World Anti-Communist League representing all the world regions have gathered in Rio de Janeiro of the great Latin American Republic of Brazil for the 8th WACL Conference to demonstrate their gallant fighting spirit against Communism and for human freedom and national independence to step up endeavors in unity under the theme "Appeasement, No! Freedom, Yes!"

As regards the policy of détente between free nations and the Communist bloc and the deplorable results thereof, the Conference, after an extensive critical review, hereby calls on all peoples of the free world and behind the Iron Curtain to be vigilant and courageously stand together for the enhancement of greater unity and for the reversal of the critical situation.

The Conference affirms that the crisis faced anew by the freedom loving people in Indochina should be taken as sufficient indication of the failure of the free world's attempt at détente with the Communists. It is further recognized that the evil fruit of détente and negotiation includes the dangerous attempts of certain free Asian nations to seek neutralization for themselves in the hope of self-preservation or the preservation of peace, momentary and precarious though it may be, by being pro-Communist abroad and anti-Communist at home. This transparency of détente, however, all the more clearly

testifies the correctness of the consistent WACL viewpoint and stand. At this juncture, therefore, we, the participants of the 8th WACL Conference, issue an urgent request that the United States of America and all other free nations immediately take forceful steps to sustain the anti-Communist struggles of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and to positively provide material and moral assistance to the peoples of these devastated war areas.

The Conference has also decided to direct reproach to the criminal North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong who, supported by the Russian and Chinese Communists, have openly torn apart the Paris peace accord and flagrantly launched massive military offensives to massacre the people and communize South Vietnam. All free nations are urged to act collectively and swiftly to safeguard freedom and punish these malicious aggressors.

Because of the reversal of the situation in Indochina, the importance of Northeast Asia in the global anti-Communist strategy is now all the more pronounced. We therefore positively support the unwavering anti-Communist efforts of the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and other free Asian Pacific nations. As the anti-Communist rallying point of the freedom camp, the United States, is invariably affected by the success or failure of other free nations on the battlefield of anti-Communist resistance. In view of the all-out Communist aggression in Indochina and the serious threat of Communist expansion faced by free nations elsewhere in Asia, the Conference unanimously urges the United States to give full expression to its traditional national spirit at this critical moment, bring forth its abundant na-

tional strength, and render positive assistance to the Asian peoples' fight to defend themselves. We emphasize in particular that the United States ought to abide strictly by treaty obligations and defense commitments and refrain from damaging in any manner those Asian allies who have for years fought shoulder to shoulder with Americans for the common security of the Asian-Pacific region. For this reason, we fervently hope that President Ford will resolutely cancel his planned visit to the Chinese mainland and, instead, strive to enhance solidarity with free nations for the establishment of a powerful Western Pacific shield for freedom and security.

Aware that Communist aggression is global in nature and that the reversals for defenders of independence and freedom in the Indochina war adversely affect the entire free world, the Conference emphasizes that only through the free people's general awakening and unity for the elimination of Communist forces threatening to enslave mankind can man's freedom be assured or protected, and that only through joint endeavors of the free nations to put a decisive end to Communist aggression can the obstacles be removed and lasting world peace solidly established.

The conference has noted with gratification the successful convocation of the "Middle East Solidarity Conference" last month and the establishment of a WACL regional organization by that name for the Middle East. Joining the two already existing WACL regional organizations — APAFL (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League) and CAL (Confederacion Anti-comunista Latinoamericana — Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation) — MESE, a solid anti-Communist front, has enhanced and expanded the foundation of this League.

The Conference, gravely concerned about developments in the Middle East, calls upon the free nations of that re-

gion to constantly guard against Communist attempts to sow seeds of discord and strife. It is ardently hoped that the oil resources in the region will be put to proper use for the safeguarding of freedom and security — the common interest of all peoples — as well as for the promotion of Middle Eastern peace and prosperity.

The Conference respectfully salutes the free Latin American nations for their measures of opposition and prevention against the Chinese Communist smiling diplomacy, trade enticements and propaganda offensives, as well as against the Russian plots of infiltration and manipulation. All the conferences positively support the efforts exerted by the Latin American nations and peoples for freedom, independence, progress and prosperity. Support goes in particular to the anti-Marxist measures of the Chilean government and people for the rebuilding of their country. The Conference urges the continuance of the embargo against the Cuban Communist regime and stresses that positive assistance ought to be given to anti-Communist revolutionary actions of the Cubans striving to overthrow Castro's tyrannical rule.

The Conference urges that all free African nations firmly stand on the side of freedom, cooperate closely to bring about economic development under the principles of equality and mutual benefit, and check the advances of Communist forces bent on infiltration and subversion.

The Conference requests that the free nations of Europe cooperate for further enhancement of the Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Common Market so as to bring about greater European security and prosperity, while vigilantly guarding against Russian Communist schemes to divide and win over nations.

The Conference supports the gallant struggles for national independence, freedom and human rights waged by the peoples and nations now held

in captivity under Russian imperialism and Communist rule of slavery.

The 8th WACL Conference supports the liberation movements for national independence and sovereignty of Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia, Czechia, Estonia, North Caucasus, Armenia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Slovakia, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the "satellite" states.

The Conference also expresses poignant sorrow and sincerest concern over the fate of the enslaved and oppressed peoples kept by the Communists behind the Iron Curtains of the Chinese mainland, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba. It has been resolved that spiritual encouragement and material assistance be adequately given to these people continually so that they can rise, wherever they are, expand isolated cases of individual resistance into a well-organized, all-out anti-Communist revolution and furthermore join with free world forces as a rising tide of the age for bringing down the Iron Curtains from within and outside.

The Conference furthermore calls on all the free nations to exercise vigilance and guard against the united front tactics of the Chinese Communists to destroy free world unity by dividing countries into three worlds, and also against the regime's scheme to assume hegemony through its manipulation of the "Third World", despite its insistence that it is opposed to hegemony.

The World Anti-Communist League has been pointing out that confused and depressed though the world situation may be, free people will awaken as a result of the failure of détente and bring about a resurgence of freedom forces. Struggling for freedom, the League is correctly in the mainstream of the age.

The 8th WACL Conference therefore urges all the peoples of the free world

and Iron Curtain countries to rise as one with strong determination to gain and enhance freedom by eliminating Communism. A united freedom camp should march against the raging Communist forces and through vigorous, coordinated action put a decisive end to aggression.

The Conference has decided to hold the 9th WACL Conference in the Republic of Korea at a date in 1976 to be announced in due time. Much more forceful blows will thus be dealt to the aggressive Communist forces.

The Conference is grateful to the government and people of the Republic of Brazil for their positive support to the current meeting. Sincere thanks are expressed by all the Conference participants to the WACL Brazil Chapter for its commendable arrangements and warm hospitality.

The success of the 8th WACL Conference is an assuring reflection of the ceaseless march and vigorous growth of the WACL Movement. The participants of the Conference are convinced that the forces of freedom and democracy will ultimately overpower and destroy Communist tyranny. We shall with this firm belief stride tirelessly toward a glorious victory of freedom.

The Conference expresses its deepest sorrow over the passing of H. M. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and H. E. President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China. King Faisal devoted himself untiringly to the building of his country and contributed greatly to the promotion of peace in the Middle East. President Chiang spent his whole life striving to preserve Asian security and enhance human freedom and world peace. President Chiang, whose great contributions were officially noted at the last WACL Conference, was indeed an anti-Communist leader of great foresight and vision. The respect and reverence expressed by the Conference participants are genuine and spontaneous.

Report on ABN Activities

The Headquarters of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in the free world are situated in Munich, West Germany. There is an office of the President of the Central Committee, of the Secretary-General and the Central Press Bureau.

The Central Committee co-ordinates the activities of the national liberation movements of the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union and the so-called satellite states, i. e. Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Don-Cossackia, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine and North Caucasia.

Each national liberation movement carries out its own programme of activities through its organizations established not only in their homelands but also in the free world, in the countries where there is an emigration of their respective nations.

The ABN as a co-ordinating body, works through its branches in the following countries:

Great Britain, Sweden, Turkey, France, Italy, Denmark, Spain, Canada, Argentina, Australia, South Africa and USA.

The ABN Central Committee publishes bi-monthly ABN Correspondence, in English; monthly L'Est Européen, in French; monthly Resistencia y Liberacion, in Spanish; books (mostly translations of works from behind the Iron Curtain), pamphlets and leaflets, for instance

1. "The Present Stage of the Liberation Movement" — Jaroslav Stetsko
2. "The Shelepin File"
3. "Genocide of the Ukrainian People" — Prof. V. Plyushch (in English)
4. "The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire" — Yaroslav Stetsko

5. "Memoirs of One Ukrainian Insurgent" — Yuriy Borets

6. "Our Alternative"

7. "Instead of a Final Statement" — Valentyn Moroz (in 16 languages, compiled in one book)

8. "Reunification or Annexation" — Prof. M. Braychevsky

9. "Cataract" — Prof. M. Osadchyj

10. "Revolutionary Voices" — Slava Stetsko

and many other books and pamphlets.

Every national movement has its own publications not only in its national language, be it Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Croatian, Lithuanian, Rumanian or other, but also in English, Spanish, German, Italian, and others.

The stronger organizations are not only publishing weekly and monthly bulletins but also daily newspapers, for example Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Poles and some other nations in the United States.

The branches of ABN closely cooperate with Anti-Communist organizations in their respective countries of emigration.

The Central Committee of ABN is a member of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Executive Board and also a strong supporter of the European Freedom Council (EFC).

Every year ABN organizes **Captive Nations Weeks** in particular in USA, Canada, Australia, and Great Britain.

It organizes **mass demonstrations** in the capitals of the free world to express their solidarity with the freedom fighters of the subjugated nations.

Protest actions against Russification, persecution of religion, annihilation of national culture, social and economic exploitation by the Communists of workers and peasants, against imprisonment by Russian neo-colonialists of freedom fighters for national independence, imprisonment of cultural leaders,

mass actions and political enlightenment about the dangers of so-called cultural exchange and trade with the Communist dominated countries. Actions against Helsinki, Geneva and Vienna Conferences with Russian imperialists and Communist tyrants, against coexistence, cooperation and convergence politics of the free countries with Communist tyrannies.

Last year the biggest actions were organized in defense of the Ukrainian hero Valentyn Moroz and other political and religious prisoners, mass meetings in sympathy with Ukrainian Patriarch Yoseph Slipyj, Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty and Lithuanian persecuted Catholics.

Other types of demonstrations were **hunger strikes** which were organized by the youth in solidarity with Valentyn Moroz and other political prisoners. These hunger strikes were most effective in Canada, England and Germany.

Another wave of demonstrations were organized against **Alexander Shelepin's** (KGB Chief — the murderer of Ukrainian leader Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet) visit to West Germany and Great Britain.

In Great Britain the mass demonstrations lasting three days were very effective and amongst the participants there were over 5,000 Ukrainians. (These demonstrations humiliated Shelepin to such a degree that he shortened his stay in England and left from a distant airport in Scotland instead of London.) Anti-Shelepin demonstrations were staged by Ukrainians, British, Jews, Poles and other national groups.

The British press such as The Daily Telegraph, The Daily Mail, The Guardian and The Daily Express, started to publish articles already a month before Shelepin's visit; describing his atrocities such as the murder of the Ukrainian liberation leader Stepan Bandera (1959), also the true nature of Russian trade unions and about the Russian KGB victims-nations and individuals.

The demonstrations had a good coverage on television, radio and in the press and not only in Great Britain but also on the European continent.

Thousands and thousands of leaflets were distributed, and also the book "Murder International" (about the Karlsruhe trial before the German Supreme Court which made Shelepin responsible for two murders, of Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev. Rebet) published by the American Senate Committee on Judiciary, were forwarded to the government offices, press people and trade union leaders. These actions received great sympathy and support from the British public opinion.

In October 1974, ABN was the co-sponsor of the EFC Conference held in Zurich, Switzerland. The aim of this conference was to urge the Western governments participating in the Geneva Conference to refuse the policy of co-operation with the Russians which only helps to strengthen Russian imperialism.

In April 1975 the biggest branch of ABN — American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — held its annual congress in New York.

The Central Committee of ABN elaborated three memorandums during the year which were sent to Western Foreign Ministers, chief delegates to the United Nations and to the Geneva and Helsinki Conferences.

The ABN through its Central Office and its branches took care that the decisions passed by WACL at the Conference in Washington received great publicity.

It tried to strengthen the unity among its members and to enlarge the contacts of ABN, increase the number of sympathisers in the free world for the cause of national and human rights.

ABN was forwarding to the subjugated nations in the USSR and the so-called satellite states leaflets, pamphlets and books that were especially prepared for different strata of the nations including soldiers of the Soviet and satellite armies, members of the

Komsol, Communist Party, workers, peasants, cultural leaders, students and the youth in general.

Our attention was paid to the visiting Soviet ships, tourists, visiting cultural ensembles, scientists participating in international congresses in the Free World, sport groups, by supplying them with appropriate literature and information.

ABN was fighting by various means the Russian subversion and infiltration, and the decay of free societies, their moral demobilisation and lack of will to defend themselves against Russian aggression.

ABN and ABN youth in particular organized actions among the youth of

the free nations propagating among them the ideas of patriotism, nationalism, traditionalism, the heroic concept of life, religiosity and morality based on the faith in God. Ideological and political courses were organized at summer and winter youth camps.

The main slogan was: One part of the youth of the free nations is fighting for the false and destructive idea of Communism. Why cannot the majority of the young generation fight for the noble and just ideas of the subjugated nations, which solely can save the world from a Communist deluge?!

Heroic believers in God, nationalists fighting for social justice and national independence for all nations without any discrimination unite in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, racism, totalitarianism and exploitation!

The ABN activities are financed entirely by its own members, who are aware that national independence for the subjugated nations can only be restored by the strength of their own movements fighting on the native soil. Our attention was mainly directed towards helping these movements in our respective fatherlands.

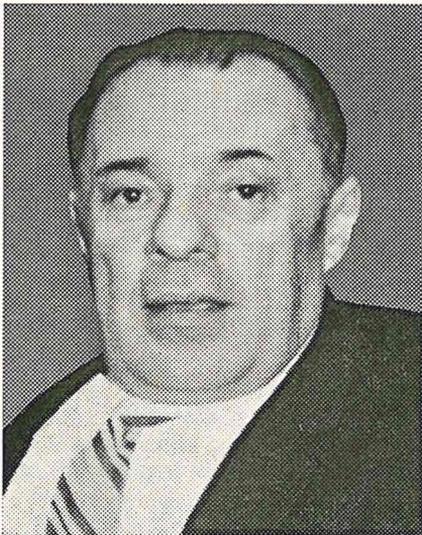
Therefore we will no longer deal with our activities outside our fatherlands and would like to draw your attention to the heroic efforts of our subjugated nations not only in their fight for survival but in confronting their enemy — Russian imperialism and Communism — with undiminished energy.

The constant news about new arrests in the subjugated nations demonstrate not only the Russian or other brand of Communist terror but they also remind the entire Free World that there are men and women who are taking the thorny path in order to defend the rights of their nation, be it in Ukraine or Georgia, Estonia or Croatia or in dozens of other subjugated countries.

In recent months information was received from Ukraine about new con-



In Memory
of



Prof. Dr. NESTOR PROCYK
1913 - 1973

A distinguished OUN and ABN
leader in the USA

victions. To four or more years of harsh imprisonment were sentenced: Dmytro Hrynkyv, Ivan Shovdovyi, 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"**.

Widespread arrests, in particular of young people, were reported last summer in major cities of western Ukraine, where the KGB was hunting for **"democratic groups"** of young people who published and disseminated clandestinely a journal entitled **"Postup"** (Progress).

Arrests, preceded by dismissals from the jobs, continued in the Odessa oblast (South Ukraine). The oblast party secretary P. Kozyr, was given special powers to combat **"bourgeois nationalism"** in the area. A series of protests were staged in Kyiv (the capital of Ukraine) by students who demanded the transfer of Russian instructors from the Kyiv State University.

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"**.

Mykola Kots was sentenced 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. Symonenko writes:

Oh Kurd!
do not spare the bullets
against Thy enemy

We have managed to collect, from reliable sources detailed information about 123 Ukrainians who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and forced labour during the years of 1972 to 1974.

The 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 publications, or contributing to these publications, in particular to the **Ukrainian Herald**. Also arrested 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 historical and cultural memorials and monuments.

In December 1974 the Rivensk oblast visiting assizes sentenced three men: **F. Kapitula** to be shot (the sentence was executed), **Z. Karpach** to 15 years of severe regime concentration camps and **S. Huzyi** to 10 years of severe regime. They were convicted under Articles 56 and 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (**"treason to the fatherland"** and **"Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"**). The prosecutor tried to prove the accused to be **guilty of co-operation with the Bandera Movement OUN, allegedly since the end of the war.**

At the end of 1974 in **Ivano-Frankivsk** the student **Hucal** was sentenced to **6 years of imprisonment for spreading underground literature.** The judges tried to connect him with the group of young men from Horodenka, convicted in August 1974 on the same charges, as reported before.

In 1974 in Ternopil a **major group of people charged with spreading leaflets directed against the occupants of Ukraine and hissing Ukrainian national flags in visible public places were tried. So far no details are known**

about the verdicts and the persons involved.

In December the trial of **Armenian patriots** arrested on November 19, 1973, accused of and sentenced for "activity directed at the subversion of the existing order" and propagation of nationalism", was concluded.

In Vilnius, (**Lithuania**) four Lithuanians were sentenced to long term concentration camps for the printing and distribution of Anti-Soviet literature. Piatras Plumpa was sentenced to four years of slave-labour camp, Povilas Petronis to four years, Virgulus Yavgelis to two years and Yonas Stashaytis to one year. They were accused of dispersing Samvydav "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" which informed about the persecution of the faithful in Lithuania. In December in connection with the continuous distribution of "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" were arrested: Balis Govkas, Albertas Zhimishkas and Algirdas Piatra Cyavichus.

Sakharov is illustrating terror in the USSR as following. "As early as the beginning of 1972 — 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 camps and 5 years of house arrest. I could cite many, many more such convictions in Ukraine."

On September 29th the political purge began in **Georgia**. Mr. Vassili Mjawanadze, First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party was removed. With the nomination of Mr. Chavardnadze there began a wave of economic arrests in the name of the "resocializa-

tion" of Georgia. The first wave was marked by the arrests of the Lazichvili brothers, and 81 other so-called "speculators".

The national movements are mass movements. They are supported not only by students and intellectuals but also by workers, by young people and the older generation, by men and women.

In Dnipropetrovsk, a general strike of workers broke out in the Petrov plant in June. A worker who for many years did hard labour 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. As a sign of protest, the workers activated all sirens at the plant and discontinued work.

In May, the Kyiv workers went on strike at a machine construction plant on Brest Litovsk Highway in Kyiv, demanding a wage increase.

At 11 a. m. over one thousand workers announced a strike urging negotiations with the plant's managers, who in turn alerted the Central Communist Party of Ukraine. 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 Novocherkask. (In the strike of Novocherkask 3,000 people were killed or severely injured.)

About 40 persons with signs reading "Down With Russian Power" demonstrated recently in the streets of Tallin, the capital of **Estonia**. The demonstrators included Estonians and Soviet citizens of German origin.

In May 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. Georgian Jews demonstrated in the streets of Tbilisi to defend their rights to emigrate.

Ruben Khatashtryan, staged a hunger strike to protest the genocide of the **Armenian** people. His sentence is unknown.

Azap Arshakyan was accused of threatening a KGB collaborator with a knife. His sentence is also unknown.

In spite 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** last year.

Turkmenian poetess Annosoltan Kekilova is now in the psychiatric clinic — she has been forcibly put there in 1971 because she criticized in her letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party the misdeeds in **Turkmenistan**.

Although we cannot point out the headquarters of ABN behind the Iron Curtain, we can with certainty state that there is a unity of ideas of all the subjugated nations. The similar, or simultaneous actions reveal that the co-operation between the movements of the subjugated peoples is quite natural. We are giving just a few examples:

A group of political prisoners from **Ukraine**, the **Baltic States** and the **Caucasus**, detained 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. The prisoners attacked the Communist Party of the USSR "that it reduces the state sovereignty of these republics to nil; that the national Soviet republics, in practice are reduced to the level of regional agencies of the Russian SSR; that the Russian Communist Party intends to create a new Soviet nation and to educate a new kind of man; that its policy is directed towards a speedy merging of other nations with the Russians; that the national regions were devastated by the forcible deportation of the native population and settled by the Russian co-

lonists; they attack Moscow for the Russification of industry, institutes and technical colleges; "All kinds of praise for Russia and for everything Russian is imposed on the young generation through the state education system."

"Since we are convinced that the natural and **most** favourable basis for the spiritual development of man is a nation, 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."

"The sovereign rights of the union republics to direct cultural, political and economic relations with the rest of the world should be expanded. The armed forces of the union republics should be re-introduced as provided by Article 18-b of the Constitution of the USSR. All the industrial concerns, situated on their territories, should be placed under the authority of the national Union and autonomous Soviet Republics."

Signed: from the **Baltic States**: Ziemlis Juris, Syklikas Ionas, Jastrauskas Antanas, Astra Gunar; from **Ukraine**: Volodymyr Bezuly, Apolony Berniy-chuk, Volodymyr Hlyva, Ivan Ilchuk, Levko Lukianenko, Dmytro Pylnyak, Ivan Pokrovsky, Oleksiy Stepanyuk, Andriy Turyk; from **Caucasus**: Vaslyan Ovik, Tahvyev Mohamed, Ekimyan Hovorkh, Velikyan Valmer.

Ukrainian Political Prisoners Z. Kravivskyi, M. Horyn, L. Lukyanenko and I. Kandyba who were regularly poisoned in Vladimir Prison, managed to pass on to the Free World their appeal to the UN filled with the drama of human suffering and the cruelty of the Soviet Russian government. They took part in a hunger strike on the occasion of Constitution Day and the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And what is the answer of the UN?

Did the United Nations reply to the Ukrainian women who also sent the petition to them?

This petition was signed by Stefa Shabatara, Nina Karavanska and Iryna Kalynets. The petition states that; January 12, 1972, marked the beginning of a new wave of repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, only because they are Ukrainians that advocate the preservation and development of the Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine.

They write: "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 to any counts of the indictment brought against us. We do not ask for favours, only for a really just and open trial with a mandatory participation of a United Nations representative."

When thousands were celebrating International Women's Day, tourists, including a party from Britain, watched in horror as an elderly woman set fire to herself in Moscow's Red Square. What a proof of the Russian way of equality of rights!

In June another letter from the prisoners of the Perm Concentration Camp, destined for the **Geneva Conference** managed to appear in the West.

"We, people of different nations, incarcerated in political prison camps of the Soviet Union are addressing ourselves to you, because we are disturbed by the course of your deliberations. The Soviet government supports the principle of the inviolability of national frontiers. Fantastic! But in 1956 Soviet tanks occupied Hungary and in 1968 Czecho-Slovakia."

"On the one hand, the Soviet government claims that it strongly supports human rights and is a signatory to numerous pacts and declarations endorsing these rights. On the other hand, the Soviet government does not hesitate to arrest those who have the courage to express their opinions, those who struggle for the development of their own national culture, those who try to exercise their right to emigrate from the Soviet Union."

"However, the regime tries to break us spiritually, kill us morally and exhaust us physically. The prison of Vladimir or a psychiatric asylum await those who firmly hold on to their convictions, who maintain their dignity."

Very often the protest action is in the form of a hunger strike, in particular in concentration camps.

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 Shabatara, 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** should be granted in camp during free time. 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 towards improving the living conditions of prisoners in the Vladimir prison.

The West has now 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 Kyiv psychiatrist. 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**), Pavlenko, Afansyyev, Chekalyn, Kanne (**Latvians**), 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! From May 12 until today the prisoners of VS 389/35 have sent out over 200 statements, complaints and protests to different socialist organizations.

Refusing to agree to collaborate with the KGB, Illy Habay (Tatar) committed suicide in Moscow on October 20. He participated in the human rights struggle in the USSR.

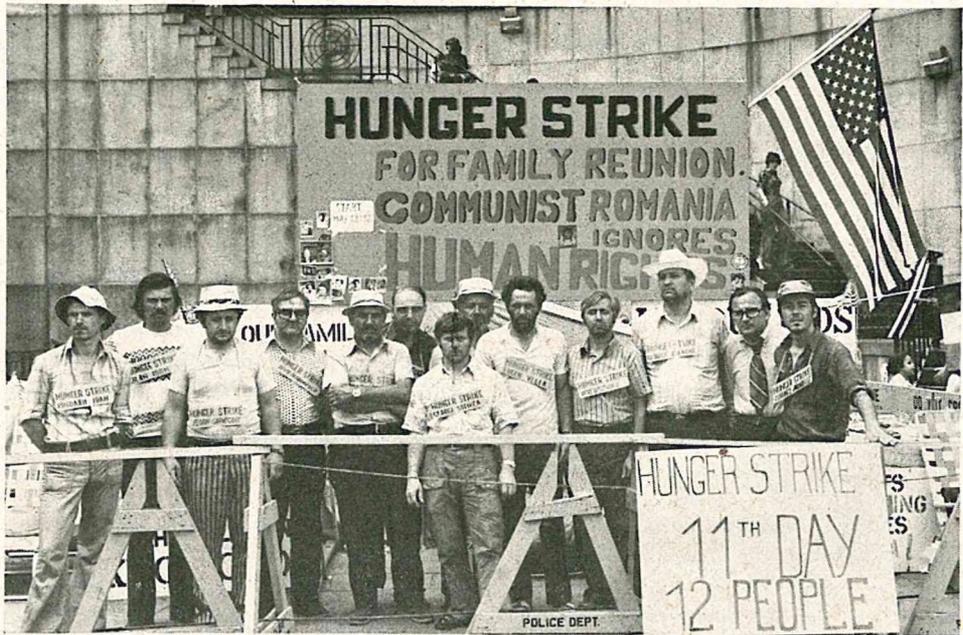
In July the news was spread throughout the world that Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian historian, went on a hunger strike on July 1, 1974 in Moscow's Vladimir prison where he is serving the first part of a 14 year sentence and that he will fast until he dies.

Moroz, 38, was sentenced in 1970 to six years in prison followed by three in a labour camp and a further five in exile for compiling memoirs of his first jail experiences in the 1960's. Moroz was on hunger strike for 5 months. He ceased it when the Russians yielded to some of his demands.

As soon as his hunger strike was known in the West, a group of young Ukrainians started a hunger strike outside the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, in sympathy with Valentyn Moroz. Some of them were on a hunger strike for 17 days.

Many citizens of Ottawa and political figures have visited the strikers and have expressed their personal support. Representatives from such national groups as the Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians have participated in the candlelight vigil that was held. Youths were camping on the Manitoba Legislative Grounds in a solidarity hunger strike with Moroz.

Throughout the world friends of Ukraine joined in actions for the release of Valentyn Moroz: sending telegrams to the Russian Government of their respective authorities asking them to intervene for Valentyn Moroz; writing articles in the press; reviews of Valentyn Moroz's essays; demanding



Rumanians on hunger strike outside the UN demanding of the Soviet Government to allow their relatives in Rumania to join them in the USA. AF-ABN supported them by collecting many thousands of signatures for their petition. (May, 1975)

the Red Cross and Amnesty International to intervene. They were ministers, Members of Parliaments, heads of Trade Unions, professors, journalists, students and workers.

The Citizen, The Ottawa Journal, The Montreal Gazette, The Globe and Mail, The Ottawa Journal, reported on actions of solidarity with Valentyn Moroz. Minister Stanley Haidasz signed a petition calling for the release of Moroz.

Minister Michell Sharp pledged to tell Soviet officials of a growing concern of the Canadian people for Valentyn Moroz. Multicultural Minister Stanley Haidasz, Paul Martin, Government Leader in the Senate, Labour Minister John Munroe, Consumer Affairs Minister Herb Gray and Minister Sharp met with the group of Parliamentarians then.

The Canadian Press reported that hundreds of telegrams from various parts of Canada were sent to heads of State requesting intervention in favour of liberating Valentyn Moroz. After demonstrations in Toronto and Ottawa Liberal Caucus Members of Parliament were asking Premier Trudeau for intervention.

Similar strikes were held in Winnipeg, Washington, D. C., New York, London, Paris, Buenos Aires, Sydney, Sao Paulo, Bruxelles and Munich.

When 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 against cultural repression, then the Russian embassy made a strong protest to the State Department demanding punishment of those responsible and repair of damage.

A similar Russian embassy protest was registered in Ottawa.

Russians are trying by all possible methods to crash the national movements. From childhood to old age are the natives of subjugated countries exposed to different efforts aiming at creating of this vast empire one Rus-

sian state with one Russian nation, speaking Russian.

University students, 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 distant republics of the Russian empire.

Many nationally conscious students were expelled from school, while others were deprived of their scholarships.

At the universities there has been a large increase of Russian KGB informers in order to spy on the professors and students.

The fighters for national and human rights are imprisoned or treacherously murdered. In prisons, unprecedented methods are used to break the will of prisoners.

In prisons, staffs of doctors and chemists from the KGB attempt to destroy the spirit and the system of the prisoners in order to force some of them to repent and to denounce their ideas, their friends, their native land. Or they try in a different way to break their will. Prisoners were taken to operas, to restaurants and recreation centers with a single aim: "Sign a declaration and you are free!"

The unpopular concentration camps in cold Mordovia and Perm, and the Vladimir prison with its medieval regime, are full of political prisoners inhumanly treated. 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.

Research workers (as recently it became known) were dismissed from work or demoted in their position due to their Ukrainism, Georgianism, or Lithuanianism. Parents are intimidated and in different ways persecuted.

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 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 for russifying Ukrainian children.

Mixed marriages are also considered a good method of Russification.

In Ukraine there are 150 mixed marriages for every 1,000, in Lithuania 158, in Moldavia 135, in Kazakhstan 244. In Kyiv where in 1972 10,102 marriages were registered, 4,000 of them were mixed marriages. The greatest percentage of mixed marriages were recorded in the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan and in Siberia, where recently entire cities are being constructed. For this purpose there exist special statistics bureaus which study the distribution of the population in the USSR.

But all these measures will not kill the desire for freedom. A few weeks ago the Western press reported the following news: The Soviet KGB besides fighting underground literature Samvydav is also compelled to reveal the underground radio stations. At least in 5 republics the underground stations are operating. The Komsomolska Pravda is drawing attention to this protest action. There were articles in this newspaper that police in a Ukrainian town Donetsk uncovered illegal radio stations. 'Pirate Radio Stations' are in particular against intensified Russification in Ukraine. Other illegal radio stations are operating in Lithuania, in the Caucasian republics, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and recently also in the Soviet Asian republic Uzbekistan.

On Tuesday, May 27th, 1975, through June 3rd, 1975, members of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in Washington, D. C. conducted demonstrations against the Soviet-Russian "Bolshoi Ballet" at the Kennedy Center in Washington. It may seem unwarranted to conduct protests against the Soviet-Russian regime at a time when the United States government is pursuing an official policy of détente with Moscow. However, it must be understood that the existing programme of cultural exchange has no value whatsoever if one of the parties involved, namely the Russian Communist authorities, has officially instituted a programme of Russification, internal ethno-lingual-genocide, repressing all outward indications of national or cultural distinctiveness on the part of any of the subjugated nations within the neo-colonialist Soviet-Russian empire, foremost of which is the Ukrainian nation. By utilizing such ensembles as the "Bolshoi Ballet" the Soviet Russian regime can create an unrealistic, totally untrue image of a federation of friendly, coexisting socialist states, alias — the USSR, where cultural freedom and development is guaranteed within the context of so-called "socialist internationalism". This false



ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko, discussing with the Chairman of the Japanese Delegation, Mr. Osami Kuboki.

propaganda front must finally be erased!

The real function of the Russian "Bolshoi Ballet", with its grandiose assortment and colourful display of various dances, is one of the many institutions which Moscow sends to the West so as to divert attention from the cultural and political oppression in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations. A great injustice is being perpetrated when the United States Government, the bastion of freedom throughout the world, is forced to welcome this instrument of Soviet-Russian propaganda when at this very moment thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals are being detained in Russian Communist concentration camps, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and constantly being persecuted for defending the basic national rights of Ukraine as well as for protesting the illegal programme of Russification. Soviet-Russian policy in Ukraine amounts to an attempted annihilation of an entire national entity.

Perhaps the best indication of Soviet Russian policy in Ukraine is the

manner in which Valentyn Moroz, the foremost Ukrainian intellectual, is being treated. Moroz, a Ukrainian historian and political prisoner, recently conducted a hunger strike to protest against the inhuman treatment that he continues to receive while imprisoned. The hunger strike lasted 145 days. Although Moroz has ended his hunger strike, reports from Ukraine state that his health is rapidly deteriorating and that he is on the verge of death. Others, such as Ivan Svitlychny, Iryna and Ihor Kalynets, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Yuriy Shukhevych who has been imprisoned for 30 years for refusing to denounce his father's ideals with respect to independence for Ukraine, Mykhaylo Osadchych, Ivan Hel, Vyacheslav Chomovil, Ivan Kandyba, Leonid Plyushch, and hundreds of others have been unlawfully sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for advocating religious and cultural freedom, for opposing Russification and defending the right to independence for Ukraine as a national entity and the right of every Ukrainian to free cultural development.

WYACL Communique Cites Moroz

The final communique of the Sixth Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League, which was held in April, cited Valentyn Moroz as the model of youth fighting for independence and freedom in the world.

"The Sixth WYACL Conference also recognizes Valentyn Moroz, political prisoner, as an outstanding model of

freedom fighters in the world, whose example urges youth to devote themselves to the cause of rescuing the captive nations from the Marxist hell in which they are lying now", said the communique.

The document also "declared its irrevocable and unlimited support to those movements fighting for the liberation, sovereignty and national independence of Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Croatia, Bulgaria and other captive nations".

Three Ukrainian students from the United States took part in the WYACL Conference, among them were Roman Zwarycz, who was elected to the WYACL executive board, Eugenia Kuzmowycz and Christina Shashkewych.

The sad state of Ukraine is well illustrated by the following riddle:

What is the largest country in the world?

Ukraine, because its border is the Carpathian mountains, its capital is Moscow, and its population in Siberia.

Young Generation Of the Subjugated Nations

World Youth Anti-Communist Conference, Rio de Janeiro

22nd of April, 1975

I greet you on behalf of the youth which has no freedom, but lives thirsting for freedom, national independence and social justice for their nations and peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite countries. Communism, which is the most barbaric and despotic system of exploitation of nations and peoples, is the modern form of Russian imperial colonialism. It is only a camouflage for Russian neocolonialism, in particular for the so-called Third World.

Russian imperialists and Communists are spreading lies to the nations, in particular to the Third World, to the so-called developing nations, the fact that they have created: a new type of being — the Communist being, new type of nations — the so-called Socialist nation, a new type of man in the USSR — the so-called Soviet man, a new type of super-national society — the so-called Soviet nation. Numerous western so-called sovietologists fall for these lies of Russian neocolonialists and Communists and support them with their own so-called scientific research. Sovietology is a study of Russian Communist lies and a system of various measures, dealing with methods of deceiving the Free World while hiding under the specific phraseology of Russian neocolonialism.

My modest aim is to briefly analyze the spiritual creativity of the young generation of the subjugated nations and to give facts about the national fight for freedom. I want to show that there is neither a socialist nation, nor a so-called Soviet nation, nor a so-called Communist or Socialist being nor a so-called Soviet youth, nor so-called Soviet man!

For two thousand years Christianity, which is the religion of the Almighty God, has not been able to transform human beings into angels; so how can

militant atheism — a false religion which is Communism, change the nature of man in half a century.

Communism has not reeducated the youth of our nations, since the 1920's, that is neither of Ukraine, nor Georgia, nor Byelorussia, nor Turkestan, nor Azerbaijan, nor since the 1940's, the Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian youth, nor that of the nations subjugated since 1945 — for example Eastern Germany, which in 1953 demonstrated by the uprising of the Berlin workers underground its anti-Communist attitude; the Hungarians, who in 1956 through their heroic insurrections undermined the Russian domination, the Czechs or Slovaks, who in 1968 demonstrated their anti-Russian and anti-Communist attitude, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Poles, or Croatians. We all know today about the heroic actions of the Croatian nationalist youth . . .

The national liberation fight against Russia and against Communism of recent times, for example in Ukraine, as well as in Lithuania can be classed into the period from 1942-1953, a period of nationwide uprisings in Ukraine, under the command of General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka (the 25th anniversary of his heroic death in battle against the armies of the NKVD was commemorated in March this year by Ukraine and ABN), against Nazi Germany until 1944, as well as till 1953 against Communism and Russia and the period 1953-1959: this is an era of uprisings of several million Ukrainian prisoners and other prisoners of the subjugated nations, particularly young people, detained in concentration camps, which threatened to spread the national revolutionary flame to the mother countries of the imprisoned. Therefore, Khrushchev was forced to reorganize the concentration camps and to

free part of the prisoners, dispersing them throughout the subjugated nations of the USSR. The period from 1959 till today can be called the wonder of the reborn young generation, because there has grown up a young generation reborn on the deeds and blood of many generations. The present fight for freedom of those subjugated in the USSR and in the satellite countries is based on the spiritual creativity of this young generation!

I would like to quote from their works and state facts about their fight ... they are the best evidence of the bankruptcy of Communism in the countries behind the Iron Curtain!

The Communist ideology and system are completely bankrupt in those nations subjugated thereby and by Russian imperialism and are maintained only with the bayonets of Russian neocolonialists and Communist bourgeois tyrants; the real tragedy of the world is that Communism and Russian imperialism are rescued by the US and other states of the Free World through economic help and a political balance of power, by the Western societies corrupted by Communism when Communist and Russian imperialism are on the verge of breaking down as a result of the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated nations, under the pressure of liberation nationalism, militant Christianity and religion in general.

It can happen that Communism and Russian neocolonialism could be destroyed in our subjugated countries, but that they will triumph in the West, due to the absurd politics of their governments. And the liberators of those living under Communism and Russian neocolonialism, shall be our nations — they will be the ones whose task it will be to rescue the Western countries from Communist tyranny. What an irony!

As long as nationalism, patriotism, heroic Christianity and religion in general, a morality based thereon as well as respect for human beings and nations

will be trampled upon, then there will be no moral, cultural, social and political revival in the West.

Precisely these ideas give strength to the youth of the nations subjugated by Russian neocolonialism and Communism.

Nationalism is an alternative to imperialism. It is a road different from Communism and capitalism and it rejects any class distinction, any exploitation of man by man, because all members of nations are brothers and sisters and help each other in solidarity, fighting any kind of exploitation!

You all know rather well about the crimes of Communism, the genocide, ethnocide, linguicide, about the mass murder of all those believing in God and their nation, about the exploitation and terror — unique in the world. In the Russian empire, the Communist system destroyed 60-80 million people and entire nations within half a century; in Ukraine only, within 1 year, that is 1932-33, 7 million peasants were killed by means of artificial hunger, 17-20 million prisoners in concentration camps; the Hell of the suffering people of Vietnam right before our own eyes: all these call to Heaven for vengeance! Not TO Communism, but FROM Communism are millions of poor Vietnamese peasants with their children and old ones, running away, while the world pretends not to see it. In the same way, the world is silent about the tragic heroism of the Kurds, who by the pro-Russian Iraq government are slaughtered with modern Russian weapons.

The world was silent, when in 1947, the Soviet Union, Communist Czechoslovakia and Communist Poland formed a pact against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in order to crush her with a united effort. Just as today the world powers continue to be silent about Kurdish heroes, so it was then up to 1953, when hundreds of Ukrainian fighters for freedom, surrounded by armies of Communist countries and among them by

the mighty USSR, tore themselves apart with hand grenades in bunker when they could not escape.

Nationalism and Christianity are triumphant in the underground and in the battle against Communist tyranny.

When a group of young people from the Free World is a carrier of destructive anti-religious Communist ideas, then why cannot the youth of the Free

World become apostles of the ideas of the fighters for freedom, national independence, social justice, for God and the Fatherland, for the liberation anti-Communist and anti-capitalist nationalism of the youth which is subjugated by Russian neocolonialism.

(Extracts of the speech delivered by Slava Stetsko)

The Eighth WACL-Conference

In Defense of National Independence and Human Rights Against Russian Colonialism and Communism

WHEREAS, WACL stands for the right of all nations to independence and for equal rights of all individuals, for social justice, freedom of creativity, religion, speech, expression and association;

WHEREAS, WACL considers the realization of the nation's right to independence the prerequisite for the realization of human rights — never can an individual of an enslaved nation enjoy human rights in an empire, but he can realize them only within the framework of his own national democratic state; and

WHEREAS, in the USSR and its satellite states — the colonial Russian-Communist totalitarian empire subjugates a large number of nations and hundreds of millions of individuals, having deprived them of the most fundamental rights and annihilating them by means of a systematic genocidal policy;

The Eighth WACL Conference severely condemns Russian colonialism-imperialism and Communism and fully supports the national liberation anti-colonialist and anti-Communist struggle of the nations enslaved within the USSR and its satellite countries for their national independence and their own political and social order, especially Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany and other nations; and it resolves:

To urge the governments of the Free World to counteract by diplomatic and other measures the Russification and extermination of the subjugated nations.

To severely condemn and 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 for breaking the will power of political prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them.

To vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights to insane asylums.

To demand an end to the persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes. Without national culture there is no world culture.

To protest against Russian and Communist crimes, and stand up for the defense of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights. The Free World is strictly prohibited from interfering in the countries behind

the Iron Curtain, while the Communists are massively and aggressively interfering in the still free countries — this absurd idea that this is a "normal" situation should be abandoned.

To reject any project of bilateral withdrawal of foreign forces from Europe since the result of such a "duped" balance would be a withdrawal of the American forces from a territory of more than 5,000 km from the Ocean and a withdrawal of the USSR forces from just a 300 km strip behind a pasteboard frontier.

To demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from the Russian subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites.

To demand the restoration of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as to all the nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

To persuade the free nations of stopping trade with and investments in Communist dominated countries.

To analyse the Communist economic warfare and to initiate counter-measures.

If the free nations of the world do not want to be subjugated to KGB guns and see the law of the jungle prevail, they must fight for humanity and for morality based on religious principles.

To resist the intimidating leftist bluff claiming to be a progressive force, denounce alliance with Communist obscurantism, and recover confidence in the values of free enterprise, morality and western civilization and defend them against forces which although calling themselves "progressive" are retrograde historically.

In Defense of Ukrainian Political and Religious Prisoners

WHEREAS, in Ukraine and other countries enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and its satellites terror, national and religious persecution, Russification and social exploitation, imprisonment and banishment to strict regime concentration camps of fighters for national independence and human rights and of cultural and religious workers have been intensified in the past years; and

WHEREAS, the politics of convergence and cooperation with the Russian empire — USSR — in particular and Communist tyrannies in general have promoted genocide and linguicide in the Russian Communist empire;

The Eighth WACL Conference calls upon the Governments and Parliaments of the free nations in the world, the free trade unions, economic circles, industrial and agricultural organizations, political, cultural, intellectual, youth, combatant, humanitarian and women associations of the free world, to display various kinds of activities, e.g. break off economic and other relations with the USSR and its satellites until the fighters for national and human rights and the cultural workers of the Ukraine and other captive nations, sentenced for their striving for freedom of creativity to 15, some to 25 and even 30 years of imprisonment, are released from prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals where they are detained, among these fighters the most outstanding cultural worker of Ukraine — Valentyn Moroz, Zynovyi Krasivsky — poet, Ivan Svitlychny — literary critic, Iryna and Ihor Kaly nec — poets, Vasyl Stus — poet, Iryna Senyk — artist, Sviatoslav Karavansky — writer and translator of Shakespeare, Nadia Svitlychna — writer, Nina Strokata-Karavanska — biochemist, Yuriy Shukhevych, — 30 years

of imprisonment for refusing to renounce his father and condemn his ideas with respect to freedom for Ukraine, Mykhaylo Osadchy — writer, Ivan Hel — student, Yevhen Sverstiuk — historian, Vyacheslav Chornovil — writer, Lev Lukianenko — lawyer, Ivan Kandyba — lawyer, Vasyl Romaniuk — priest, Yevhen Pryshliak, V. Leoniuk, Y. Hasiuk, I. Ilchuk, B. Khrystynych, O. Bilsky, Leonid Plyushch — mathematician, Stefa Shabatura — painter, as well as hundreds of thousands of others unlawfully sentenced to long term imprisonment for advocating religious and cultural freedom, for opposing Russification and defending the right of the Ukrainian nation to independence and the right of every Ukrainian to free development.

For Admitting the National Liberation Organizations of the Nations Enslaved by Russian Colonialism to the United Nations

WHEREAS, the UN Charter, the UN Resolution on World Decolonization and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognize the right to national independence of all nations of the world by dissolving world empires, as well as equal rights of all individuals irrespective of race, religion and wealth,

WHEREAS, by admitting the Palestine Liberation Organization to the General Assembly of the United Nations a legal precedent has been created;

WHEREAS, the United Nations Conference held at Vienna in March 1975 has approved the Convention on the legal status of missions and delegations to international organizations temporarily appointed by liberation organizations and sent to the respective host countries, setting forth in detail the diplomatic privileges of the representatives of such liberation organizations in international organizations;

WHEREAS, the Russian Communist colonial empire is still a member of the United Nations in spite of violating the basic principles of the United Nations, its Charter, the UN Resolution on Decolonization and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and

WHEREAS, the Russian colonial Communist empire is systematically enslaving, colonially exploiting and destroying by means of genocide and linguicide the captive nations and subjugated individuals — fighters for national independence and human rights, and is torturing political and religious prisoners in prisons and concentration camps by applying the most barbaric — physical, chemical and psychiatric — means;

The Eighth WACL Conference severely condemning the Russian colonial Communist empire and its system of oppression vis-à-vis the enslaved nations and individuals resolves to appeal to the General Assembly of the United Nations, in particular its non-Communist and anti-Communist members, and to the Governments and Parliaments of the free states of the world;

To admit, according to the same legal status as other members, revolutionary national liberation organizations of the nations enslaved by Russian Communist Neocolonialism within the USSR to the United Nations, namely the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Revolutionaries presided by Yaroslav Stetsko (the so-called "Bandera Movement") to represent Ukraine, as well as analogous liberation organizations of Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the North Caucasus, and in satellites as Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia and all other nations subjugated in the USSR, recognizing the right to national independence of these nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, as stipulated in the UN Charter and the UN Resolution on World Decolonization.

On Communist Tyranny In Byelorussia

The Communist government of Soviet Russia is continuously and persistently driving for the domination of the entire globe. The Communist doctrine is serving as a very suitable theoretic and propagandistic instrument.

By open military aggression and conquest Soviet Russia took over Byelorussia. The subsequent 57 years of Soviet Russian occupation are the most tragic and destructive in Byelorussian history. This domination at the present time is demonstrating the following results:

1. Complete violation of Byelorussian rights to national self-determination and independence, by destruction of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic in 1920 and suppression of all subsequent Byelorussian actions for liberation.

2. Annexation of nearly one half of the Byelorussian ethnographic territory to the Russian SFSR and handling it as a Russian country populated by Russians.

3. Complete subordination of Byelorussia to Soviet Russia by creation of a fictitious state, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, included into the USSR, whose governments are always appointed by Moscow, and whose functions are limited to a local administration of the Russian province.

4. Treatment of BSSR as a plain Russian colony exploited for the benefit of the Russian empire.

5. Forcible superimposition of the Communist system in the economy, turning working people into slaves exploited and treated like in the darkest times of ancient tyrannies.

6. Forcible Russianization of Byelorussian people, their culture and country with the aim to destroy their national aspirations and turn them into Russians.

7. Annihilation of the leading Byelorussians in the national, cultural, religious and economic fields during all the time of Communist rule, altogether over 6 million people. Systematic deportations of the Byelorussian young intelligentsia to the Asian regions of Russia.

8. Continuous colonization of Byelorussia by Russian political, cultural, technical, economic and military personnel, which presents a ruling and dominating force in Byelorussia today.

9. Similar policies of national oppression and persecution are applied by the Moscow government towards all the other non-Russian nations of the USSR.

10. This terrifying colonial rule exists by use of a mass terror applied with a scientific approach and inhuman ruthlessness, degrading people to the level of unconditionally obedient beings.

11. This system of Communist colonialism concentrates in the hands of the Russian government tremendous power and immense resources, used primarily for the creation of a huge military power. Coupled with a clever Communist subversion abroad, Soviet Russia today is moving victoriously ahead towards further conquests. Cambodia, South Vietnam, Portugal and military bases in the Indian Ocean are several of the recent achievements by Soviet Russia heading for world domination.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned facts the 8th WACL Conference:

1. Is condemning the Soviet Russian colonialism and Communism, which oppresses and persecutes the Byelorussian and other subjugated nations;

2. Is supporting the liberation of Byelorussia and all the other captive na-

tions from Soviet Russian colonialism and urges the restoration of their independent states;

3. Is appealing to all the free countries to unite their efforts and forces to counterbalance and to combat as required the present Soviet Russian and Communist aggression threatening the freedom of all humanity.

On Oppression of Ukraine

WHEREAS, Ukraine, a nation of 48 million people, which, lost its freedom and independence to Communist Russia in 1920 after a three-year period of independence, proclaimed on January 22, 1918 in Kyiv, is today undergoing unbridled persecution and repression by Soviet-Russia, a fact which was officially recognized and confirmed by the US Congress in its CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK RESOLUTION OF July 17, 1959, which subsequently became the law of the land known as Public Law 86-90; and

WHEREAS, Soviet Russia has been practicing systematically a ruthless policy of national, cultural and religious persecution and outright genocide on a scale unknown in mankind's history; and

WHEREAS, Soviet Russia has in the past and is now engaged in a virulent and relentless policy of russifying the Ukrainian language, culture and traditions in its totalitarian attempt to merge the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations of the USSR into one

"Soviet people", that is a Russian people; and

WHEREAS, in 1965-66 and 1971-73, hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals, young Ukrainian men and women, were arrested, tried in camera, and sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment, exile and incarceration in "psychiatric wards" in defiance of all existing humane laws and the code of international justice,

NOW, THEREFORE, the 8th Annual WACL Conference decides:

1. To denounce Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism for its conquest and savage oppression of Ukraine, and the denial to the Ukrainian people of their right to national statehood;

2. To condemn Soviet Russia for its ruthless and inhuman persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals, as well as members of the Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, Judaic and Islamic religions, and for its enforced Russification and destruction of the Ukrainian cultural and intellectual elite;

3. To appeal to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies to regard Soviet Russian repression in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries of the USSR as a crass violation of the UN Charter and the UN **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, and brand it as a violator of international justice, unworthy of membership in the world body.

On Titoist Trojan Horse

— WHEREAS in his recent speech this month Tito boasted how his theory of independent socialist states helped the expansion of international Communism;

— WHEREAS he succeeded to extract for this cause over five billion dollars from the USA and as the only man in the world twice received Lenin's order as the "hero" of the Soviet Union;

— WHEREAS in the meantime his own country has over one million people without jobs and another million are working as "Gastarbeiter" in Europe and a small minority of Serbian generals, secret service men and the party officials rule the country as a colonial satrapy, stealing and cheating without fear and killing their adversaries even in Austria, Germany and

Sweden under the false name of "Us-tashas";

— WHEREAS the last Congress of WACL unanimously voted for the destruction of this artificial monstrosity of Yugoslavia and the reestablishment of the Independent Democratic State of Croatia and other national states;

— WHEREAS Tito's announced trip to South America will greatly contribute to propagate his Communism by subtle economic infiltration and promises of technical assistance offered to different countries of South America and Africa, to create a Titoist South America in the same way as a Titoist Europe proclaimed in the press, with funds created for this aim by Tito already in 1973 in Alger;

THEREFORE THE VIIIth WACL CONFERENCE

demands of all its members

— to inform their governments and the public opinion about the insidious and dangerous Communist infiltration in Latin America and Africa through the Titoist Trojan horse;

— to organize protests against the propagandistic trip of Communist dictator Tito;

— to help the Croat, Bulgarian and Albanian people in their revolutionary, liberation and anti-Communist fight to destroy the Communist Yugoslavia, to create a free and independent State of Croatia and to reincorporate the Macedonian and Albanian provinces into Bulgaria and Albania.

Repressions And Persecutions Continue In Odessa

Repressions and persecutions against Ukrainian artists, musicians, professors and students are continuing in Odessa and many individuals have been relieved from their jobs and arrested.

Valentyn Moroz, no relation to the historian Moroz, was fired from his job at an Odessa radio station. He was a member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Several years ago he wrote an allegorical, poem, entitled "Shevchenko's Oak", in which he said that pigs are undermining Shevchenko's oak tree. The KGB reminded him of this poem at their questioning and reprimanded Moroz for it. He was subsequently relieved of his duties.

At that time Vasyl Sahaydak and Volodymyr Kryzhanivsky, members of the editorial staff of an Odessa oblast newspaper, were also fired from their positions.

In March, Vyacheslav Irhunovych was arrested for disseminating anti-Soviet literature.

Over 30 people were arrested in connection with their case.

Two months ago Borys Khatshevych was arrested for the second time for attempting to emigrate to Israel.

Citizens of the Odessa oblast are beginning to protest the policy of Russification instituted by oblast secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Pavlo Kozyr. He ordered the elimination of any press references to Ukrainian independence in history, culture and science.

Editorial staffs and radio stations received a list of writers, names and publications which cannot be cited in their media. Writers, editors and censors were ordered to sign all material, attesting that the work does not contain references to forbidden topics.

In recent months Ukrainians and other people in the Soviet Union are beginning to change their views on religious groups. Earlier they did not express their convictions openly for fear of incurring the wrath of the government, but now many people openly defend the rights of religious belief citing constitutional guarantees in their cases.

† Patriot and Martyrer

The Hungarian people and the whole world are mourning for Cardinal Josef Mindszenty.

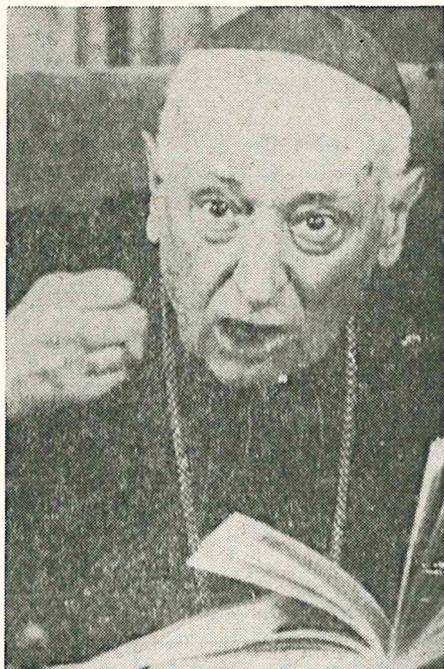
At his request Cardinal Mindszenty was buried in the vault of the Hungarian Ladislaus Chapel of the pilgrimage church Mariazell in Austria on May 15. He was dressed in a Hungarian chasuble, and a photograph of his beloved mother together with some earth of her tomb were put next to him.

Mindszenty spent about one third of his 83 years in Communist and Nazis detention. Pope XII had appointed him Archbishop of Esztergom and Supreme Primate of Hungary on September 16, 1945. During the following years he fought for Catholic schools, freedom of publication and the most basic rights for persecuted men and women.

On November 3, 1956 the Primate said over the radio: „We are living in a constitutional state, in a classless society; we are about to adopt democratic achievements; we stand for private ownership correctly and justly limited by social interest for we want to be a nation imbued exclusively with a cultural — national spirit“.

On June 12, 1956 Cardinal König of Vienna visited Mindszenty on the occasion of his golden priest jubilee and broached the question of Mindszenty's emigration to Rome. Mindszenty refused. Six years passed since Pope John's XXIII inquiry, then the measures were taken up by Pope Paul VI. The Hungarian Cardinal, irrespective of his humiliating deposition from his post of Archbishop of Esztergom, his exodus from Hungary was forced upon him and so he travelled around the world. He visited many Hungarians in exile living in North and South America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Cardinal Mindszenty embodied the Catholic faith against Nazi and Communist barbarianism that strives to rule the world. Appointed at the beginning of the war Supreme Primate of Hunga-



ry, Cardinal Mindszenty proved to the whole world that he is a shepherd defending faith and protecting his own people.

Before his death the Cardinal published his memoirs. This work must be considered more than a chronological account of facts marking the stages of his life, namely the spiritual testament of the Supreme Primate of Hungary. Indeed, each line shows the indomitable courage of this man who supported by his faith and his esteem for justice and freedom was capable of resisting his enemies.

As a prisoner, refugee at the embassy of the USA in Budapest or in exile the Cardinal never considered himself defeated; his faith and his consistent sense of duty towards his people which was entrusted to him gave him great courage, even at the most critical moments.

Today when Hungary mourns for Cardinal Mindszenty also the entire world is moved by the loss of this champion of freedom, and the Catholic Church pays honour to him as a martyr, confessor of faith.

Situation in Hungary

The present situation of the Hungarian people on the chess-board of international politics is unique, it is characterized by permanently belonging to an ideologic bloc but being hostile to it, due to their geopolitical position in the centre of Europe. Hungary has ramifications in three neighbour states — Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, — ramifications that are skillfully explored by the Russian masters, exclusively for the political benefit of the imperialist Soviet Russia.

To all this we can add the economic situation that is degrading, especially in the last two months. Having to bear such big expenses with armaments, as Soviet Russia puts on the shoulders of the satellite states a very heavy economic burden that each time becomes more intolerable. This situation reached such a difficult point that János Kádár, for the first time dared to present official protests during the recent 11th Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party in Budapest with the presence of Leonid Brezhnev. The excessive rise in prices for Soviet Russian essential material was catastrophically over the Hungarian economy. A contribution to the unease in the country is the concentration that is more and more visible of the "shock units" of the Soviet Army in Hungary and also that this country is forced to contribute directly to the military effort of the "Warsaw Pact" regarding the Chinese frontier. The excessive concentration of Soviet forces in Hungary began about a year ago when a military action against Yugoslavia and Albania was decided in Moscow. At the same time it must be observed that the Soviet Russian military action in October 1973 planned in the Middle-East which originated the counter mobilization of the Americans in the world, had also its starting point in Hungary.

As a member of the Warsaw Pact and also ethnically interested in an area of Northern Yugoslavia, Hungary will have to play a military role in an action against Yugoslavia and in the same manner according to certain determinations, against Austria. For some months the officers of the Hungarian units staying in Transdanube receive complete information about the Austrian forces on the surroundings of Graz and Villach.

The Hungarian army has about 750,000 men trained and mobile and more than 1,600 cars, that is double of what France has presently. Hungary has a national territory commanding the military historic route to the Adriatic, Balkans and Danube valley as far as Austria. All these elements make Hungary an important column in the Warsaw Pact.

As in 1956 Hungary didn't receive the expected help from the West, Soviet Russians believe that today they can count on the loyalty of the Hungarian Army towards the "socialist field".

Nevertheless, the apathy that followed the Hungarian revolution of 1956 disappeared a long time ago and the elements that characterize the Marxist-Leninist regime — the accusations, the arbitrary arrests, the low salaries, the lies at every scale and in all sectors of everyday-life, the long queues in shops, the concentration camps, the dictatorial press, radio and television of the sole Communist Party — an instrument of the hated occupant, the military preparation and all other elements that make life inside the Iron Curtain unbearable, this has helped the Hungarians, particularly the youth, to attain the desire to get away from the material and spiritual subjection which characterizes the everyday-life in the "popular democracies".

We must also take into consideration the religious situation inside Hungary. From 1945 until now, apart from the few days of freedom in 1956, the Catholic Church in Hungary is always stepping to the rear, although fighting courageously. Of the 3,163 Catholic elementary schools none remain; of the 2,459 priests and 7,525 nuns about 400 remain. Of the 30 seminaries 2 remain, of 187 monasteries there are 6 left and of the 456 cloisters 2 survived. Persecution of the religious since 1945 continues. Church life is commanded by the "Bureau of Religious Business" in the hands of the atheistic Communists. In 1945 the Catholic Church in Hungary had 6,900 priests, — in 1956, 4,500 and at the moment there are no more than 3,600, 283 of these priests are between 20 and 30 years of age. Their average age is about 60. The tragedy of the Church in Hungary is shown by these statistics.

The Vatican signed, in 1964, an agreement with the Government of Budapest, thinking in this way it could avoid the systematic destruction of the Church. Nothing changed. Although there is grief, the fire continues to burn from under the ashes. Every year around the time of the National Feast and 23rd October student and other demonstrations take place. The resistance continues secretly or openly and we do hear of this from time to time. The activity of the "Party of the Unit-

ed Hungarian People" that gathers the living forces of the resistance is well known on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Brezhnev proclaimed in Budapest, last March, during the Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party, the necessity of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation to take place in the next few weeks. We know that this is a new manoeuvre of the Bolsheviks. The Soviet Russians wish nothing but this: to make their conquests in Europe definitively accepted. Until this will be done they will go to the following phase and will make of their Satellites of Federative Republics slaves that in this way will lose the last tokens of independence which each time is becoming more symbolic. The people of those republics will have the possibility to be deported to other Soviet republics, especially to Siberia, as it happens normally in the Soviet Union. In this way it will no longer be the Iron Curtain but in reality a sepulchral stone which will descend on the middle of Europe whose Western area is still free today, which will inevitably fall in the near future under the feet of Moscow.

According to all the information we receive from our homeland, the confrontation between the Communist world and the free world is coming quickly. It's even possible that the Soviet Russian occupation of Yugoslavia will be accepted by the West as it happened with the occupation of Czechoslovakia, by Hitler, before the Second World War and in 1968 by Moscow. But no Munich could prevent that one day the war would burst against the Nazi Germans, and then the western world will be inevitably confronted, may be quicker than we hope, with the dilemma to die or to fight.

In spite of everything that happened in 1956, on this day the whole of Hungary will adjust itself to the side of the free world to which spiritually it has never ceased to be joined.

How the people love their first secretary and glorious leader is well illustrated in this anecdote.

Brezhnev came to Kyiv. The army began firing salute after salute. People became apprehensive and alarmed. A lady ran up to a policeman in panic.

"What is this, war?"

"Brezhnev has come to town", the policeman replied.

"What is the matter with those gunners", she asked, "haven't they hit him yet?"

How the Communists Infiltrate Democratic Organizations

Infiltration is a normal Communist activity. By way of this technique, refined by almost a century of experience, they have managed to penetrate democratic organizations and institutions, to dominate them and to turn them into passive performers of Bolshevik policy, which seeks to expand and enlarge the area of action of the Communist Party. This patient and progressive operation is carried out by the most diverse legal or illegal, licit or illicit means.

When the Communist Party manages to infiltrate various elements in an organization, it generally sets itself up as the partisan "faction". At times, however, the infiltrated elements remain independent, even unknown to one another.

Lenin wrote: "The Leftist is the sick child of Communism". "And to confront this we must subject ourselves to any sacrifice, and if necessary even resort to all kinds of strategies, devices, illegal, evasive and subterfuge methods, for the sole purpose is to penetrate the labor unions, to remain in them and to continue to carry on Communist activities within them at any cost."

This infiltration is normally directed by the Communist Party, according to prescribed plans. Personal initiative is not excluded on the part of the activist, whose duty is always to attempt to join democratic organizations, in order to carry out Communist work within them.

The Party designates elements to join associations, learning institutions, labor unions, sports clubs, etc. Frequently though, joining is not in the personal interest of the indicated individual. A student may receive orders to attend a college or a university in which he does not desire to study. And it is the Party that selects candidates

who will be included on the legal party tickets to form the Parliamentary faction of the Communist Party.

The statutes of the Brazilian Communist Party are prescribed without deviation in Article 14: "The Party's activity, in mass organizations and in other non-Communist Party organizations, will be coordinated by the Party through factions, each one made up of Party members, each member belonging to the organization or delegates elected by them in the Party organization to which they belong. The factions of the Party elect the Secretary or the Secretariat to coordinate their work and are directed by the Party organization in which section the non-Party organization operates." "The participation of a Party member in a faction does not exclude him from working in the Party organization to which he belongs."

The primary objective of the work of the factions is to assure domination of the infiltrated organizations and their use in mass movements.

Within this framework, the Communists normally adopt the following successive phases for the mission of infiltration:

(1) — **To penetrate the organization** — the Communists designated to infiltrate or deciding to do so on their own initiative establish contact with the organization, study diligently its rules and regulations and attempt to enter it abiding by the required conditions to the maximum. An organization in which one or various Communists succeed in penetrating is considered "infiltrated".

(2) — **To obtain a good reputation** — one in an organization the Communists strive to develop dedicated work showing great interest and attention to detail. By demonstrating great loyalty to the organization's rules, they at-

tempt to establish a reputation that guarantees them the confidence and esteem of the members of the organization. They never react as members of the Party. They attempt to make themselves indispensable.

(3) — **To take over key posts** — in general the key posts are not the most prominent. The Communists are not interested in positions of high visibility but in those of great influence. In one organization, for example, the secretary and the treasurer can be tactically more important than the presidency. Once in possession of these key posts the Communists are in a position to facilitate the entrance of new Party members and to manipulate the prestige and resources of the organization. In this situation, the organization is considered "controlled".

(4) — **To form a group of support** — a faction attempts to form a group of sympathizers or opportunists capable of supporting it at the opportune moment. When this group of supporters becomes consolidated and cohesive, the organization can be considered "dominated".

Every dominated organization always provides the Communist Party with an element of action or political support.

(5) — **To cripple the democrats** — once the Communists dominate an organization, with the help of their support group, they go on to attack the democrats and anti-Communists by attempting to discredit and demoralize them. All strategies are used. Suspect elements, the fringe elements, are put in an untenable situation, remove themselves, are purged, or submit themselves. The organization becomes a legal or illegal Party front.

In whatever phase of their work of infiltration, the Party factions always put in priority the interests of the Party, carefully hidden so as not to arouse counter-productive measures. The work of infiltration is a test of ability and

perseverance that can take months and even years.

For each type of organization a particular policy is adopted according to the necessities and aspirations of the organization or the infiltrated environment.

The work of enticement and indoctrination is carried out on the basis of "slogans", ideals that touch deeply the souls of men.

For example, in a document about infiltration in the Brazilian student environment, the Brazilian Communist Party gave among other items the following instructions:

"To the Communists rests the task of conducting the ideological struggle of the proletariat within the youth movement as a conscious vanguard as they are of this class and are the interpreters of their higher interests. It is their mission to spread among young people the social ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to present them with solutions and preconceived Party lines for handling general problems and those specific problems related to youth, and to do their best so that young people and the movement accept and adopt these ideas, the policy and direction of the Party, thus becoming an enthusiastic and combinative force capable of carrying the Brazilian revolution to its ultimate goal — to Socialism. This is the Party's most important political work with young people."

The most interesting part of this document refers to the questions which the Brazilian Communist Party faces regarding the possibilities of enticement, mobilization and unification of the young people, in accordance with the nature and category of teaching. For young people in general, these questions represent serious problems which involve, afflict and therefore greatly interest them. The Communists attempt to exploit them for their ideological propaganda, and to agitate the masses. This fits perfectly into the Party's technique of mobilization of the masses and to which the young peo-

ple's environment is extremely sensitive.

The Communist work of infiltration is often imperceptible because of the assimilation of those who carry it out. On certain occasions, however, they tolerate the democrats for convenience or accommodation. Still in other cases, although the democrats do not tolerate the Communists, the democrats conform with the Communists due to lack

of fighting spirit or they are unable to find a sympathetic ear for their grievances.

But all who are familiar with the history of Red conquests know that it is through domination of elementary organizations that the Communists come to power and that when they use violence it is almost always the final blow to a community decayed by a deep and generalized penetration.

International Womens Year In Russian Prison Of Nations

Oksana Popovych sentenced to 13 years despite lack of evidence



Oksana Popovych, a historian and an invalid, became the first woman to be sentenced during International Women's Year by a Soviet court last February. She was sentenced to eight years in labour camps and five years of exile.

The Ivano-Frankivsk oblast court charged her with "anti-Soviet agitation and disseminating samvydav literature," despite lack of concrete evidence.

The court claimed that her signature on a petition in defense of Svyatoslav Karavansky, written in December 1969,

which was sent to Liashko, and to the prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR, Hlukh, constituted "anti-Soviet agitation".

Prior to the trial, the KGB treated O. Popovych cruelly, denying her an urgently needed operation and medical aid.

Several days before International Women's Day, O. Popovych was transferred to Mordovia where she was incarcerated with other Ukrainian female prisoners near Barashov.

O. Popovych, born in 1928 in the city of Ivano-Frankivsk, is related to the well known Ukrainian writer, Les Martovych. In 1944 she was sentenced to 10 years in concentration camps.

In the camp she was assigned to a hard labour detachment, and suffered several injuries which left her an invalid.

In 1955 she returned to Ukraine and settled down with her now 87-year-old mother in a mud-hut outside of Ivano-Frankivske.

She was forced to undergo an unsuccessful operation which confined her to a hospital. At the time of her arrest in November 1974, she was preparing for a second operation.

As the trial judge was leaving the courthouse, an unidentified person approached him and said: "Come to your senses, what are you trying her for? Can it be that this crippled woman can harm you in some way?"

Occupation And Oppression Of Byelorussia By Soviet Russia

At the end of the First World War in March 1917, the Czarist Russian Empire collapsed. At this favourable situation, simultaneously with other Captive Nations, Byelorussia restored its national sovereignty.

After extensive preparatory activities by various organizations, the First All-Byelorussian Congress assembled in Minsk on December 14, 1917. It consisted of 1,872 delegates, elected democratically and covering all the ethnographic Byelorussian territories. This Congress was a national Constituent, whose aim was to decide the future statehood of Byelorussia. Bolshevik-Russian delegates were in a small minority and were not able to influence the Congress decisions. After the Congress had chosen independence for the Byelorussian state, the Soviet Russian troops dispersed it on December 18, 1917.

The next day, the Congress reconvened and delegated its rights and power to the Council of Congress. On March 25, 1918 this enlarged Council proclaimed independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. This Republic was recognised de jure by Austria, Estonia, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine. It was acknowledged de facto by Bulgaria, Denmark, France, and Yugoslavia.

In direct opposition to this independent Byelorussian State the Soviet Russian government created the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). This satellite state was created and its government was constituted in Moscow. Proclamation of the BSSR took place in the city of Smolensk, occupied at that time, on January 1, 1919. Subsequently, the Soviet Russian army invaded and occupied Byelorussia. In the north-eastern part of the country an armed fight against Soviet Russian ar-

mies was commanded by Major General Bulak Balakhovich. But his armed forces were finally defeated by Russians and retreated to Estonia in 1920.

Very severe fights were conducted in the south-eastern part of the country, directed from the city of Slutsk. However, without any help from outside, the Byelorussian division of Slutsk was not able to stop the invasion of Red Russian armies and on December 28, 1920, it retreated to the west, crossing the Polish border.

At that time Soviet Russia also tried to occupy Poland. But after being defeated at Warsaw on August 17, 1920, Russia concluded a peace treaty with Poland in Riga on March 18, 1921. The Moscow government, without representative from the BSSR, partitioned the territory of Byelorussia as follows: the BSSR was allotted a territory of six counties of only the Minsk district, with a population of approximately 1.2 million. Poland received around 100,000 sq. km. of Byelorussia with a population of approximately 4.0 million. Approximately 250,000 sq. km. of Byelorussian territory with a population of over 9.0 million was annexed directly to the Russian SFSR. In this way the Soviet Russian government brutally suppressed the aims of the Byelorussian people for self-determination and independence.

After all non-Russian independent republics were conquered and destroyed by Soviet Russian armies, and replaced by the satellite Soviet Socialist Republics, the Communist Government of Kremlin initiated the formal unification of these national republics, and their administrative subordination to the central government in Moscow. Lenin and Stalin were instrumental in accomplishing this goal. The session of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)

on October 6, 1922, accepted the draft by Lenin formulating the creation of the USSR. The 4th Assembly of the Soviets of the Byelorussian SSR, as an obedient body to Moscow, accepted the declaration on the necessity of creating the USSR. On December 30, 1922, the representatives of the BSSR selected by Moscow, together with similar representatives of other Soviet Republics, signed the Declaration and Agreement formally establishing the USSR.

Economic chaos and internal resistance to the Communist policies in 1921-1922 forced the Moscow government to deviate from the Communist programme and introduce a more liberal New Economic Policy (NEP). The NEP also included substantial concessions to the national culture, education, etc. for non-Russian nations. According to this, in 1924 a number of districts of the Homel, Smolensk, and Vitebsk provinces were ceded by Russia to the BSSR. In 1926 the countries of Homel and Retchytsa were ceded by Russia to the BSSR. At that time the population of the BSSR amounted to 5 million. However, about half of the Byelorussian ethnographic territory still remained inside of the Russian SFSR.

Having established its power in the USSR, the Bolshevik government of Moscow in 1929 drastically changed its relatively liberal NEP into a Communist policy of severe national persecution and economic exploitation. The first Five Year Plan inaugurated in 1928 signalized this basic change. It started with the annihilation of Byelorussian leaders. In 1928 J. Adamovich was removed from the post of Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars and banished. In 1929 A. Balicki was removed from his post as Commissar of Education, D. Pryshchepau — as Commissar for Agriculture, the known scientist V. Lastouski was relieved of his post as Secretary of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences, and Prof. S. Nekrashevich of his post as Vice President of the Academy. Thousands

of scholars, writers, teachers, state officials, and even students, were arrested, deported or murdered in jails. Subsequently, Byelorussians were constantly removed from all leading posts and non-Byelorussians took over.

At this time forced collectivization of agriculture was introduced in the BSSR. The Byelorussian peasants were distinguished by their traditional attachment to private property. They offered firm resistance to collectivization. The Moscow government attacked with massive and ruthless terror. The more prosperous peasants, over 1.5 million, were arrested and deported to the concentration camps in the forests of Siberia and deserts of Kazakhstan. In this way the collectivisation of the individual farms was conducted in the BSSR over several years and completed only in 1937, four years later than provided for in the 1930 plan.

The waves of mass arrests, shootings and deportations were systematically passing over Byelorussia. In 1930-1931 countless intellectuals were arrested, among them Dr. A. Cvikavich, former Prime Minister of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic; the scholar, V. Lastouski; the geographer, A. Smolich; the agronomist D. Pryshchepau; the scientist S. Nekrashevich. They were charged with belonging to an illegal organization, the League for Liberation of Byelorussia from Soviet domination.

In 1933-1934 among many arrested were all the Byelorussian members of the Polish Parliament seeking political asylum in the BSSR. They were accused of belonging to the illegal Byelorussian National Centre, cooperating with the Polish General Staff and the Ukrainian National Centre.

In 1936-1937 over 90 poets, writers, composers, dramatists, artists, and professors were arrested. Among them were such talented people as, U. Duborka, Ya. Pushcha, M. Zaretski, C. Dudar, U. Zhylka, M. Haretzki, B. Klashtorny, M. Charrot, and many others. Nearly all the famous Byelorussian scientists,

professors and academicians were arrested as, Epimakh-Shypila, Dounar Zapolski, Gr. Haretzki, Krutalevich, Dydyrka, J. Zamotsin, Pyaluknovick, and many others, altogether over 50 men. At that time there were tens of thousands arrested, shot or deported: Byelorussian teachers, agronomists, engineers, physicians, lawyers, and students.

In 1938 arrests were made on a large scale among the Byelorussian Communist high officials. A. Charviakou, President of the BSSR, M. Haladzed, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the BSSR, I. Ubarevich, Commander of the Byelorussian Military District, V. Sharanhovich, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Byelorussian Communist Party, were arrested and killed. The entire Central Committee of the Byelorussian Communist Party was purged in 1938. Many thousands of Byelorussian government officials were liquidated. They were replaced by non-Byelorussians.

After the occupation of Western Byelorussia in 1939 the Soviet government of Moscow immediately deported more than a half million of its population to the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan.

During the Second World War the Soviet Russian diversionist partisans were murdering, as a rule, Byelorussian teachers, officials, writers, priests, and all relatives of those, who were occupying any position in national Byelorussian life.

Despite mass terror and the extensive annihilation of the Byelorussian population by Soviet Russia, the Second All-Byelorussian Congress, held on June 27, 1944, in Minsk, the activities of the Byelorussian Central Council, and the armed fight of the Byelorussian National Guard against Soviet Russia for the independence of their native country, were the best proof for the real desire of the Byelorussian people. Therefore, after the occupation of Byelorussia in

1944, the Russian government carried out bloody reprisals against the Byelorussian people. Again mass deportations, public executions of Byelorussian national and cultural leaders, workers and peasants took place.

During 57 years of occupation the Moscow government has annihilated over 6 millions of the Byelorussian population.

Besides the physical extermination of people, the Soviet Russian government commenced to liquidate the national spirit, ethnic distinctions, and cultural achievements of the Byelorussian people, with the aim to create one undivisible Soviet Russian nation.

The religious life was struck by Bolsheviks first of all. The Assembly of the clergy and laymen of July 23, 1923, in Minsk proclaimed the foundation of the Autocephalous Byelorussian Orthodox Church to secure independence from Moscow. However, the elected Head of this Church, Metropolitan Melkhisedek, was called to Moscow, imprisoned and died under mysterious circumstances. Bishop Ioan of Mazyr died in a concentration camp, Bishop Filaret of Babruysk and Bishop Nikolai of Slutsk died in prison. Subsequently all 2,000 clergymen were shot or deported to concentration camps. 2,500 churches and 23 monasteries were ruined or closed. By 1937 the Orthodox Church in the BSSR was destroyed completely. The religious life of all other denominations and church organizations met a similar fate.

At the time of the Second World War the All-Byelorussian Orthodox Assembly took place in Minsk on August 30, 1942. This Assembly, composed of bishops, priests, and laymen restored the Autocephalous Byelorussian Orthodox Church and requested the Patriarch of Constantinople to grant the required *Thomos*. The believers in Eastern Byelorussia began to repair and restore the churches and resume services and religious life. However, after the

occupation of Byelorussia in 1944, the Soviet Russian government liquidated this Church. The Byelorussian bishops were forced to leave the country, many priests were shot or deported to concentration camps, and many parishes were closed. Still existing churches in Byelorussia were subordinated to the Patriarch of Moscow and Russified.

After the liquidation of NEP the Moscow government started and intensified the Russification of the Byelorussian people and their country. To bring the Byelorussian literary language closer to Russian, on August 26, 1933, changes and simplifications in Byelorussian grammar and orthography were introduced.

The Moscow government removed from circulation and destroyed all ethnographic and patriotic Byelorussian books and periodic publications. For this purpose in 1935 a secret catalogue was printed (the "Joint Control List of Publications of the Byelorussian State Publishing House") for the use of Communist Party members in an edition of 500 copies. According to this publication, in 1935 alone, 1,778 of the listed books and magazines were destroyed amounting to 12 million copies. Instead Byelorussia was flooded with Russian publications of classical literature and Communist propaganda.

On March 13, 1938, by a governmental decree, the study of the Russian language was made obligatory in Byelorussian schools, and other national republics of the USSR. Immediately a final Russification of schools was pursued. Russian was the compulsory language of instruction in all higher schools and in nearly all secondary and grammar schools.

The Russian language was introduced in the cultural life administrative offices, commerce, communications, armed forces, etc.

The Moscow government commenced to liquidate the cultural achievements of the Byelorussian people of the past. Many architectural and religious mo-

numents: cathedrals, churches and monasteries, were ruined completely. Even after the Second World War at Freedom Square in Minsk, the Roman Catholic Cathedral and a medieval firehouse tower of typical Byelorussian architecture were destroyed. Byelorussian buildings were erected in the uniform present Russian style.

The names of towns, streets, institutions, schools, etc. are dedicated to Russians or international Communists. The University of Minsk is dedicated to the Russian Communist Lenin; the military school in Minsk is dedicated to the Russian Czarist general Suvoroff; the prospect in Minsk is dedicated to the Russian poet Pushkin. In Byelorussian towns and cities many monuments were rebuilt and dedicated to Russian personalities.

It is hard to assume that the genocidal policies of the present Soviet Russian government will be able to eradicate the Byelorussian people with their desire for national independence. The historical past convincingly shows that at a suitable opportunity Byelorussians will again take up the military fight for their liberation.

John K o s i a k

Radio Broadcasting in Five Soviet Republics Against Russification

The Soviet KGB besides fighting underground literature Samvydav is compelled also to reveal the underground radio stations. At least in 5 republics the underground stations are operating. The Komsomolska Pravda is drawing attention to this protest action. There were articles in this newspaper that police in a Ukrainian town Donetsk uncovered illegal radio stations. "Pirate Radio Stations" stand in particular against intensified Russification in Ukraine. Other illegal radio stations are operating in Lithuania, in Caucasian republics, Azerbaijan, Georgia and recently also in the Soviet Asian republic Uzbekistan.

Interview With Lithuanian Freedom Fighter Václav Sevrúk

Question: We would like to know how you personally became aware of the importance of the national question. Further, please explain the evolution of the terms nationalism and nationalist as you understand it.

Answer: As far as I remember, at school I used to associate the term "nationalist" with a gangster. I remember a well-known caricature representing Tito with a bloody axe. This is what I thought nationalists were like. Later on, when attending the Suvorov military school I heard about the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and learned that many of our Suvorov graduates fighting in Hungary defended the Hungarians instead of our soldiers. Already then I began to review my position on the national movement and the national question. Subsequently, when I graduated from the Suvorov school and began to work as a worker I often came across manifestations of nationalism, as I called them at that time. **Lithuanians regarded Russians as usurpers and occupants**, discussing this openly. In cases of conflict the Lithuanians tended to blame the Russians for everything. On the other hand, the Russians were inclined to accuse the Lithuanians calling them nationalists, fascists etc. I got closely tied up with the Lithuanian national movement, represented by people who had been detained in camps for 10, 15 or 25 years. I heard about such people and then met them personally, men and women condemned to lifelong imprisonment. All these people were basically **nationalists**. When I got to know them I realized that they were **good people, patriots of their nation** and their **native country**. I realized that they were **non-conformists** who would never abandon their ideas and convictions for any conveniences whatsoever.

Question: You are well acquainted with the Ukrainian poet and political prisoner, Zynoviy Krasivsky. Tell us about this acquaintance.

Answer: — **Zynoviy Mykhaylovych Krasivsky** greatly contributed to the solution of the national problem in my consciousness. I met him at the Serbsky Institute to which I was taken after no evidences could be extracted from me. For instance, Zynoviy Mykhaylovych Krasivsky immediately declared when we met: **"I am a nationalist!"** I had met Lithuanian nationalists before, but such a devotion to the national cause, such striving to defend the purity of his convictions I first perceived in Krasivsky. Since he was a talented man — I would say, even more — an outstanding personality, his influence on me was considerable.

Question: Tell us more about Krasivsky, please. What do you know about Krasivsky's personality, his life, how did he get to the psychiatric hospital and into prison?

Answer: When we were detained in the Serbsky Institute he was 42 years old. He was born in the Carpathian Mountains, Galicia, in about 1930. Already as a child he knew the Polish language apart from Ukrainian. His memory is exceptional, and he was familiar with Ukrainian and Polish folklore. We used to invite him to all kinds of celebrations and weddings because he knew many songs, tales and popular comic stories. He is familiar with wedding ceremonies, songs and jokes — and he possesses an extraordinary talent in presenting them. He can narrate in a poetic and popular-traditional way. Deeply rooted in the national traditions he has been active in the national movement since his childhood. He said that he was a mes-

senger of the Ukrainian insurgents. Once, in a bunker he intuitively felt that danger was approaching and persuaded the others to leave. A few hours later, after they had left, the bunker was indeed attacked and destroyed. For participating in the national movement Krasivsky was sentenced for the first time to 5 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. During the first 5 years he was detained somewhere in Kolyma or Siberia. Then he was exiled to the Karaganda mines. Once Krasivsky got heavily wounded in the mines and was released as a disabled worker and permitted to settle in Ukraine. He settled near Lviv, got married and graduated (by correspondence) from the University of Kyiv (after studying Ukrainian language and literature). Simultaneously he wrote a book which although favourably criticized by Mykhaylo Stelmakh could, of course, not be published for ideological reasons. Living in Ukraine Krasivsky actively participates in the process of national revival and together with a friend organizes the so-called "Ukrainian National Front" movement. Many Ukrainians have participated in this movement and about 50 people were engaged in the direct organizational work. They issued the "Herald of the Ukrainian National Front". They collected money for organizational needs and people readily donated. The movement was not strictly secret but was widely spread among the population. A press conference was to be held in Kyiv dealing with the solution of the national question in Ukraine. Krasivsky and his friends had no possibility to participate in this conference. Therefore they issued and spread a large number of leaflets in Kyiv setting forth their position on the

The Russians not only exploit Ukraine (as is also the case with the other non-Russian republics), but they persecute and oppress the Ukrainians in the bargain and then talk of mutual exchange between Russia and Ukraine.

national question in Ukraine. The planned press conference did not take place, however. Zynoviy Mykhaylovych Krasivsky and his friends were "called to responsibility" — according to Soviet terminology.

In fact, they were not "called to responsibility" — which would imply guilt or the existence of a crime — but simply persecuted illegally since the Soviet Constitution stipulates the nation's right to self-determination. Therefore, under Soviet law, propagating the view that any of the republics should have its national independence does not constitute anti-Soviet activity, and thus Krasivsky and his friends are not criminals. They were tried in 1967 with 50 other persons. Krasivsky and his friend had to face the prospect of being sentenced to death, but they were sentenced to 5 years of prison, 7 years of camps and 5 years of exile, respectively. After passing 5 years in Vladimir prison Zynoviy Mykhaylovych Krasivsky was tried again for his poems: he had written about 300 poems and had passed them on to the West, reflecting his whole life starting from his early childhood. The collection is entitled "The Cries of Slaves" with the remarkable motto

"It is hard to pass one's life in prison,
It is hard to die on a prison plank-bed,
But it is a hundred times worse to
languish in captivity
And to await death on one's knees —
as a slave."

These ordinary words are so simple — one might think, but how meaningful and strong they are! They are indeed the motto — or banner — of Krasivsky's and his friends' lives, the lives of Ukrainian nationalists condemned to lifelong imprisonment. People living in freedom cannot imagine the overall terrible meaning of these words. **All those convicted of participating in a national movement are actually condemned to lifelong imprisonment in the Soviet Union.** Zynoviy My-

khaylovych Krasivsky spoke about such people detained for 10, 15, 25 or even more years, who did not know how long they would have to remain in prison, for holding deviating views, for being patriots of their nation and fatherland and for being honest and noble men and women. This tragedy is horrifying. And yet, people must live under such conditions and find some meaning in life. Zynoviy Krasivsky is a striking instance. On the one hand, his words reflect a terrible and doomed life, but on the other, they seem to say: nothing is terrible nor doomed, and even in such an existence one can find a meaning of life. The brightest aspect is that a prisoner has a better life than a conformist enslaved by the reality surrounding him!

I used to listen to many of Z. M. Krasivsky's poems when we were staying together in the Serbsky Institute. It is for these poems that he was "called to responsibility" for the second time. He was again subjected to a medical examination and, although 5 years before he had been considered healthy, found himself now, together with me, in the

Serbsky Institute — which meant life-long imprisonment.

In the Serbsky Institute we spent about two months together. Zynoviy Mykhaylovych read many poems dealing with the nature of the Ukraine, Ukrainian evenings, addresses to his mother and friends, apart from political lyric poems he had written, all of them being beautiful and admirable poems. We never got tired of listening. When he was reading poems addressed to his mother many of us were on the verge of tears. Zynoviy Mykhaylovych maintained that he had been subjected to a medical examination and was sent to a psychiatric hospital precisely because the authorities were afraid of the influence his poems might exert on his friends staying in the camps and therefore he had to be isolated from his friends. I was aware of Krasivsky's strong influence on other prisoners of the Serbsky Institute and I testify that he was sent to a mental asylum **precisely for his talent**. I think that all honest people should fight for the liberation of Zynoviy Mykhaylovych Krasivsky.



President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek with ABN Delegation.

President Chiang Kai-shek (1888-1975)

The death of President Chiang Kai-shek (87) left in grief not only Chinese people but the whole world. With his death the entire epoch in the history of China comes to an end.

More than 1,300 members of the National Assembly and more than 2,000 overseas Chinese from 33 countries and areas in the world paid their homage to the late President at the Sun Yet-sen Memorial Hall where the body of the late President Chiang was lying in state and about 300 foreign dignitaries from 28 countries attended the national memorial service on April 16th.

The stature of President Chiang, well-known to the entire world served as the example of the type of leader we need in the world today.

President of National China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was a great Christian, patriot, statesman, creator of the rebirth of China, confounder of the United Nations organization, indestructible revolutionary, great military commander, uncompromising fighter for freedom not only of his own nation but also of the entire Asia. Truly he is called the father of the modern China.

Churchill dominated him as one of the most powerful individuals in the whole world and a champion of the "new Asia".

While on Formosa following the seizure of China-mainland by Communists he continued his struggle with renewed vigor and perseverance, inspiring his followers in their endeavours towards the achievement of the unchangeable goal of the liberation of their fatherland and rejecting at the same time any attempts of compromise on the part of either Chinese or allies.

"There is no retreat for us, for there will be no more room for our graves" — he used to say to the young generation.

Under his expert and farsighted direction Formosa became not only a strong bastion but also was transformed

into the most modern and economically strongest country of Asia second only to Japan.

The late President's will calls for the realization of the Three Principles of the People, the recovery of the Chinese mainland, the rebirth of the Chinese cultural heritage and adherence to democracy.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was endowed with an outstanding and penetrating insight as to the real danger of Russian imperialism.

"No matter how the Russian imperialists change their diplomatic tactics, their basic objective of world conquest will never change."

"Russia's ultimate aim is to conquer the whole world. As internal conflicts also exist, Russia is politically weak. The free world, therefore, must not overestimate her political strength."

"The national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain are extremely important to the world-wide anti-Communist struggle. To destroy Communism, two forces must closely cooperate: the democratic forces on this side of the Iron Curtain and the anti-Communist forces on the other side of the Iron Curtain must, on their part, pivot on the national liberation movements of their respective countries. It is most important that such national liberation movements be given outside support."

(Interview granted by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to the ABN Correspondence, March 1956.)

The late President Chiang Kai-shek not only to the Chinese nation but to all freedom fighters in the entire world including Ukraine and other subjugated nations identifies an excellent example of the great leader highly devoted and staunch fighter for national independence, social justice and human rights. His enormous contributions to millions of people who long realization of these ideals will never be forgotten.

Why We Shall Fight

Report On Ukraine to The 6th WYACL Conference

At a period of time when several nations are trying to resolve the international world crisis, by establishing a false concept of a "super-power", whether it be technological or thermonuclear, it must be recognized that the greatest antagonist to the stability of the world order based on the national ideal is Russian-Communist imperialism. Soviet-Russian neo-colonialism is undoubtedly the last "imperium" which still persists to repress the national aspirations of the various national entities in the world. Therefore, it is an established and undeniable fact that the most potent force capable of confining and finally disintegrating the potential danger of Russian-Communist aggression, is the Ukrainian national Liberation Movement, which exemplifies the nationally conscious struggle of the other subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite states. The Ukrainian nationalist youth is the vanguard of this movement and thus poses the greatest threat to the stability of the Russian-Communist empire. From this point of perspective it is rather obvious, that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, together with the nationalist strivings of the other subjugated nations, forms the third, and most important, idealistic "super-power" in the world.

Even though the all permeating program of Russification of the Ukrainian culture, the repressive policy of ethnolinguistic-genocide, and economic exploitation which is implemented under the guise of "socio-economic unity" and "international socialism", manifests itself in its harshest form in Ukraine, nevertheless, the nationally-conscious youth of Ukraine continues to raise the question of national independence and sovereignty. Such intellectuals as Valentyn Moroz, amongst others, who ba-

ses himself on traditional, idealistic, ever-evolving values of the rich Ukrainian culture, propagates the patriotic moral ideals of heroic Christianity, of a heroic concept of life, rather than the irreligious materialism of Russian Communist internationalism. In his works, Moroz continues to expose the chauvinistic background of the insane attempt, on the part of the Soviet-Russian regime, to "unify" all nations into one unrealizable "society of Soviet people". The Ukrainian youth, which has been raised under the Soviet Russian system, has nevertheless unequivocally rejected this fictitious nature of Soviet Russian socialism-internationalism. For this reason, the terroristic persecution of young Ukrainian intellectuals and students has been most subversive in Ukraine and is tantamount to an attempted annihilation of the Ukrainian nation.

In recent months information was received from Ukraine indicating an accelerated repressive momentum, directed against the Ukrainian national renaissance of the 60's and 70's. Such young Ukrainian students as Dmytro Hrynkiv, Ivan Shovkovyi, Dmytro Demydiv, Roman Chupey, and Mykola Motruk, have been recently sentenced to four years of harsh imprisonment. These young Ukrainians have been 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". Widespread arrests, in particular of young people, were reported last summer in major cities of Western Ukraine, where the KGB has been active in attempting to blatantly uncover certain "democratic groups" of young Ukrainians who clandestinely published and disseminated a journal entitled "Postup" (PROGRESS). A series of pro-

tests were staged in Kyiv (the capital of Ukraine) by students who demanded the transfer of Russian instructors from the Kyiv State University.

At the end of 1974 in Ivano-Frankivsk, the Ukrainian student Hutzal was sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment for spreading underground literature. Other Ukrainians, such as Zenon Krasivskyi, Mychailo Horyn, Lev Lukianenko and Ivan Kandyba who were regularly poisoned in Vladimir prison, which is notorious for its inhumane, terroristic treatment of prisoners, managed to pass on to the free world their appeal to the United Nations. It is filled with the drama of human suffering and is, in fact, a documented exposé of the cruelty of the Soviet Russian system. These young Ukrainians took part in a hunger strike on the occasion of Constitution Day and the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of which the Soviet Russian regime is also a signatory.

Furthermore, even though the United Nations had proclaimed the year 1975 as "International Women's Year", and the Soviet Russian government has adopted this programme as its own in an effort to concoct a bogus ostent of progressive humanitarianism, it must be understood that there is no system in the world that represses its female citizens more. Nevertheless, young Ukrainian women have continuously opposed the Russian Communist attempt to amalgamate the Ukrainian nation. Recently, a petition signed by Stefania Shabatura, Nina Karavanska and Iryna Kalynets, was sent to the United Nations exposing and concurrently protesting the new wave of repressions initiated by the Soviet Russian government against the young nationally-conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia. There are numerous examples of young Ukrainian women who have been sentenced to extended terms of imprisonment only for voicing their protest against Soviet Russian policy in Ukraine and for defending the national, cultur-

al, religious and moral values of the Ukrainian youth. Thus, the free world must recognize the whole concept of a day dedicated to women in the USSR is a complete farce and consequently must employ all efforts to influence the mass media to unmask this farce, alias "international women's year" in the Soviet Union.

The West has now received documents about a month long hunger strike of many young nationally-conscious political prisoners in the Perm prison camp. The hunger strike was announced recently by Simon Gluzman, a Kyiv psychiatrist. Such young Ukrainians as Lychak, I. Kandyba, I. Svitlychnyi, Zakharchenko, Horbal and Marchenko took part in this hunger strike.

In July 1974 the news was spread throughout the world that Valentyn Moroz went on a hunger strike till death on July 1, 1974 in Moscow's Vladimir prison, protesting the illegalities perpetrated by the Russian Communist regime. The Soviet Russian authorities force-fed him lest he die and become a martyr for the Ukrainian cause. Nevertheless, Moroz continued the hunger strike for nearly five months despite tremendous pain and extreme physical weakness.

As soon as his hunger strike was known in the West, groups of young Ukrainian students initiated hunger strikes of their own in solidarity with Moroz in Ottawa, New York, Washington, Winnipeg, London, Paris, Buenos Aires, Sidney, Sao Paulo, Bruxelles, and Munich. Such hunger strikes lasted anywhere from three days to three weeks. Throughout the world friends of Ukraine joined in actions demanding the release of Valentyn Moroz: sending telegrams to the Soviet Russian government, writing articles in the press and demanding that the International Red Cross and Amnesty International intervene on Moroz's behalf.

Another prominent young Ukrainian "freedom fighter", Yuriy Shukhevych,

who is the son of General Shukhevych-Chuprynka, the former leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), was sentenced to thirty years of imprisonment for being his father's son! Apparently, the Soviet Russian authorities tried to convince young Yuriy to reject his father and the ideals which his father fought and died for. Yuriy, being a staunch Ukrainian nationalist and a true believer in the moral religious values of heroic Christianity, resolutely denied the Russian Communist perpetrators the satisfaction of such a denouncement of his father.

The Ukrainian youth in the free world, although physically separated from its fatherland, has nevertheless, accepted the nationalistic ideals of its brothers and sisters in Ukraine. Theirs is a struggle for awareness. The Ukrainian youth living in diaspora has become an organic part of the Ukrainian renaissance taking upon itself the great burden and responsibility of informing the free world about the unimaginable atrocities taking place in Ukraine at this very moment, and to influence the governments of the free world to intervene on behalf of Ukraine so that the last "imperium", Russian neocolonialism, will finally collapse

through a revolutionary process of inevitable self-destruction.

At a time when a deceived, confused minority of the youth of the free world falsely stands for the idea of Communism — neo-colonialism we ask that the 6th WYACL Conference appeal to the youth of the world to staunchly defend the national principle of the world organization, the heroic concept of life, religious beliefs, heroic Christianity, the God-like image of man, social justice, culture based on nationally traditional values, liberation nationalism as the only ultimate solution of the world political, social and ideological crisis.

What the majority of the youth needs now is a symbol. Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych are such symbols worthy of imitation.

As a last word, we would like to assure the delegates here present, the various governments and peoples of the free world, and most importantly, the Russian Communist imperialists, that, in the words of Valentyn Moroz,

"We shall fight! . . . To sit behind bars is easy for no one. But to have no respect

for oneself is even more difficult.

And that is
why WE SHALL FIGHT!"

Resolutions of the 6th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League

WHEREAS the governments of many "free world" states who naively trust in the possibility of "peaceful co-existence" and eagerly strive to perpetuate the "status quo", continually extend trade credits to the government of the USSR, pursue a policy of "détente" or conduct a programme of "cultural change" with that government, and support it economically, and

WHEREAS Russian imperialists continue the repressive policy of infiltration and subversion, economic, political, and psychological warfare, and

even guerrilla warfare in the free world,

BE IT RESOLVED that the 6th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League appeals to these "free world" governments to finally recognize the true nature of Soviet Russian politics, and therefore discard their robes as "peacemakers", and employ all their efforts to combat Russian imperialists with all possible means, and support the liberation struggle for independence of Ukraine, and other subjugated nations.

WYACL Concerned for Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych

WHEREAS, the young Ukrainian historian and poet Valentyn Moroz, regardless of the severe tortures he has been subjected to by the KGB and his five months lasting hunger strike in the Vladimir prison of the strictest regime, continues — as a patriot and Christian — to defend the right of his fatherland Ukraine to independence, Christian faith, human rights and the Ukrainian Christian culture, sentenced again by the Russian godless court to 14 years of imprisonment for having written three Christian-patriotic historical essays and for revealing the cruel methods of the NKVD and KGB;

WHEREAS, Valentyn Moroz by his heroic self-sacrificing attitude of a martyr full of love for his nation, heroic humanism and unbreakable faith in God, defends the human ideals of the whole world against exploitation, oppression, militant atheism, destruction, evil and decay; and

WHEREAS, Yuriy Shukhevych, the outstanding son of a great father — General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, leader of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle and commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who died as a hero 25 years ago in 1950 fighting for the freedom and independence of Ukraine and the Christian faith against the Russian NKVD, — sentenced to 30 years of imprisonment is detained in Bol-

shevist prisons and concentration camps only for having refused to renounce his father and condemn his ideals having thus given up freedom and the promised comfort of life at the cost of betraying his father;

The Eighth WACL Conference and the Sixth WYACL Conference proclaim VALENTYN MOROZ and YURIY SHUKHEVYCH SYMBOLS of the noble, heroic, patriotic and religious youth of the entire world, and **models** being worthy of imitation, and **they appeal to the young people of all nations of the world to stand up for them and other prisoners in order to attain their release from incarceration.**

WYACL Condemns Russian Crimes Upon Female Victims

WHEREAS the United Nations have proclaimed the year 1975 as International Women's Year, and

WHEREAS the Soviet Russian government has adopted this programme as its own by proclaiming March 8, "Soviet Women's Day" in an effort to concoct a bogus ostent of progressive humanitarianism, and furthermore the whole concept of a day dedicated to women in the USSR is a complete farce, since there is no system in the world that represses its female citizens more; specifically

WHEREAS the Ukrainian sculptress Alla Horska was murdered by the Russian regime for creating the stained glass window depicting a portrait of her nation's greatest poet; the Ukrainian microbiologist, Nina Strokata-Karavanska is incarcerated and continuously mistreated for refusing to renounce her husband;

WHEREAS other prominent Ukrainian women, such as IRYNA STASIV-KALYNETS, STEFA SHABATURA and NADIA SVITLYCHNA have been per-

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

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

secuted by the Soviet Russian oppressive regime for defending the national rights of Ukraine and the human rights of other Ukrainian political prisoners even though such rights are guaranteed by the UN Charter and the Universal Human Rights Declaration and the Declaration on the Colonization;

BE IT RESOLVED that the 6th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League, recognizing the plight of woman living in the USSR condemns the above mentioned and other crimes perpetrated by the Soviet Russian regime upon female victims and vows to employ all efforts to influence the mass media and press of the "free world" to unmask this farce, alias "international women's year" in the Soviet Union.

Calling For Actions

WHEREAS Russian colonialism under the guise of Communism enslaves many peoples, among them most notably the Ukrainians, and is trying to eradicate by all possible means the liberation movement of Ukraine for its national sovereignty and independence, and

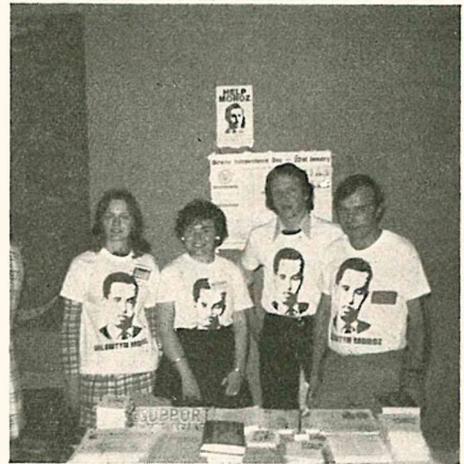
WHEREAS the Russian imperialists attempt to destroy the Ukrainian nation by destroying its culture, assimilating its language and persecuting its artists and intellectual elite, through a repressive policy of Russification, and furthermore

WHEREAS the foremost of those persecuted within the USSR, the Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, has been mistreated and tortured to such an extent in his 10 year period of confinement, that he was forced to undertake a 145-day protest hunger strike. Due to such a prolonged hunger strike and harsh forced feedings, he suffered severe damage to his stomach and esophagus, and yet the bestial regime denied him 200 grams of honey and some codliver oil just recently transmitted to him by his wife Raissa to

alleviate his aggravated gastric condition.

WHEREAS Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and Commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), killed in battle with the Russian NKVD, was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment and is still detained in Soviet Russian concentration camps, recently has been transferred to the Vladimir Prison (notorious for its cruel terroristic treatment), for having his father's ideals, thereby defending national rights of Ukraine,

BE IT RESOLVED that the 6th Convention of the World Youth Anti-Communist League condemns the efforts of the Soviet Russian imperialists, to destroy all vestiges of Ukrainian culture, all traces of the Ukrainian nationality in the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, demands an end to the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals in USSR, and vows especially, that all anti-Communists throughout the world shall not rest until Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, and other Ukrainian political and religious prisoners are released.



Ukrainian Youth Delegation to the
VIth WYACL Conference

† MARIA POLOZ

(1948 - 1975)

On May 27, 1975, unexpectedly passed away in Buenos Aires a very young, attractive and an outstanding working personality of ABN and the



Ukrainian national group in Argentina **Marusia Poloz**. She has been the inspiring and driving force to the young generation involved in international political activities of the Ukrainian Liberation Front's organizations as well as of ABN.

She has been the confounder and editor of the ABN periodical which is in Spanish called "Resistencia y Liberacion".

She enjoyed being in contact with the Latin-American embassies that are located in Buenos Aires to whom she constantly supplied reliable information on the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations against Rus-

sian imperialism and Communist enslavement.

Marusia Poloz had a great talent in preparing written material in the Spanish language for a number of international conferences, especially for the VIIIth WACL and WYACL Conferences which took place at Rio de Janeiro in April of 1975.

The deceased Marusia on two occasions was a member of the Delegation visiting Chile (of the Ukrainian Central Representation in Argentine under the leadership of Mr. W. Kosiak and together with Mrs. Slava Stetsko) and was received by the President of Chile, General Pinochet. They brought to the attention of the Government of Chile the problem of Ukrainian political prisoners inside the Soviet Union. In particular during the second visit Mrs. Marusia Poloz played an important part as an interpreter.

In Brief Mrs. Marusia Poloz was a great idealist, a great Ukrainian patriot, a young lady of outstanding abilities, diligence and assiduity. The Ukrainian community and ABN have suffered a tremendous loss.

Our sincerest expression of deep sorrow and sympathy to the whole family of the deceased Marusia and to many young freedom fighters for national independence among whom she was always the best.

ABN - Ukrainian Delegation

The Present Destruction of Christian Churches

How many songs have been composed and sung about you, my Carpathian Mountains, exposing your entire soul! They have loved you and still love you like their own child, they died to see you free and beautiful, my Carpathian Mountains. But the Red wind coming from the East has blown over my mountains — the Carpathian people have no luck, no freedom and no fortune. All the faith, unity, knowledge and honesty we possess was given to us by the Church; and what happened to the Church?

Let us consider for a brief moment such a question: What happened to the ancient, true legend of our forefathers?

Let us recall the past by quoting the following passage from "Povesti ze Zakarpatské Ukrainy" (Tales from Trans-Carpathian Ukraine), translated by V. Vanyo, about the Grand-Duke Koryatovych:

... The grand-duke took his horse and returned to his Podilya, his wonderful Kamyaneec, to call upon his followers.

In the morning the tambourine and trumpet were played at the grand-duke's Court in Kamyaneec Podilsky.

"Get ready" — the grand-duke called his troops. Get ready! Everybody who wants to have an orchard and a vinyard and land for wheat, beyond the Carpathian Mountains! Take your young wives with you to bring up your little children, monks and nuns to teach your children in schools — for the grand-duke's joy and Rus' (Ruthenia's) glory!"

For thirtythree days and nights the monks and nuns followed the troops across the Carpathian Mountains. And the grand-duke gave 300 villages — from Marcmorosh to Makovyca — to the new settlers, to bring up their children and the Carpathian orphans. On the Soroka Hill he built a convent for the nuns on the left bank of Latoryca, to educate the children, and on the Monastic Hill he constructed another

monastery for the monks on the right bank of Latoryca, to teach the children to read and write. He also built the St. Nicolai Church with three cupolas, surpassing paradise in beauty, where masses were to be said and indulgences granted for Ruthenians for ever — for people's joy and Rus' (Ruthenia's) glory!...

Years after years passed — people lived, built churches and glorified God for being so fortunate to live in the Carpathian Mountains, amidst the beauty of paradise.

In 1944 the Russian forces occupied the Western Ukrainian territories. Starting from the first days of occupation the Soviet Russian authorities designated the Ukrainian Uniate Church — besides OUN-UPA — as enemy number one on the western territories. And why were they doing that? The Church is one of the most powerful forces — or even the only force — that will never accept Communism-Marxism-Leninism nor any similar utopia whatever the conditions might be. As long as the Church is alive on the Western Ukrainian territories, Metropolitan Sheptycky will live in people's hearts, and not Lenin, Stalin or others of this group.

Following the Kremlin's instructions, the organs of KGB have initiated a bloody retribution which has not been completed yet (it will certainly be completed, but nobody knows in what way and who will be victorious).

In the autumn of 1944 the Extraordinary State Committee (KDB) investigating the crimes of NAZI usurpers began to request Metropolitan Yosyph slipyi to sign a statement concerning the annihilation of the population and various crimes committed in Lviv. This seems very interesting: according to the opinion of the Soviet Russian authorities the GESTAPO and "Obergruppen" informed the Metropolitan of all executions and punishments! Or else,

did they think that he supervised their archives? I do not know what they had in mind — I am not a prophet. However, the official Soviet Russian statement reads as follows:

"Slipyi did not only know about the occupants' crimes in Lviv, but also on all territories of Western Ukraine, the corresponding information arriving incessantly from the Uniate bishops and priests at the St. George Cathedral."

They can write official statements, no doubt, but who will believe them? Can they themselves believe them?

Realizing — after various Soviet Russian provocations — the firmness of the leaders of the Uniate Eparchies the organs of KDB resorted to arrests, cruel treatments and blackmailing. In this way they recruited the priest Dr. H. Kostelnyk (Lviv Eparchy), the vicar Dr. Melnyk (Drohobych-Sambir Eparchy), and the Rev. dean A. Pelvecky, who supposedly "acted on behalf of the Central Initiative Group for the Unification of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church". The majority of the Uniate leadership, however, together with Metropolitan Slipyi, remained under arrest and did not bow down to the atheist Communist murderers.

From March 8 to 10, 1946, "the Uniates were pretendedly united with the Orthodox Church". The decision "approved by the Synod" (no wonder that the KDB made various people traitors; give them the Pope of Rome and they will transform him even into a cosmonaut) reads as follows:

"... Under the present conditions, thanks to the heroic struggle and glorious victory of the Soviet Union all Ukrainian territories are united and the Ukrainian people own all their territories and it would be unwise to continue to support Uniate tendencies, it would be an unforgivable sin to maintain hatred and fratricidal struggle among our people, its cause having always been the Union.

In view of these positions the Synod decided to abrogate the decision of the Berest Synod of 1596, to abolish the Union, and to break off relations with Rome..."

The Soviet press has never spoken in flattering terms of priests, even those collaborating with the Soviet Russians. It also sneered at Dr. Kostelnyk who later on was used to advertise the Soviet Russians and against the OUN, the Vatican and other freedom-loving circles. The Kremlin leadership made full use of the assassination of Dr. Kostelnyk against all those fighting Bolshevism.

Hundreds of newspapers, journals and books wrote about the "horrible crimes" committed by Ukrainian nationalists, Uniates and the Vatican. And, as usually, the KDB "elicited depositions" from the already dead Vasyl Pankiv who had killed Kostelnyk. What did Pankiv's soul "tell" them? What did these depositions contain so horrible, disturbing the Soviet Russian leadership and compelling them to write about the danger of Ukrainian nationalists?

According to the Soviet authorities "the project of murder was elaborated by S. Bandera, Y. Stetsko, Rev. Hrynokh and Lebid", financed and managed by 'the Pope's prelates' and the Vatican intelligence service under the name 'Centro Informacione pro Deo'.

This, however, did not satisfy the Soviet press since the name of Metropolitan Yosyph Slipyi was not mentioned. Who else, if not he, of all Ukrainian people stood above the Communist ideals!

And they wrote again, this time mentioning Yaroslav Halan: "There he is, Halan. Look at him, Your Excellency. Right in the center, he is not very tall. Yes, this is Halan" said the Bandera man, "I know him".

Slipyi silently looked at Halan and replied abruptly and voicelessly: "The readiness of this devilish atheist must not remain unpunished. His sacrile-

gious hand, having written such things, must be cut off not with a knife, but with an axe. God . . . "Slipyi turned away and silently looked at his interlocutor.

The Bandera killer understood . . ."

Ladies and gentlemen in the free world, I again draw your attention to what Soviet Russian propaganda and its promoters are. They do not stop before anything nor anybody. Just think of the murders they committed outside the boundaries of the so-called USSR. They have a long arm which must be chopped off and cut into pieces. They must be treated like vipers, to use the words of the Soviet Major General S. K. Koval: "When you see a viper don't think about its father and mother being vipers and about the fact that all its life it was treated as a viper, surrounded mainly by vipers, but just crush it, if you can!"

They identify the national cause with a crime, national debt with murder, adding concocted absurdities, old wives tales and basing "official Soviet statements" thereupon.

This is the groundwork of the so-called Soviet reality.

As soon as somebody becomes dangerous for them, due to his convictions, honesty, pure and open service to his nation — they kill him, send him to Lubyanka, or deport him to Siberia.

If it is impossible to get hold of such a person, to crush him, they are using propaganda, the grand Kremlin propaganda soaked with dirt from the beginning of Russian Bolshevik rule.

How many lies and improvised speeches are constantly directed against Andrej Sheptycky, Yaroslav Stetsko, Augustine Voloshyn, Lev Dobryansky, Dmytro Donzow and others, in radio and press. The "statesmen" in Moscow do not sleep well. They are terrified by a single thought, i. e. that in the United States, Germany and Great Britain Ukrainian men and women are working without rest for their people, for U-

kraine awaiting them; and they will surely come back performing those great deeds Ukraine and the Ukrainian people expect of them.

In 1949 the havoc was completed: the Greek-Catholics of the trans-Carpathian oblast were united by force with the "Orthodox". As a fact, however, the trans-Carpathian Uniate priests had already been arrested in 1945, although this shameful act was "officially" signed by a group of mercenaries only 3 years later.

And again the Kremlin is furious at Cardinal Griffin: what right had he to state in his speech held in London that . . . "in trans-Carpathian Ukraine Catholics are severely persecuted, many priests have been arrested, many have been killed, and the Catholic clergy has been replaced by apostate clergymen refusing to subordinate themselves to the Pope's authority . . ."

The KDB was raging. In 1947 the Uniate monastery of Mukachiv was placed under the authority of the Orthodox Patriarchate (the clergy of the monastery having already been deported to Vorkuta). The new masters populated it with nuns, half of them coming from Russia and half from trans-Carpathia — especially the Convent of Lypchiansk — together with their Mother Superior Paraskevia. However, these poor trans-Carpathian wretches did not keep house for a long time. In 1959, upon a decision of the oblast committee of the Party and the Archbishop of the KGB Eparchy of Uzhorod-Mukachiv, Varlaam, the entire landed property, vineyards and farmstead of the convent were seized and transformed into a kolhoz. To "facilitate" the nuns' life in the kolhoz a loud-speaker was installed on a high post. As soon as mass begins new "kolomyikas" (Ukrainian funny songs) can be heard from the reproducer, as for instance: "The trans-Carpathians, our brethren, jubilate, at Krushchev's visit to trans-Carpathia".

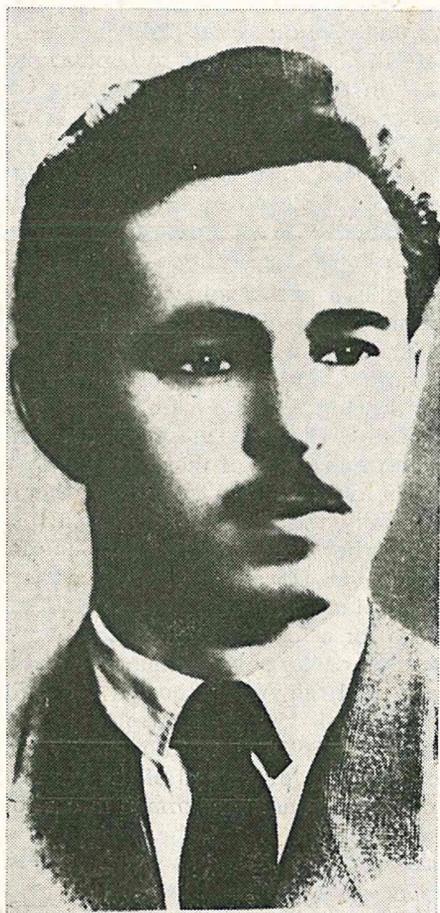
1961 is a sad year to recall: then the order was issued to completely close

down the convent (subsequently all 17 trans-Carpathian monasteries and convents were closed down; the young nuns of Mukachiv were driven away and replaced by old nuns from the other convents that had been closed down). In 1963-69 the militia dispersed with rubber truncheons the crowds of believers who had come to the convent to be granted indulgence. The

nuns are obliged to work in the kolhoz every day (evil deeds and mockeries don't cease).

The rivers are flowing in Ukraine, the waters whispering: once this was a glorious country. The wind is blowing quietly, and our dear mountains are weeping; the Church does no longer exist — it has been stamped out by an insane power!

Moroz transferred To Psychiatric Ward



From a reliable private source, it was learned that Valentyn Moroz was transferred from his cell to a psychiatric ward, probably in the Vladimir Prison, where he has been confined since his arrest.

Moroz is said to be slowly poisoned there with tainted foods and drugs.

Soviet Secret Police was attempting to have Moroz transferred to the psychiatric ward, one of the most dreaded forms of punishment in the Soviet penal system.

Since Moroz ended his nearly five-month hunger strike in the Vladimir Prison last November, he was moved from solitary confinement at that time and confined in a cell with another prisoner who is said to be Ukrainian.

During Christmas Moroz was again placed in solitary confinement and after two weeks returned to the cell.

Recently, threats against Moroz have again surfaced. One prison doctor allegedly said that Moroz must be transferred to a psychiatric asylum for additional treatment because "a normal person would not be able to survive a five-month hunger strike".

On May 5, 1975, authorities persistently demanded that Moroz be moved to the prison infirmary, but he refused for fear that he will lose his cellmate.

When Vyacheslav Chornovil, Stefania Shabatura and other Ukrainian political prisoners were moved to Lviv and other cities, they were beaten into unconsciousness for refusing to recant their views. While unconscious they underwent sophisticated tortures, and only when that method failed, did the KGB return them to their prisons.

Human Rights Declaration "Provocatory"

In her letter to the Soviet prosecutor general R. Rudenko, Nadia Svitlychna said that the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a "provocatory document of international character, which is a trap for those who believe in it."

She claimed that her belief in the Declaration's precepts, some of which are contradictory to Soviet laws, led to her imprisonment.

"My unconditional belief in such important documents as the Soviet Constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights led me to prison... Reviewing my attitude toward the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I am forced to conclude that it is a provocative document of international character.

"Thus I became a political prisoner, even though I considered raising my two-year-old son the main goal in life. Actually, I was deprived not only of freedom, but also of motherhood", she said.

She said that the Human Rights Declaration contradicts the existing Soviet laws "and mask the real intent of the laws".

She cited that the Human Rights Declaration guarantees every person the right to free exchange of ideas, but article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR forbids the "dissemination of anti-Soviet ideas and literature".

"It was not the Soviet constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech or other rights stemming from international agreements which were applied in my cause, but the criminal code. It not only deprived me of freedom but also orphaned by two-year-old son.

Svitlychna was arrested in April 1972 and the following March was tried and sentenced to four years imprisonment in the concentration camp near Barashevo in the Mordovia ASSR.

AN APPEAL

from Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR

We, a group of political prisoners from the sub-Ural concentration camp no. 36, appeal to governments of all countries, to the United Nations Organisation and to all honest people to call attention to the unbearably harsh conditions of political prisoners in the USSR and to influence the leaders of this country to change these conditions and bring them into line with the international standards laid down for holding political prisoners.

Not wishing to acknowledge the irrefutable fact that opposition to the present regime, as well as a national-liberation movement of the countries within the USSR, exists, the government does not recognize the existence of political prisoners within the USSR, depriving us of our rights as provided for by our appropriate status.

We have been sent thousands of kilometres away from our families, and many have been taken outside the country they were living in until their arrest. Thus we have been deprived of the opportunity of seeing our loved ones even two or three times a year because of the expense and difficulties involved in such a long journey. Apart from this we can be deprived of visits for any reason whatsoever — all that is required is for the KGB representative to give an order.

Our mail comes under fierce censorship and incoming and outgoing mail is systematically interfered with. In fact, a non-Russian is actually forced to write in Russian. Many letters are confiscated on the grounds that their contents are "suspicious". Many complaints and declarations are not sent

away at all either because of a supposed distortion of Soviet reality or they are arbitrarily readdressed by the administration. As a rule, our complaints receive a formal, bureaucratic and mocking answer.

We are forced to undergo degrading searches. Even our families, supposedly free citizens, have to strip naked during searches when they come to visit us.

We are forced to shave and have haircuts. We have to dress in ugly Prisoners' uniforms all exactly the same and to wear breast-plates.

Our camps are out of bounds not only to representatives of foreign organizations, but also to Soviet organizations.

We are not allowed to meet with foreign correspondents, legal representatives of the International Red Cross or the UN to tell them about the conditions, about our cases (the majority of which have been fabricated), about the closed trials, and about the enormous violation of the law and our rights permitted by the judiciary organs of the USSR.

During transportation we are often mixed in with war prisoners (probably with a provocative aim) and also with criminals, this has an obvious aim.

We are harshly punished for any reason whatsoever, tormented with hunger, have physical and moral pain inflicted upon us. We are taunted in all sorts of way, deprived of even elementary citizen's rights, and have our human dignity lowered. Through continuous victimisation and unnecessary prohibitions the guards manage to create an insufferable atmosphere, a shocking situation, which leads many to fall gravely ill or even to commit suicide.¹⁾

¹⁾ For example, Josyf Mishener attempted to commit suicide in camp no. 35 1/p Perm. at the beginning of November, 1974.

The whole system of so-called re-education is directed at the creation of a denationalised, untroubled, silent and submissive slave, who obediently carries out the orders of the leadership.

Much can be said about the atrocious situation of medical supervision, about the disgusting nourishment provided by valueless food, which does not even have the protein of its animal origin and is often putrid.

The reaction to this whole system of force and violation is constant hunger strikes to which the administration responds with an increase in repressive measures. For many years now Soviet political prisoners have attempted to attain legal recognition and the definition of their prison terms in accordance with the generally accepted status of political prisoners.

A group of political prisoners from the neighbouring camp no. 35 (Svitlychny, Hluzman and others) were on hunger strike for over three month in support of their demands. The administration paid no attention to their protest.

The political prisoner V. Kalynychenko is threatened with being sent to a lunatic asylum because of similar demands. Thus anybody who attempts to obtain rights due to him through his status is declared psychologically abnormal.

While going into the fight for our rights we are aware of the fact that in the first days we will be confronted by the full might of the enormous state machinery of this country which will try not only to eradicate our beliefs but also to destroy us. Nevertheless, we are determined to carry out our objective to the very end — to achieve the fulfillment of our valid demands.

We are neither thieves or robbers, nor gangsters, hooligans or swindlers. We are not guilty of any criminal acts. We were sentenced because of our beliefs and designs. Therefore we are convinced that our appeal for support will be answered by all honest people eve-

rywhere. We trust that in the next session of the General Assembly of the UN the question of the status of political prisoners in the USSR will be discussed.

The propaganda agencies of the USSR savagely expose other countries for the inhumane treatment of political prisoners. We believe, however, that this criticism will not draw the world's attention away from the terrible conditions of Soviet political prisoners or

from the gross violation of their rights by the Soviet government.

Jakiv Suslensky,
Pavlo Kampov,
Yoriy Hrodetsky,
Mykola Bondar,
Anatoliy Zdorovy,
Vitaliy Kalynychenko,
Stepan Sapeliak.

(See 'Appendix' for further information about the above-named prisoners.)

APPENDIX

Suslensky Jakiv

Ukrainian. Arrested and charged with taking part in underground publications. At present in a sub-Ural concentration camp.

Kampov Pavlo

Ukrainian. Born 1929. Mathematician and lecturer at Uzhhorod University. In 1970 Kampov and three others were struck off the list of candidates for deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In support of the candidates, about 100 propaganda leaflets were distributed, and, on the 16th June, 1970, two days after the elections, Kampov was arrested without the prosecutor's authority. He was kept in isolation before the trial and was then charged with having distributed pre-election leaflets. It is also said that Kampov wrote a brochure in Ukrainian entitled "25 years of hope and disillusionment".

Bondar Mykola

Ukrainian Born 1939, Between 1968 and 1969 he was a lecturer in philosophy at the Uzhhorod University, Ukraine. From 1969 onwards he was forced to work in a boiler-house in Cherkassy. He was removed from his university post for criticising the excessive celebrations of Lenin's jubilee. He was then charged with defaming the Soviet regime, and on 12. 5. 1971 was sentenced in Kyiv, in accordance with par. 62 of the Criminal Code of

the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, to 7 years imprisonment. He did not admit his guilt. As a protest against his imprisonment he went on a hunger strike between the 10th of November and the 10th of December, 1971, in camp no. 17 of Dubrov, in the Mordovian ASSR.

Zdorovy Anatoliy

Ukrainian. Born 1939. Sentenced in 1972, in accordance with par. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 7 years imprisonment. At present he is in Perm camp no. 36.

Kalynychenko Vitaliy

Ukrainian. Born 1946. In 1963 he destroyed his Komsomol membership card. Arrested on 12. 1. 1967. Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment by the Murman regional court in accordance with pars. 15-64 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR for attempting to escape abroad. On 24. 11. 1974 he wrote a protest letter from Kuchynsky camp 389-36, in the Perm region, to the Human Rights in which he demanded the rights of a political prisoner. He rejects the accusations against him except for admitting that he destroyed his Komsomol membership card and that he does not agree with the political regime of the USSR.

Sapeliak Stepan

Ukrainian. Born 1950. Arrested and sentenced in 1974 to 5 years in con-

centration camps for distributing Ukrainian protest letters and for an assumed affiliation to a youth organisation. He is at present in Perm concentration camp VS no. 36. Several political prisoners, including Sapeliak, were sunbathing when the captain in charge, Milentiy, took Sapeliak away for duty for supposedly "breaching clothes regulations" and told him to write a statement. When he refused the captain

badly beat him up. The nurse refused medical assistance, and he was told not to speak of this incident. However, he related this to the other prisoners, and when the guard came to take him away again Sapeliak was surrounded by his fellow inmates who refused to let him go. On the following day about 45 prisoners announced a hunger strike in Sapeliak's support. 32 of them carried it on for a whole month.

Radical Christians demand a false kingdom of Earth

On 31 January 1975 Fr. Paul Crane, S. J., gave a lecture to the Mazepa Society, in London, entitled 'Catholics and Marxism'. Fr. Crane began by stating the obvious: "Catholics", he said, "are less and less inclined to offer any mental resistance to Communism". Until recently the Roman Church had a reputation for unequivocal theology and unequivocal hostility to Communism. That is so no longer.

The origins of this collapse lay in what Fr. Crane called "mod theology" which no longer regards the primary task of the Church as soul-saving. Instead of pointing men to an eternal destiny, they are now incited by "theologians" to seek an earthly utopia. This quest for a political Kingdom of Heaven was dismissed by Fr. Crane as "totally naive and false".

Fr. Crane warned that the Christian who wants to remake the world will find himself the natural ally of the Marxist. He gave many tragi-comic examples of the Christian trying to serve two masters — this world and the next, Karl Marx and Jesus Christ. There was the French Dominican Father who told his congregation that a useful Lenten exercise would be to take part in the strikes that were at that time disrupting France. There was the undergraduate who wrote to the **Catholic Herald** saying that "the thing to notice about our Lord was that he was like Che Guevara." And there were the Catholic priests going to work in Africa who

wanted to be rescribed as social workers on their passports rather than as priests. The Africans, said Fr. Crane, were justly contemptuous of them.

On the question of the infiltration of the Church, Fr. Crane dismissed the notion that a bishop might have a Party card sticking out of his cummerbund. That sort of infiltration rarely takes place and if it does it is so clumsily obvious that it's self-defeating. He instanced a Jesuit who was at one time at the Gregorian College: he was particularly stupid and it was not long before everyone knew he was a "plant". Shortly afterwards he left. "Nevertheless", said Fr. Crane, "If I were a member of the SGB I would be delighted with the state of the Church today. There are large numbers of people — including bishops — in the Church today who are being used".

Fr. Crane suggested that there are those in the Church who are deliberately manufacturing confusion, rather like the KGB's department of "disinformation". This would be the psychological preparation for revolution both in the Church and in society at large. The radical Christian, he said, was in revolt not only against the alleged oppression of capitalist society but also against the discipline and laws of the Church and even of God.

Fr. Crane is the editor of **Christian Order**, a Catholic monthly journal, 65 Belgrave Road, London, SW1.

(East-West Digest)

Moroz and the Germans

(The National Question — Ukrainians versus SED)

The central organ of the military colony of the Russian empire — GDR — tried to define the nation as a "stage of development of Communist society". At the same time an eminent historian of the fifth-largest nation in Europe (with respect to population) defined the nation

— as a creative act of God, unique in its appearance and free of class connections,

— as a political act of human will power, and

— as a specific mode of culture.

Reference is being made to "New Germany" (the central organ of the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR "SED"), on the one hand, and to the Ukrainian Valentyn Moroz, on the other: two opposite points of view with respect to the national question; a more obvious contradiction is hardly conceivable. An ostensibly "novel" nation as a final product of Communist class struggle is confronted with Moroz's eternal nation — an idea of a divine plan of creation.

"The distinction between nation and nationality is of great scientific and political significance", writes the SED-organ on February 15, 1975. What is important is not the common origin, usage, language, living habits, tradition, but exclusively the "economic content". At present "two German nations" exist in Germany having the same nationality according to the SED-professors Kosing and Schmid: The allegedly capitalist nation of the Federal Republic and the "socialist German nation in the GDR". The antithesis is supposed to be unbridgeable and class struggle is to have the last word. This is classical Marxism.

The Ukrainian historian and writer Valentyn Moroz holds a view contrary to this. As a scientist and a Ukrainian

patriot he condemns the uniformity and the dogmatism of Marxism as being remote from life with respect to the national question. In his essay "Moses and Dathan" he sets up the following essential theses:

"Truth is concrete, ... but it is also national. It is the same for everyone, but it shows millions of facets. In every nation truth is reflected in one of these unique facets. It is the mission of each nation to independently discover and recognize its own facet and thus it contributes to the spiritual wealth of mankind."

This, by the way, corresponds to Herder's view designating nations as God's ideas. Valentyn Moroz is the Ukrainian Herder.

The German Communists Kosing and Schmid (two historians from the GDR) consider Moroz's position that of a "bourgeois ideologist" for his definition of the nation undoubtedly means a complete reversal of historical and dialectical materialism, and even of the entire materialistic Marxist philosophy!

However, the son of a Volhynian small holder has not been imbued with his present Anti-Marxist, Christian and national philosophy of life in his cradle! Moroz passed through the stations of Communist atheistic education at school, university and in the Komso-mol. The brutal reality of the materialistic philosophy pushed the young Ukrainian towards a new path — back to the heritage of his ancestors, and forward for the honour and immortality of his own nation. His experience of Russification and Bolshevization and his life under the yoke of Russian foreign rule gave him cause to be a passionate patriot, an undogmatic Christian, a courageous advocate of freedom and human dignity.

Through his experience Moroz was

able to effectively refute the Marxist dogma according to which the nation is an "economic" formation, a product of class struggle. From the suffering of his nation fighting for its self-assertion during centuries Moroz drew the only correct conclusion. Colonialism, denationalization and genocide as practiced by Russia always were and still are military, ideological, economic, biological and social methods of oppression, distinguishing Russians from Ukrainians irrespective of the ruling class in the Kremlin. The enslavement policy of the ancient Tsars has become the heritage and "mission" of the new Tsars in 1917. The Russian character remained the same. Classes came and left, but imperialism remained. Under the Russian nobility and bourgeoisie, under Russian liberalism and Communism, under the Romanovs and Bolsheviks — the Ukrainians (just as all the other non-Russian nations) have always felt the same knout — the Russian one.

Moroz states in his essay "Moses and Dathan" (1969) that there will never be a future which automatically secures the right of existence for a nation. He shows the East European peoples that a nation can only live if there are men and women ready to die for it; if they are convinced that God has chosen their people for them and realize that their people are God's innate supreme creations. A patriot must fight — or else, he is no patriot. Not words, but actions are decisive.

In "Moses and Dathan" Moroz defends the rights to live not only of Byelorussians and Ukrainians. He stands up for all oppressed, including the East Germans, and his statements also apply to Moscow's slaves in the GDR. "Why do I actually need my nation?" A Ukrainian, German or Byelorussian asking such a question is automatically morally dead, says Moroz. One cannot fathom the nation "logically". The nation lives by sacrifices for it is holy. Moroz unmaskes the SED historians as Moscow's charlatans and intellectual

bootlickers when stating: the nation personifies the synthesis of all spiritual values acquired by people. According to the Ukrainian Moroz there can never exist "two German nations" in a divided Germany!

Moroz refers to Taras Shevchenko, a serf, convict in chains, soldier, exile, poet and painter, who, through his ingenious works, initiated the renaissance of his great nation in the past century. Shevchenko, a Christian, considered the nation superior to God — the formal, dogmatic God — Moroz wrote in 1969. For Shevchenko valued the nation closest to the true God.

The title of the essay "Moses and Dathan" (published in English in "Report from the Beria Reserve", Toronto 1974, pp. 53-54) refers to a poem of the great poet Ivan Franko, written in the revolutionary year 1905. Dathan, an ancient Jewish legendary figure, betrayed Moses and tried to persuade the Jews to return into Egyptian captivity, under the yoke of the pharaohs. The analogy to the present cannot be overlooked: the Russian Red Tsars, i. e. the Kremlin imperialists, are the pharaohs of today. From "Moses and Dathan" — though delivered fragmentarily from the underground (Samvydav) — the spiritual and moral fascination becomes evident in Moroz's exerts on oppositionists, resistance fighters and revolutionaries of other East European nations of today, including 17 million Germans in the GDR!

Moroz has become a symbol also for the enslaved part of Germany. This prisoner is another Cervantes, Schiller, Byron, a second Petöfi, Zola, Mickiewicz a true figure of our epoch.

We are living in a rapidly changing era. However, the Stalinist SED tries to turn the wheel of history back in the light of the nationalist anti-imperialist period and the national revival of the East European peoples and those of Central Asia the arguments of the SED no longer exist.

According to the view of the SED-dogmatists nation and "nationality"

are two completely different phenomena: nowadays an entirely reactionary anachronism.

Such arguments originate from the Stalinist period when non-Russians were denationalized by means of mass deportations, mass arrests and mass destructions. Today, 22 years after Stalin's death, for millions of nationally conscious Ukrainians there cannot exist a "Soviet citizen of Ukrainian nationality". One is either Ukrainian or "a new Soviet man", but never both.

Moroz argues in "Moses and Dathan" that in the course of their thousand year-old history, characterized by oppression and statelessness, a peculiar national ego developed in the souls of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians and Armenians, a national feeling and the collective idea of a selfconscious independent free people. And the young Ukrainian historian and martyr draws the following conclusion: nobody can destroy this great idea anymore, no power of this world! The national idea is immortal and independent of any class. This idea can perhaps fall asleep, but such a hypnosis does not last for ever. In times of powerful revolutions people that have fallen asleep wake up very quickly.

The Communist Fata Morgana "socialist nation in the GDR" will also in the near future give way to such a national awakening. The SED, as Moscow's servile party, fears liberation nationalism and the striving for national reunification like a plague because such nationalism would mean its death. German Marxists fear the "spirit of Moroz".

New Commission On Plyushch

A new commission, headed by a female physician by the name of Prokhina, found Leonid Plyushch to be suffering from "schizophrenia with indications of paranoia".

The second commission, which was headed by Dr. Snezhnevsky, had found Plyushch's condition "slightly" improved and had recommended confinement in less restricted facility.

In the light of the new finding, said the press service, Dr. Snezhnevsky reportedly promised to call a new commission to re-examine Plyushch.

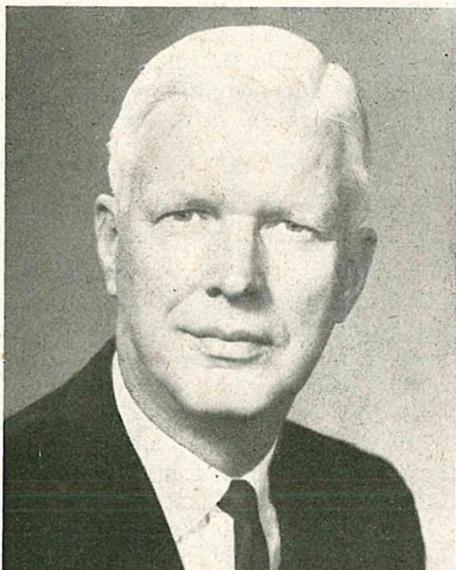
As reported earlier, the Soviet Secret Police demanded that Plyushch submit a statement to the effect that his articles criticizing the Soviet government were written "at a time when he was suffering from a mental illness".



London Anti-Shelepin Demonstration



Gen. Thomas A. Lane (1906-1975)



Chairman of VII WACL Conference —
Washington, D. C. 1974

Army Major General Thomas A. Lane, 68, an author, engineer and former D. C. engineer commissioner, died in April, 1975.

He served with the Army Corps of Engineers in the US and the Panama Canal Zone, taught civil engineering and military history at West Point and also taught graduate school at the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base.

During World War II, Lane served under Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific. After the war, he attended the National War College. From 1954 to 1957 he was engineer commissioner on the board of commissioners that governed the District.

He was a devout Roman Catholic whose faith was central to his life.

While he was deeply concerned about Vietnam, he was more concerned about general US foreign policy, which seemed to him to be based not so much on détente as on profits. He was repelled by those who used the facade

of détente to pursue profits with the Soviet Union and Communist China.

He was a former president of Americans for Constitutional Action, a director of the United States Strategic Institute and editor-in-chief of Strategic Review, the institute's quarterly publication. Also President of American Council for World Freedom.

He believed that Russia could be fought not through the use of nuclear weapons, but for example by encouraging anti-Communist undergrounds in the Soviet Union and Communist China. He stressed that these undergrounds should be of, by and for the peoples of those countries — not American-dominated.

The subjugated nations in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries learned with great sorrow about the death of Major General Thomas Lane. They have lost a great friend and supporter of the liberation struggle for their national independence.

Diefenbaker Protests Russian Phone Blackout

Former Canadian Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, now a member of Parliament from Prinz Albert, requested the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Allan J. MacEachen, to protest the Soviet government's interference with telephone calls between Soviet intellectuals and Canadians.

„I would ask the minister whether he will make a protest to the USSR against this (the blackouts) completely unjustified, by any means whatsoever, the course that is being followed today, denies Canadians the right to speak to intellectuals who are not committing any offenses but to whom in the past information has been given and returned“, said Mr. Diefenbaker on the floor of the Parliament Tuesday, June 10.

Our Way Of Liberation

It's been more than 25 years since the first wave of post-World War II immigrants began to wash ashore on Western lands. Since then, much has been accomplished: schools, youth camps, new churches, national homes, literary groups, athletic groups, resorts, professional groups, Ukrainian stores, credit unions, restaurants, movies, choirs, radio programs, publications, old-age homes, Ukrainian studies at universities — and so on, an endless list of services and products provided by Ukrainians, for Ukrainians. The Ukrainian community has evolved into a little self-contained, relatively autonomous state within which, in some of the larger cities, a Ukrainian could, if he chose to do so, virtually live his whole life with merely nominal contact with the outlying "alien" community.

The Ukrainians have come to the Free World as pioneers and have established their own state-in-exile with the hope that by doing so they would forestall the process of assimilation, and would lend greater support to the liberation of the homeland. The older generation, those who have known Ukraine, still dream of that day when they can be peacefully laid to rest in the holy ground from which they came, among people they have loved. The younger generation, or at least a part of it, nourished on a diet of Ukrainian culture, history, and tradition, and imbued with a sense of mission — a purpose and goal in life greater than charting sales curves on women's lingerie — still aspires to defend the breached walls of Ukraine from the encroaching Russian barbarians.

However, there appears to be a paradox in all this activity. At a time when the Ukrainian Diaspora has grown more powerful than it has ever been, at a time when almost daily we

read about new, and rather impressive undertakings within the Ukrainian community, the total impact of our endeavours is meeting with less and less success and is encountering greater indifference and even hostility among those to whom it is directed. Enormous amounts of human and material resources have been expended over the years, resulting in a net loss on the balance sheet. The quality and quantity of our demonstrations has improved; the amount of funds generated for monuments, educational programmes and propaganda activity has increased; the development of a relatively effective and youthful lobby group in Washington has been accelerated.

The cardinal tenet which has fueled organized Ukrainian political activity to date is the tenet of **conversion** of Western nations to the Faith of Ukrainian Liberation. We have believed that **only if** the American people, and especially their leaders, recognize the merits of Ukrainian aspiration, they will do something about it. This belief was a reasonable one in the 50's and perhaps even in the early 60's. Since then, much has changed, and the chances for active Western concern and participation in the liberation of the captive nations and satellite states has increasingly diminished to a point where now it is no more than a pipedream. And yet, just like at the end of World War II, so many people, including most Ukrainians, delude themselves into believing that the Allied Powers would never allow Stalin to establish hegemony over half of Europe, so today, we delude ourselves into thinking that influencing American or Western opinion may result in sound policies by Western governments.

Today, we are witnesses to a decline, perhaps the death throes of the West. At one time the West, and Ame-

rica in particular, was able, though not willing, to intervene in Soviet affairs. Today the West, and America in particular, is neither willing nor able to do so. We see how even the much larger and infinitely better organized and affluent Jewish community, with Jews in key positions in American decision-making and opinion-moulding centres, is unable to make more than a marginal impact on Soviet internal and external policies. There is no hope that we Ukrainians can achieve even a small fraction of such an impact. The fact remains that, even if all Americans should acknowledge and sympathize with Ukrainian aspirations, their fear of provoking the USSR will more than offset any sound, righteous inclinations they may have. The West will be too preoccupied with its own survival, and too concerned with "stability" and currying the good graces of the USSR to risk offending the barbarians.

We Ukrainians must realize that our role as emigrés is no longer that of doing missionary work among the heathens. The heathens are probably doomed, and we along with them. Our only hope — and the only hope for the West, and, yes, the heathens, is to stimulate and accelerate those forces within the USSR that may, at first, paralyse the regime and subsequently, after the initial paralysis, dismember it. We must restructure our priorities in order to accomplish such goals. We must look upon ourselves as the "provinces" of Ukraine, existing outside the "Centre", and which have been able to retain the fire of nationalism, and are able to forge, without interference, the instruments of reconquest of the "Centre". Here in the West we have the opportunities to establish the type of organization and communications vital for penetration into the Centre.

We are in a position similar to that of Halychyna in relation to Russian-occupied Ukraine. Despite Austro-Hungarian and later Polish pressures and repression, we were able, in Halychyna, to establish the type of organiza-

tions and foundations necessary to infect the rest of Ukraine with the yearning for an ancient dream. And after Halychyna was forcefully incorporated into the rest of Ukraine, the "germ" of nationalism spread over the whole of Ukraine. Today, there is no longer a "Halychyna" from which to base a reconquest of the Centre. There are only us — the Ukrainian Diaspora, the "provinces".

Therefore, we must realize that our prime goal under current conditions — one which should evoke for greater financial sacrifices and youthful energy than ever before — is to reestablish communications with the Centre. We have the responsibility to provide the communication that is unavailable within Ukraine. The regime rests on two pillars: the police and the absolute control of all communications. If we were to destroy Moscow's monopoly over communications, the regime would only have its police forces with which to maintain order — and these can be dealt with.

We must recognize that a society is a society only because of its communications. Without communications it is simply a conglomeration of individuals without common cause and common efforts. That is why the main concern of every Communist group is to take control of all communications. For they know that without such communications, the people cannot organize to resist.

It is our responsibility to communicate to the Ukrainian people that which they can't communicate to each other. We must tell them about the nature and extent of their exploitation. We must tell them about the heroism and martyrdom of Moroz and other sons and daughters of Ukraine. We must encourage them to resist — by subverting and sabotaging in a thousand and one "innocent" ways Soviet Russian designs and plans. We must establish a common cause, a manifest destiny for the masses wherein they lose their fear of the regime in the firm realiza-

tion that their strength is the strength of 50,000,000 Ukrainians, and beyond that, of another 80,000,000 other captive peoples who aspire for the same things and have the same grievances.

And more, we, as the largest and most resourceful of the emigré peoples from the Soviet Union, must help organize other emigrés — Latvian, Byelorussian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Armenian, etc. — to likewise communicate to **their** nations. We must establish a feeling among all the captive peoples that they share a common fate, theirs is a common front, and that the Ukrainian who is compelled to live in Latvia is a friend to be trusted, not a colonist and representative of a hated Russian regime.

How is this to be done? The answer is simple but the means are complex and the resources and sacrifices required are very great. We must set up a series of radio-broadcasting stations around the USSR: from Spain, and Turkey, and Iran, and other countries and the Mediterranean Sea (by insured boat). We must set up an apparatus capable of gathering the names and addresses of tens of thousands of non-Russians in the USSR, to whom literature can be sent, most of which will escape the Soviet censor. We must finance a professional group of individuals to work permanently and fulltime

on implementing these programmes, and to contact various interested parties, including intelligence agencies, wealthy anti-Communists, Zionist, Chinese, et al — all who have a common interest in providing, not official support, but covert fiscal and technical assistance.

This programme should preoccupy all Ukrainian emigres, and fund-raisers should be dispatched door-to-door among all emigres to solicit contributions and pledges. Only by establishing for ourselves a concrete programme and objective such as this will we be able to acquire the support of those who, so far, have been disenchanted with the activities of the Ukrainian community — and there are many.

By this constant, 24-hour saturation of Soviet air waves and communication with the captive peoples we will be able to halt Russification and cripple Soviet Russian administration. And gradually the regime will be compelled by mass, popular pressure to grant certain concessions in order to maintain stability — concessions which will further arouse the enthusiasm and strengthen the morale of the captive nations. Until one day the Russian regime will wake up to discover that it is no longer able to reassert control.

Then, we will be free, and the West will have been saved.

Five More Congressmen Introduce Resolutions In Defense Of Moroz

Since the end of May, five US legislators have joined the growing list of Congressional supporters of the Moroz defense campaign.

An May 22nd, Rep. Edward I. Koch (D.-N. Y.) introduced House Resolution 499, expressing concern for the freedom and safety of Valentyn Moroz. Rep. Koch had previously added his name as a co-sponser of Rep. Daniel J. Flood's (D.-Pa.) House Con. Res. 190, requesting the release of Moroz and Plyushch. Rep. Koch's resolution was succeeded by House Res. 523, intro-

duced on June 10th by Rep. Mario Biaggi (D.-N. Y.) ad House Res. 528 and 532, introduced on June 11th, by Rep. Gilbert Gude (R.-Md.) and Rep. Donald J. Mitchell (R.-N. Y.), respectively.

According to Ukrainians this is how the exchange works:

"The Russians take our coal, our oil, our steel, our wheat, our workers and give us their laws, their language, their officials, their labour camps, their prisons and their police."

Bi-Annual Convention of the AF-ABN in New York

On April 12th at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York the Bi-Annual Convention of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., was held.

Dr. Ivan Docheff opened the Convention by greeting the delegates of the member nations: — Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Cuba, Croatia, Estonia, Germany, North Caucasia, Hungary, Rumania, Ukraine and USA. He also greeted the guests from Europe; they included the President of ABN, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, and Editor in Chief of ABN Correspondence, Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

After the adoption of the agenda and election of the Presidium of the Convention and committees a detailed analysis of the international situation was delivered by the ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. Mrs. Slava Stetsko gave an outline of the ABN activities throughout the world giving examples of various Anti-Soviet de-

monstrations in defense of human and national rights and political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

The Chairman of the AF-ABN, Dr. Ivan Docheff, gave a full report of the AF-ABN activities and Mr. Michael Kocka of the finances. A special resolution was presented by the chairman of the Resolution Committee, Dipl. Eng. John Kosiak, which was adopted after a discussion and amendments. Before lunch Mr. Michael Kocka on behalf of AF-ABN presented to Dr. Ivan Docheff a plaque as a token of recognition for his 10 years of activities as chairman; this was warmly accepted by the members.

In the afternoon the election of new AF-ABN organs took place. Dr. Ivan Docheff was re-elected as President of the Council, Dr. Anaiol Bedriy as Chairman of the Executive Board and the national representatives of the 12 member nations were elected into the leading organs.



AF-ABN Chairman Dr. I. Docheff with a group of national representatives.

Communist Activity In Brazil

"The Communist subversive process, once started, only finishes by taking over the power."

1. Introduction

Communist insurgence of November 27, 1935 — Legalization of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB)

2. Situation in 1963

João Goulart - President - Communists in the government "Peleguismo" - Syndicalism
Rally at EICB (Central Railway Station) on March 13, 1964

3. The Democratic Revoution of March 31, 1964

Defeat of the Communist movement, with international repercussions

4. Situation in 1968

Return to the subversive process
Manifestations in Congress and schools AI-5 (Institutional Act) Law 477

5. Situation from 1969 to 1975

Declared terrorist acts
Education of personnel and organizations to fight subversion
Disarticulation of terrorist organizations

6. Present Situation

November 1974 Elections
Reappearance of manifestations in Congress and in the student movement.

Introduction

The first activity of the Communist revolution in Brazil, was the Communist movement of November 27, 1935. The mutiny (barracks rebellion) which shocked the entire country and treacherously killed so many innocent persons, should have, 40 years ago, put an end to the red demonstrations in Brazil, because of the way it started.

Unfortunately this prediction did not come true, because the Second World War made us forget those demonstrations and it brought to the world a dis-

torted concept of liberty, which made the legalization of the PCB in Brazil possible.

This legality of minor interest to the Communist Parties, later became illegal, because it normally works clandestinely and through infiltration.

Illegally, the Communist revolution carried on a long job of indoctrination and infiltration among students, factory workers, farm workers, and especially in the Church.

To offer a better view of the Communist revolution in Brazil, we will make no comments on this large preparatory period of the more effective actions of international Communism in Brazil.

Situation in 1963

On this occasion, Brazil was being governed by João Goulart, a man closely linked with labour organizers and union leaders, and he set up an intensive psychological programme in the whole country headed by his brother-in-law, Leonel Brizola, to gain public support for constitutional legalization.

João Goulart was already well known in the country as Labour Minister during the rule of former Getúlio Vargas' government, having been elected Vice-President of the Republic by direct election. When President Jânio Quadros resigned, Goulart assumed the office of president, although the Armed Forces opposed this, as they considered him incapable of leading Brazil to its glorious destiny.

With João Goulart in office, the country experienced days of intense agitation, continuous strikes, organized peasant invasions of universities, urban guerrillas tactics, with demonstrations and rallies.

We can be sure that, at that time, "peleguismo" united with the labour unions and seized control of the government. To strengthen the govern-

ment, they only had to rely on public opinion or to attempt to gain the support of the Armed Forces in order to hold the government and the established situation.

With this objective, he subverted the hierarchy of the Air Force and Navy, and, in the Army he promoted several colonels to generals with artificial popular bases which were called on occasions, "people's generals".

He put Brazil's most important state enterprise, "Petrobrás", at the service of the labour organizers and corruption, and by an infiltration through social security institutions he tried to make them serve the Communist and labour union revolution.

The ground to carry out the international Communist revolution was already in the government which was ready to mobilize the required support and implant it definitely in Brazil, in order to gain all the power to destroy any counter reactions.

To "test" the power of Goulart's government they planned and held, on March 13, 1974, at the square in front of the railroad station Central do Brazil, beside the former Army Ministry, in Rio de Janeiro, a huge rally where sickles and hammers, the symbols of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B) were seen on banners and posters that formed a background for the enormous stage, under the nose of the Armed Forces and the complacent view of the ministers and general officers involved in the subversion.

On March 13, at the Automobile Club of Brazil, the lack of public order reached a climax, when the President, after appealing to the junior officers of the Armed Forces to come and take the reins of the respective forces, saw his generals being carried triumphantly on the shoulders of sailors leaving the Club.

The whole outline for the absolute control of the nation by the Communist-syndicalist revolution was prepared. The galloping inflation, the ad-

ministrative disorder, the flattering of certain kinds of workers (dockers, railwaymen) formed an adequate frame for the scene.

The Democratic Revolution of March 31, 1964

Parallel to the subversive process, the Armed Forces always of irresistible democratic inclination prepared themselves for an inevitable reaction.

Thus, on the dawn of March 31, 1964, the troops from Minas Gerais, under the chief Gen. Olympio Mourão Filho, marched to Rio de Janeiro and Brasília, demanding the removal of the President and to fight against the Communist subversion and against its permanent ally, moral and administrative corruption.

Public opinion, immediately and massively supported the Forces of Order, and the union and cohesion of the Armed Forces made it possible to achieve victory, without blood shed. The governmental ground was not firm, thus the government collapsed easily. The historical formation of Brazilian nationality does not show any possibility of accepting autocratic regimes, particularly those founded on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and therefore it was easier to conquer João Goulart's regime.

We can assert that this fall resulted from an actual idea of the Brazilian people, who could no longer accept the environment of insurgencies, riots, unrest, insecurity and inflation that gripped the country.

Goulart's fall, with his henchmen and his labour leaders, represented a defeat of the International Communist Movement, with world-wide repercussions.

It was natural not to expect a revival of the Communist revolution in the near future, due to the total victory of the Democratic Revolution of March 31, which took away certain politicians' rights who were involved with the leftists or corruption, retiring some officers, and other punishments based on

the Institutional Acts (Atos Institucionais) which destroyed the subversive machinery which had been mounted.

Following the first government after the Revolution, of Marshal Castelo Branco who democratically reorganized the country, the new president was chosen by the Congress through indirect elections: Gen. Costa e Silva.

The Situation in 1968

The second Government after the Revolution presumed that everything was under control and became lenient towards some political methods that were not totally erased and this once again disturbed the Brazilian people.

The subversive process vigorously returned, characterized by manifestations in the National Congress. The union between politicians and students provoked agitation in the universities, transferring the parliamentary immunities to the students.

Two important events occurred in this period: the creation of several Parliamentary Committees of Inquiry (CPI) where authorities were subjected to shameful interrogations having to explain their behaviour in their functions. Another important fact was the offenses that Federal Deputy Marcio Moreira Alves aimed at the Armed Forces, especially the Army.

A climate of insecurity was recreated, universities were being occupied by students; protests, demonstrations, rallies and the fights that occurred between the police and the people proved the presence of the Urban Guerrilla. The phoney victims caused constant agitation. We were experiencing once again the full intensity of the Revolutionary Communist Warfare. Once again, the nation lost internal peace and asked for measures which could put an end to the disturbances. To this challenge the government replied with the AI-5 of December 13 and the Law 477 of January 1969 to stop the agitation among the students.

The Situation from 1969-1975

As street demonstrations and various movements at the universities were forbidden, the subversive machinery which was well prepared, enters into clandestinity and begins its terrorist activity. Bank holdups, kidnappings, and other terrorist actions reached the point of murdering people who helped the authorities.

Years before, only some isolated cases of terrorism had occurred but these five years were characterized by continuous disturbances and the appearance of various terrorist organizations that acted independently but adopted the same Marxist philosophy.

Again the subversion is confronted with a government unable to act. Even when restoring its authorities, the country did not have the technical or organizational means to combat well prepared terrorists, who had even taken guerrilla courses abroad.

Reacting to this new challenge, the government begins to educate personnel specialized in fighting terrorism, and to create special organs to confront the subversion.

Positive results came quickly, by attacking the main leaders and diverse terrorist organizations, such as:

- "Colina" — Comando de Libertação Nacional (National Liberation Command)
- "Corrente"
- "ALN" — Aliança Libertadora Nacional (National Liberation Alliance)
- "Molipo" — Movimento de Libertação Nacional (National Liberation Movement)
- "PC do B" — Partido Comunista do Brasil (Communist Party of Brazil)
- "PCR" — Partido Comunista Revolucionário (Revolutionary Communist Party)
- "PCB" — Partido Comunista Brasileiro (Brazilian Communist Party — A large party)
- "AP" — Ação Popular — Infiltração na Igreja (Popular Action — Infiltration in the Church)

— "APML" — Ação Popular — Marxista-Leninista (Popular Action Marxist-Leninist)

The subversive demonstrations especially reached the cities of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Recife, the countryside, the rural population and even the Amazon Jungle.

With the continuous improvement and training of the Security Department, the subversion and its absolutely illegal subversive actions were under permanent control when they became encompassed in the National Security Law.

Present Situation

By returning to the calm atmosphere, it became evident that the nation is able to react to the terrorists' challenge, but it is still vulnerable to the Communist infiltration, to the tricks of the cripto-Communists and all their masked and anti-national activities in which they hide themselves in the name of democratic freedom.

Under these circumstances we reach November 1974, when national elections were held for the congress. The opposition party (MDB) greatly increased in number of its representatives through obeying orders from abroad. So we have elected senators and federal and social deputies, proven leftists, and red „sympathizers“, and a number of useful innocents.

Here are the immediate consequences for the elections:

- 1) The formation of legal support

for the clandestine activities of the International Communist Movement;

- 2) The start of student disturbances in the universities in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Brazilia.

Conclusion

In Brazil, since its first appearance November 27, 1935, the international Communist Movement never stopped acting. After 40 years it is evident that the Communist activities have changed their methods, depending on the means of the moment, avoiding a face to face fight when in a disadvantageous position and profiting wisely, from the penetrations of the vulnerable flanks.

We are prepared, we have trained people and departments that are able to face the terrorism, to put subversives in prison, but we were not that alert to clearly see the disguised actions, as infiltration in schools and other various indoctrinations by using routine methods.

The present moment shows that, with the results of the elections in November 1974, democratic Brazil gave to the Communists an advantageous position, and has led to the return of the situation of 1968, when the minister of justice is called by the Congress to explain the status of the Communists condemned by the military justice.

It is necessary for us, to adopt a new doctrine to struggle against subversion in any of its phases. The free world cannot pay such a high price for a freedom which is violated every time by the subversive Communist process.

INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT

by VALENTYN MOROZ

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

Published by

Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

8 München 80, Zepelinstraße 67

Soviet Russian Imperialism in Turkestan

Part II

In the economic realm Soviet spokesmen and those who have chosen to see the USSR as a unitary nation-state point to the material progress achieved in Central Asia under the Soviet rule. Undoubtedly, Central Asian resources have been developed. Some of the benefits of this development have gone to the indigenous population, a good part of them to the millions of Russian settlers in the area, and undoubtedly the lion's share to the RSFSR and All-Union needs. However, the essence of colonial policy does not lie solely in the act of development of natural resources, the level of technology and the industrial and agricultural output of the colony, but rather in whose interest the resources are exploited.*) Thus, if Central Asia has been transformed into a major producer of cotton but the majority of Kazakhs and Uzbeks go about poorly clad because much of their crop is delivered to the state and shipped out of the country, then whatever progress in cotton production has been achieved, it is nothing else but one more statistical figure as far as the average Kazakh or Uzbek is concerned.

Besides, the economic criterion is not enough to assess fully the legitimacy and success of Russian conquest and colonization of non-Russian peoples. The Kara-Kum Canal, for instance, is no more proof of the virtue of Soviet presence in Turkestan — or any other non-Russian territory than Hitler's highways indicated any virtue in German Nazism. Consequently, the issue of the non-Russian nationalities in

the Soviet Union and its satellite countries should be analysed strictly from the standpoint of the interests of those nationalities *vis-à-vis* the dominant Russians, rather than from the unrealistic platform of the USSR being a nation-state inhabited by the non-existent two hundred and thirty million "Russians" or "Soviet men". Furthermore, in order to secure a point of reference for analysis of Russian colonial practices within the Soviet Union itself and the satellite countries the problem must be viewed within the context of colonial trends in other parts of the globe. The struggle for the fulfillment of national aspirations among the colonial peoples has become one of the landmarks of the twentieth century regardless of the ideology with which the imperial state attempts to justify its hampering or assistance of the liberation processes.

Walter Kolarz maintained that certain lessons may be drawn from the general trend in the colonial territories outside the Soviet Union:

1. The dependent peoples appreciate material achievements only if such go hand in hand with political progress, i. e., if the metropolis encourages home-rule.
2. The peoples of the colonial territories in order to fulfill their national aspirations create political movements and ideologies corresponding to their own national traditions and needs as different from those of their colonizer and metropolitan needs.
3. National aspirations can be properly defined only if the colonies enjoy at least a certain measure of democracy and freedom of discussion. This implies the existence of political groups

* See also: Dr. B. Hayit, *Die Wirtschaftsprobleme Turkestans* (Economic problems Turkestan), Ankara 1967.

which search for ways to advance their development towards self-government and national independence.

4. Recognition of home-rule is a desirable political aim on the part of a progressive colonial power.⁹⁾

The essence of modern colonial policy lies in the encouragement of self-government — i. e., decentralization — a process which in the last decades has given rise to the emergence of new independent nation-states in Asia and Africa.

On the other hand, when judging the Soviet nationalities policy on the basis of this standard and the declarations in the new Party programme, a directly opposite trend can be observed, i. e. plans for an ever-increasing centralization in the political and economic fields, and a persistent drive of cultural Russification — all this under the slogan of "national in form, socialist in content", "merging of nations", "struggle against bourgeois-nationalism" invariably accompanied by a policy of various forms of repression.

However, the de-centralizing counter-trend to Soviet nationalities policy in all of its manifestations — national liberation movements and open revolt; secret societies; "deviationism" and "bourgeois nationalism"; active and passive dissent among the masses, intelligentsia and youth; cultural rifts; apathy — is one of the most important aspects of fifty years of Soviet reality. This anti-Sovietism, however, is not merely a series of sporadic outbursts of opposition, but is firmly rooted in all-embracing ideology and, in the case of some of the Central Asian peoples, a powerful historical trend: Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism which complement each other, fusing both concepts in the political and religious life of the Central Asian Moslems of the USSR. On

⁹⁾ Walter Kolarz, *Russia and her Colonies* (London, 1953) 3rd ed., vi.

the blending of Islamism with Pan-Turkism the Turkestanskoye Okhrannoye Otdelenie (The Turkestanian Security Office; Turkestanian Branch of the Russian Political Police), had in its 1913 files the following description of Pan-Islamism filled with Pan-Turkish content:

Their actual aim (the Pan-Islamists) is political struggle within the existing regime of the (Russian) Empire. This regime according to their views, is the chief obstacle in their attempts toward national self-determination of the Moslems.¹⁰⁾

Briefly, then Pan-Turkism is a mass movement which aims at a religious, cultural and political union of the Turkic nations, and every form of opposition to Russian colonialism is invariably connected to this motivating force in one way or another. Since the inherent danger for Russian hegemony in the area from these pan-movements became obvious to Moscow, the latter immediately set out to undermine them by any means available. Thus in 1924-25 the division of Turkestan into a number of Union Republics and Autonomous Republics and Regions was carried out according to the resolution passed by the First Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, which was attended by M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the USSR Central Executive Committee. The resolution called for a campaign without quarter against Pan-Turkism and Pan-Slavism.¹¹⁾ In the

¹⁰⁾ A. Arsharuni and Kh.-Gobidullin, *Ocherki Pan-Islamisma i Pan-Turkisma v Rossii* (Outlines of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism in Russia) (Moscow, 1931) p. 3, cited by Charles W. Hostler, *Turkism and the Soviets* (London, 1957), p. 118.

¹¹⁾ D. I. Zlatopolsky, *Obrazovanie i Razvitie SSSR Kak Soiuznogo Gosudarstva* (The Formation and Development of the USSR as a Federal State) (Moscow 1954) p. 148. Cited by Robert Conquest, *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice* (London, 1967) p. 46.

cultural and religious realms the blow came when Moscow imposed its "socialist realism" on life and ordered the cyrilization of Turkestanian alphabets which was completed by 1939.

Those measures were taken in an attempt to sever the common ties unifying the Turkestani with Turkism in general. It was done on the principle of "divide et impera" in an area where there had been "hardly a single Communist among the local nationalities before 1917",¹²⁾ and where for years after 1917, "the main burden of revolutionary leadership fell on the Russian workers in Turkestan and on the Russian revolutionary soldiers" — as it also happened everywhere else on non-Russian territory.

The principle of divide and rule and its incompatibility with the ideal of the Pan-Turkic movement was clearly expressed in Soviet sources which acknowledge that in Turkestan:

... The formation of national republics **was only a means for bringing the toiling masses still closer to the organ of power** (Moscow) ... and for organizing the people for the struggle for Communism...¹⁴⁾

However, to offset the broad spectrum of Russian imperialist policy in Turkestan there appeared equally numerous modes of resistance, and the evidence indicates, to repeat, that the

acts of opposition, revival and nationalism in Turkestan, have the characteristics on pan-movements and are primarily Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic in character.

Open Resistance (armed struggle) The 1916 Revolt

The Russian Tsarist regime was overthrown in February, 1917. The prelude to this event in Turkestan was, without doubt, the Great Central Asian Revolt which broke out in 1916 catching Russian authorities off guard. This uprising — known as the **Merdikar**¹⁵⁾ Revolt — marked the end of an era of Russian colonial rule in the area and ushered in the period of an active struggle for independent Turkestan nationhood in the twentieth century under the banners of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.

In spite of the fact that the official Russian reports insisted that "the population of Turkestan is absolutely peaceful"¹⁶⁾ aside from the immediate causes that had sparked the revolt there were other causes as well, which the Russian government failed to notice. The most evident one was obviously the colonization of Central Asia which at the time had already exceeded the tolerance of the region. "The Kirghiz no longer have anything but the summits of the mountains where there is no more pasture land"¹⁷⁾ stated one petition to the governor of the region. Among other scandalous measures was the exploitation of the indigenous po-

¹²⁾ *Bolshevik*, 1935, No. 3, p. 23 (Conquest, p. 46)

¹³⁾ A. Agzamkhoyayev and S. Urazayev, *Uzbekistan: A Soviet State* (Moscow, 1962) p. 23, cited by Conquest, p. 46.

¹⁴⁾ A. A. Gordienko, *Sozdanie Sovetskoi Natsionalnoi Gosudarstvennosti v Srednei Asii (The Creation of Soviet National Statehood in Central Asia)* (Moscow, 1952) p. 138. (Robert Conquest, *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice* (London, 1967) p. 46.

¹⁵⁾ The word means "man of work" in Persian. It was used in the sense of conscript labour. It is possible that it was a slogan, "Man of Action", used by the rebels. [Olaf Caroe, *Soviet Empire* (New York, 1967), 2nd ed. p. 89].

¹⁶⁾ P. G. Galuzo, *Turkestan Koloniia* (Moscow) p. 156. Cited by Edward Allworth, *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule* (New York) p. 208.

¹⁷⁾ *ibid.*

pulation through taxes and forced labour.¹⁸⁾

The pent-up hatred was released by a government decree of June 25, 1916, mobilizing the Central Asians, who were not liable to military service, into workers' battalions. The first disturbance broke out in Uzbek country in Khojand on July 4, 1916. Spreading quickly it grew into a real uprising. But a military expedition smashed the rebels a few days later, on July 21st.¹⁹⁾ However, the rebellion, in spite of the efforts to check it, went beyond Uzbek territory on a large scale spreading into the Kirghiz and Kazakh lands. The Kirghiz rebelled in Pishpek (Frunze) August 6 and from there the revolt spread through the whole region. Meanwhile the Russian colonists, taking advantage of the army's support deprived the Asians of all their possessions, their armed groups massacred the local population,²⁰⁾ and punitive expeditions put entire Kirghiz villages to the torch.²¹⁾ It is obvious that the Central Asians struck back, and the whole area became the scene of bloody fighting. In Kazakhstan, the revolt also reached great proportions in the Tungay region. The rebels led by Amangeldi Imanuli (1873-1919) had engaged Russian troops and besieged Tungay.²²⁾ The revolt lasted until the end of 1916, and its defeat required heavily armed Russian troops, led by General Madri-dov and Governor-General Kuropatkin. The result were reprisals, punitive ex-

peditions, executions, hunger, and mass deportations of the rebellious populations.²³⁾ Among the Russian colonists 3,000 died in Turkestan Government General alone, 1,299 were missing and 9,000 rural businesses were razed.²⁴⁾ The losses of the Kazakh and Kirghiz and other Turkestani were much greater — they lost an estimated 150,000 people as a result of fighting, pacification and hunger.²⁵⁾ Also about 300,000 Kazakhs and Kirghiz emigrated into Western China²⁶⁾ (East Turkestan where many died of starvation. As a result between 1915-20 the Kirghiz alone for instance, lost for various reasons about a third of their total population.²⁷⁾

The rising had an all-national anti-Russian character, with members of all classes participating in it. Although this rising was an explosion of spontaneous wrath there is enough evidence to show that it was not devoid of political or ideological leadership. As early as May, 1916, for instance, Mahmud Khoja Behbudiy organized a meeting in Samarkand to consider what policy to follow should the threats of mobilization be carried out. Those national leaders present at the meeting — Behbudiy, Munawer Quari, Usman Khojaoghli and others — seem to have decided to instigate a general uprising should mobilization occur.²⁸⁾ The religious leaders on their part also played a significant role in rallying the populace against the usurpers. The final rift between the Russians and Turkestani seems to have been precipitated by this revolt forshadowing the direction which the events after the revolution would take.

¹⁸⁾ F. A. Fedorow, *Ocherki natsionalno-osvoboditelnogo dvizhenia v Srednei Asii* (Tashkent, 1925) pp. 51-3. Cited by Allworth, p. 210.

¹⁹⁾ A. Shestakov, "Dzhizakskoe vostanie 1916 goda, "Krasnyi Arkhiv, LX-LXII (1932-34) p. 63.

²⁰⁾ M. Belotskii, *Kirghizskaia Respublica: Popularnyi Ocherk* (Moscow, 1936), p. 27. (Allworth, p. 211).

²¹⁾ *Istoria Kazakhskoi SSR* (Alma Ata, 1943) p. 378. (Allworth, *ibid.*).

²²⁾ *ibid.*

²³⁾ A. Kuropatkin, "Dnevnik", *Krasnyi Arkhiv, II* (1922-27), pp. 87-88.

²⁴⁾ *Loc. cit.*

²⁵⁾ Kolarz, p. 271.

²⁶⁾ *Bolshoiia Sovietskaia Entsiklopedia (BSE)* 1st ed. XXX (1937) p. 595.

²⁷⁾ Kolarz, p. 271.

²⁸⁾ Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan im XX Jahrhundert* Darmstadt, 1956, p. 18.

A. Radygin

Recollections From Communist Labour Camp

Politics are all pervasive in the empire. Neither science, nor literature, nor art can avoid interference from ideological vandals. Even in the area of sports, in all its successes and failures, one can see the fingerprints of the ideological wrongdoers.

I will not even mention the outright cheating of pitting professional athletes against amateurs at the Olympic Games, in order to force the world once more to gaze upon the red flag and listen once more to the "song without words" — the Soviet hymn from which Khrushchev deleted the words, or to the contrary the quarrell among Soviet ring-leaders of sport-manipulators trying to remove, change or cross out from the Olympic programmes those sports in which Soviet athletes do not excell. When it was politically advantageous, Moscow allowed to participate at one of the Olympic Games; then, when the German team became strong and threatened to push aside the USSR and the US out of first place, the Germans were forbidden even to think of having a unified team.

The Germans, people of one nation divided by politics, are not allowed to participate jointly in the Games, and the Ukrainians, whose country is legally a member of the UN, are not allowed to participate as a separate team; in all probability, if Russia sent out its own team, it would probably place behind both Germany and Ukraine. For at the present time more than half of any Soviet team is made up of non-Russian nationalities.

But why am I writing about sports in my recollections about life of Ukrainian prisoners? Because sports are the only area in which there can be an open contest of **Kyiv against Moscow!** And how carefully we all watched this struggle which for various reasons were not sporty but distinctly political connotations. When Lithuanian pri-

soners came to congratulate Ukrainian prisoners on the victory of Ukrainian athletes over Russian ones, nobody cared whether the Soviet athletes possess political or national aims, but the joy and jubilation of millions of Ukrainian fans and the bitterness and anger of the Russian fans carry some moral weight. We understood that the Czech slogan "You attack us with tanks and we will attack you with discs" would not save Prague from occupation, but who will deny that the athletic victories of the Czechs and Slovaks were not a political celebration over the conceit of the nation occupant.

In the soccer championship Moscow presents 5-6 teams; if Leningrad is included this number may reach 9 teams from Russia. Ukraine at first had two and then three, Georgia — 2, Armenia — 1.

It is well known that a player who comes into prominence in the provinces is immediately "invited" to Moscow. For some time already Ukrainian athletes, with a few exceptions, have not wanted to go any further than Kyiv. What happened to Kolotov turned out to be a scandalous story: he was "invited" to go to Moscow, but ended up in Kyiv, a fact for which he was almost thrown out of Soviet sports completely. Then, on second thought, he was allowed to remain in Kyiv, since from there he could be drafted into the Soviet collective team; but if he had been disqualified and dismissed from athletics altogether, then the collective team would loose a good athlete and another opportunity to see the red banner fly would also be missed. So he was allowed to play in Kyiv.

This "forbearance" did not bring Moscow much good; all of us — not only Ukrainians — in the camps avidly followed the national teams who slowly but resolutely were pushing away the *Übermensch* from the two capitals

further and further from first place and in this case the Ukrainians came in first as well.

How sweet it was for Moscow when right after the war, in the 1940's the Kyivans took last places in the row. Everybody knows how the Gestapo avenge themselves with the Ukrainian players and only two from the team were left: Machynia and Itskovskyj. The Kyiv team put up a desperate fight but nevertheless was on the losing side.

When the Ukrainian brought to Kyiv gold medals they were greeted in Moscow half-heartedly and the medals were considered an unfortunate incident. When the Ukrainians achieved first place the following year — they became uneasy in Moscow. When in the third year not only gold but bronze and silver went to Kyiv, Tbilisi and Erivan, panic began in Moscow. Politics entered the picture. The prisoners, who were not even allowed to watch the event on television celebrated the victory.

Then Moscow turned to the slyness. The Moscow teams would not be strengthened, but the Ukrainian team had to be weakened at any cost. They have found a recipe: Before any upcoming game where the Kyivans could win against the Muscovites and move closer to first place, some insignificant team would be brought in from abroad and the better players from the Kyiv team would be drafted to play in the scratch-team in Moscow. Kyiv's team would then be weakened and the Moscow team would win.

Matters reached a boiling point. There was a game scheduled in Kyiv, with one of the Moscow teams, but the better Ukrainian players were kept in Moscow, on the pretext of having to play in some other friendly but not very important tournament. The players from Kyiv refused to play in the collective team, pretended to be sick, in the morning took the plane to Kyiv, played there in the afternoon and really beat the Moscow team. The jubila-

tion of the Ukrainian fans was so great while the anger of the Moscow fans so deep that the Ukrainians were being cursed and stripped of the title "master of sports". It was not wise to throw them out all together — since the all — Russian team also played in important games and they needed the strong Ukrainian players.

In the end politics won over sports. Somehow it happened that all the dangerous Ukrainian opposite players were scattered among the small provincial teams. When they could not be beaten in an honest contest — then they had won behind the administrative desks, by means quite remote from any sport.

From the camps, we all watched and even predicted some of these events. We knew that Moscow desperately needed Ukrainian players, but this sensitive and politically harmful Ukrainian public opinion had to be quelled.

How cheerfully the Russian press grasps and re-prints the "naive" mistakes of the Western press. (It is very possible that such "mistakes" have been well payed for by the Soviet "sport diplomats".) "The Russians are winning." "Today the Russians are in top form." "The Russian battering ram is in action." How "moving" is such a low level of literacy of the Western commentators, especially at a time when in the collective team there were six Ukrainians, two Georgians, one Armenian, one Jew and only one Russian!

How flattering it is for chauvinistic ears to hear about "The Russian runner Kuts'", "The Russian hero Rupert", "The great Russian goalie Tretiak", "The young Russian arrow Otkalenko", "The Russian virtuoso Meterveli"; it is bad manners to the fact that they are Estonians, Germany, Ukrainians, Georgians.

In the camps not only national patriots, not only Ukrainians, but all strongly wished that victory would go to the national athletes.

Decolonialism Amok?

The twentieth century's strongest political force is not the ideological revolution produced by Communism, the implications of nuclear weapons, nor even the sudden discovery by developing nations of the immense value of raw materials they possess.

The strongest political force is the spread of decolonialism, not only in the traditional overseas empires like Britain's, France's and Portugal's but also in land-bound agglomerations of which the outstanding example is the Soviet Union and its bloc of East European neighbors.

Liberty is almost incapable of being rationed. Its flame leaps from country to country like a forest fire. And the concept of liberty in a community rather than in an individual sense is hard to define logically.

Thus, having shed virtually all their former colonial possessions, the British are plagued with burgeoning mininationalism among the Scotch, the Welsh and the North Irish. The French still harbor tiny embers of Breton and Basque nationalism.

And Belgium, after evacuating the Congo, finds itself being tribalized in bitter argument between Flemish and French-speaking Walloons. There is even a Jura separatist movement in Switzerland.

The idea that domination of any minorities by even beneficent majorities is inherently evil now threatens world order. Nigeria fought a war against its Biafran peoples on this, holding in check Africa's disrupting tide of tribalism.

The vague, romantic spirit of decolonialism — which means one thing to Eritreans in Ethiopia, yet another to Naga warriors in India or to starving Bangladesh — could become terrifying-

ly explosive in the Soviet Union. Moscow is a tough-minded capital and it sees the danger to itself if any form of neonationalism is allowed to run amok and break up its own system of order.

This Soviet fear is often ignored by Kremlinologists. Russia has an elemental worry that its control in eastern reaches — Central Asia and portions of Siberia — might some day be threatened. The loss of those vast areas would immediately catapult the USSR from the role of superpower and, therefore, the idea would never be tolerated.

In the east, Moscow's great nightmare is that China, Japan and the United States or a combination among them might join in an anti-Soviet coalition. But a great chunk of Moscow's western and Slavic domain also privately worries the Kremlin. That is the **Ukraine**.

The Russians calculate that because of the plain facts of power, they will never have to be concerned about unrestrained nationalism in little Baltic lands — Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania. But the **Ukraine** is something else — with its huge population, rich agricultural lands, iron, industry. Moscow has tried hard to gain favor among the Ukrainians but without overwhelming success. The Kremlin consequently feels embarrassed.

This uneasy historic background — east and west — is an important aspect

The Russians not only exploit Ukraine (as is also the case with the other non-Russian republics), but they persecute and oppress the Ukrainians in the bargain and then talk of mutual exchange between Russia and Ukraine.

of the complex Russian character and must always be taken into account in analyzing Soviet policies. The USSR is a massive, strange country: a superpower with its feet in the mud of poverty, with mighty muscles and fear in his heart.

All this relates to the current argument with Washington about permitting Soviet Jews to emigrate — as a result of American commercial and political pressures. The publication of exchanges on the subject between Secretary Kissinger and Senator Jackson has been resented by Moscow as an embarrassment.

The ultimate problem posed is: If Jews are allowed to depart as a result of foreign insistence, couldn't this lead to other meddling by other nations on the part of different segments of the enormous, land-bound, polyglot Soviet empire? More emigration? Or secession?

It is hard to imagine how these atavistic concerns can be dealt with in

even the most confidential diplomatic talks (if such are imaginable with Washington). But certain primary points should not be obscured by emotional argument or wishful thinking.

The Russians felt humiliated by the 1962 Cuban confrontation and later ousted Khrushchev. Now they feel humiliated by the Arab loss of billions of dollars of Soviet arms plus Washington's public insistence on according to Jews rights not usually accorded other Soviet citizens. Could this in the end lead to Leonid Brezhnev's departure?

Should he go, it is almost certain hard-liners would take over, part of the bureaucratic "they" who represent the Soviet military-industrial complex. And it is equally certain that, should the United States deem such a moment of change favorable for some kind of military intervention in Arab petroleum lands, Moscow would react violently.

The New York Times,
Wednesday, January 22, 1975



Ukrainian Delegation from Argentine with Argentinien editor Mr. Enrique Martinez Codo in audience with President Pinochet, Santiago, 24th May, 1975.

From left: Mr. Wasyl Kosiuk, the Chairman of the Ukrainian Central Representation in Argentine, Mr. Codo and next to him Mrs. Marusia Poloz (f).

From Behind the Iron Curtain

In Defense of the Unyielding

To A. N. Kosygin, Kremlin, Moscow; M. V. Podgorny, Kremlin, Moscow, cc: Council of Churches of ECB (Evangelic Christian Baptists) and Council of the Relatives of ECB Prisoners.

The authorities — violating the Constitution of the USSR and infringing international law with respect to freedom of man — again arrested our father, Hryhoriy Petrovych Vins, for his religious convictions.

During the last 13 years our father has been constantly persecuted for his religious work. From 1966 to 1969 he was under arrest and served various terms of imprisonment, coming back with his health impaired.

We are afraid he might die as a result of his most recent detention. We do not wish our father to be rehabilitated after death as was our grandfather Petro Yakovlevych who had been tried for his religious convictions, then tortured to death in camps and subsequently rehabilitated.

Our whole family has been persecuted for many years. Our grandmother, Lidia Mykhaylivna Vins, was detained in prison from 1970 to 1973. She had been arrested only for defending other persecuted believers.

Our mother, N. I. Vins, was dismissed from work for her religious convictions and was unable to find job for a long period of time. At present she is employed a job outside her profession.

Repressions are also applied against us children. Natalka Vins was dismissed from work without any reason on January 9, 1974. The Head of the Medical Department No. 17 in Kyiv hospital, Dr. Khrap, said he could always find a reason justifying dismissal,

although religion with medicine is by no means connected.

After graduating from Grade 10 Petro Vins cannot find any work.

All these moves against our family exemplify total genocide, and the present imprisonment of our father out-matches all our sufferings. Unless our father is freed we will be compelled to resort to such measures as to inform all faithful of his unlawful imprisonment.

We have reasons to assume that the state of his health is very poor and thus you are fully responsible for this. Unless our father is released from prison and if he is tortured to death **his entire family will be ready to die with him.** We would like you to know this beforehand and bring our decision to the attention of all faithful in the whole world.

Vins Natalka, Petro, Lisa and Zhenia, Kyiv 114, Sovshenko Street 116.



LITHUANIA

Lithuanians Massacred

In Vilna, Lithuania, **4 Lithuanians** were sentenced to imprisonment in concentration camps, being charged with reproducing and spreading Anti-Soviet literature. **Pyatras Plumpa** was sentenced to 8 years of strict regime camps, **Povilas Petronia** — to 4 years, **Virgulus Yavgenis** — to 2 years, and **Yonas Stashaitis** — to 1 year. The defendants were found guilty of spreading the underground "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" reporting about the persecution of the faithful in Lithuania.

In connection with further spreading the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catho-

lic Church" **Balis Gavkas, Albertas Jismishkas and Algirdas Pyatrasvichus** were arrested at the end of December.

In Vilnius, four Lithuanians were sentenced to long term concentration camp for the printing and distribution of Anti-Soviet literature. **Piatras Plumpa** is sentenced to four years of slave-labour camp, **Povilas Petronis** to four years, **Virgulus Yavgelis** to two years and **Yonas Stashaytis** to one year. They were accused of dispersing samvydav "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" which informed about the persecution of the faithful in Lithuania. In December in connection with the continuous distribution of "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" were arrested: **Balis Gowkas, Albertas Zhimishkas** and **Algirdas Piatra Cyavichus**.



TURKISTAN

The Turkmenian poetess **Annsoltan Kekilova** is detained in the psychiatric hospital to which she was forcefully sent in 1971 because in her letters to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union she had dared to criticize defects in Turkmenistan.



UKRAINE

Recent News From Ukraine

In December 1974 the Rivensk oblast visiting assizes sentenced three men in the regional cultural center of Vladimir: **F. Kapitula** to be shot (the sentence was executed), **Z. Karpach** to 15 years of severe regime concentration camps and **S. Huzyi** to 10 years of strict regime. They were convicted under Articles 56 and 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ("treason to the fatherland" and "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"). The prosecutor tried

to prove the accused to be guilty of cooperation with the Bandera Movement OUN, allegedly since the end of the war.

*

At the end of 1974 in **Ivano-Frankivsk** the student **Hucal** was sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment for spreading underground literature. The judges tried to connect him with the group of young men from Horodenka, convicted in August 1974 on the same charges, as reported before.

*

In 1974 in Ternopil a major group of people charged with spreading leaflets directed against the occupants of Ukraine and hoisting Ukrainian national flags in visible public places were tried. So far no details are known about the verdicts and the persons involved.

*

In summer and autumn 1974, in Lviv and Lviv district, tridents and leaflets appeared several times on the walls of public buildings, crossings and in other public places. The leaflets called upon the population to actively oppose the occupants, and upon the Russians "to voluntarily leave Ukraine and return to Russia".

*

It has been reported from reliable sources that the KGB has been foisting so-called "Samvydav literature" on Ukrainian patriots in Ukraine lately, subsequently searching their homes, and upon finding this literature persecuting these persons.

*

The student **Bohdan Romanyshyn** was excluded from the Lviv Polytechnic Institute on charges of patriotic activity. The KGB tries to connect him with the student **Chuprey** from Ivano-Frankivsk, also student of the Lviv Polytechnic Institute, who was sentenced in 1973. Thus B. Romanyshyn can be imprisoned at any moment.

Coal Mining Leaves Much to be Desired

(working conditions comparable to those during the construction of pyramide)

Non Fulfillment of the Plan

The report of the Central Statistical Office of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (cf. "Radianska Ukraina" of January 29, 1975) lists the industrial branches which failed to fulfill the requirements of the 4th year in the 9th Five-Year Plan with respect to production, increase in labour productivity and growth.

We quote: "The Plan has not been fulfilled as to the production of finished blooms of black metals, steel tubes, chemical pesticides, blacksmith press machines, metallurgical installations, oil equipment, bricks, soft roofing materials, sewn and knitted products, sugar-sand, washing-machines, pianos, cameras, refrigerators, furniture and products of some other industrial branches; there are enterprises which do not meet the minimum requirements as to assortment and quality of the produced articles. Many enterprises do not fully utilize the reserves for increasing production and raising productivity.

Limping ...

The 10 basic types of production of the Ukrainian SSR were enumerated previously stating the respective production percentages relative to the overall production of the USSR and showing the tremendous **importance** of the colonial production of Ukraine within the Russian Communist empire. Among the above-stated deficient indices within the requirements to be fulfilled in the 4th year of the Five-Year Plan by the Ukrainian SSR coal mining was missing. Although the plan had formally been fulfilled as to coal production — even over-fulfilled by 5 percent, — as the colliers had extracted over 3 million tons of coal, the growth of production was to be attributed to the increased labour productivity (cf. "Radianska Ukraina" of February 3,

1975). Referring to the corresponding figures of the comparative statistical table, 668.0 million tons of coal were produced in the USSR, and 214.3 million tons thereof in Ukraine, the Ukrainian production amounting to 31.14 percent.

The scope of this article does not allow to explain and show how much Moscow paid Ukraine for 214.3 million tons of coal and how much of the Ukrainian coal was exported abroad, such exports involving additional profits for Moscow.

Underground Hard Labour

The vice-minister of coal mining of the Ukrainian SSR, **Ivanov**, admits that the 1974 plan with respect to coal production in Ukraine could only be fulfilled by working overtime (cf. "Socialisticheskaya Industriya", February 2, 1975, stating: "It was only possible to fulfill the production plan by working on holidays. Last year the Donbas miners had to work 13 months instead of 12 — including overtime work). Of course, the colliers protest against this "additional month introduced by the authorities of the republic", as being inconvenient for them. They resolutely request its abolition. The miners' indignation is evident from innumerable letters received in various instances.

The ministry of the republic forced nearly half a million of Ukrainian miners to work almost without any days of rest.

In accordance with legal provisions miners are supposed to work 37.6 hours per week (cf. "Narodnoye Khozaystvo" (1973), p. 590), i. e. a coal miner has to work about 158 hours per month and is expected to work 120 hours per year overtime at most (cf. "Spravochnyk Profsoyuznoho Rabotnika" (1973), p. 224). The Donbas miners had to work 38 hours more, i. e. altogether 158 hours more than admissible — as during the

construction of pyramids. In principle, the labour legislation stipulates that "as a rule overtime work is not allowable". Article 55, however, mentions "exceptional cases allowing overtime work". These exceptional cases are listed under five points and include for instance types of work connected with the defense of the USSR, prevention or removal of elemental calamities, and continuation of work in case "a shift worker is absent". However, the Labour Code does not contain **any article JUSTIFYING THE POLICIES PRACTICED** by the Coal Mining Department of the Ukrainian SSR.

Mediocre Mechanization

There are many reasons which excessively hamper the fulfillment of any coal mining plans in the Donbas region. Only 30 percent of coal production is mechanized — in the 35th year of the notorious "industrialization" process. "Trud" (cf. December 5, 1974) states the following: "About 70 percent of the coal in the Central Donbas region is still extracted by means of cutter hammers, i. e. manually. Coal combines are working totally inefficiently. They are often applied under completely unfavourable conditions with respect to geological mining. Their maintenance is unsatisfactory due to their complicated technology. The miners used to say: "The combine is put aside and that's it." There is nobody to take care of it and lubricate it. Repairs are effected only on paper. Irregular work and requests for immediate return have particularly affected the mechanized complexes. "Socialisticheskaya Industriya" of February 2, 1975, hails "Trud" when stating that in 1974 in only one combine about 20,000 damages were caused by inadequate machines and defective mechanisms.

Useless Tools

The quality of cutter hammers is still worse. A group of coal-miners characterized the situation as follows (cf. "Trud", December 25, 1974): "Apart

from the fact that there is a shortage of hammers they are completely useless. Dozens of colliers are thus unable to fulfill their daily norms. In the mines of Horlivka and Dzerzhynsk for instance 28,000 damages and gaps were caused by deficient work, due in particular to the cutter hammers." Another paradox: "As a result of the shortage of hammers they are brought from Siberia to the Donbas region by aeroplanes. The minister of coal mining of the republic is personally responsible for their distribution in the combines, and the combine managers themselves distribute them in the mines."

It is notable that for about 15 years the Russian **Nikolai Mikhaylovich Khodosovtsev** was minister of coal mining in Ukraine; on June 18, 1974, he was replaced by another Russian, **Orest Andreyich Kolesov**. A Ukrainian can apparently not be trusted with such an important power department.

Furthermore, coal mining in the Ukrainian SSR belongs to the category of the least efficient in the whole world, due to technological backwardness. From the interior hardly 58 to 62 percent of the black gold is extracted to the surface, and in some mines of the Donbas only 30 percent.



WACL Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang and WACL Secretary-General Prof. Woo Jae-Seung with Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

News and Views

KGB Murder Organizer Courted by West German TUC

The Chairman of the DGB (the West German TUC), Herr Vetter, received as his guest in January, Mr. Alexander Shelepin, the chief of the so-called trade unions of the Soviet Union. The spokesman on foreign affairs of the CSU Group (Bavarian Christian Social Union) in the West German Parliament, Dr. Richard Jaeger, issued the following statement about this event: "The fact that the DGB Chairman, Herr Vetter, has invited a leader of the so-called Soviet trade unions to be his guest must be offensive to all German workers. The Chairman of the largest 'workers' organization in the Free World, Mr. George Meany of the AFL/CIO, has, therefore, warned the DGB in a published letter against contacts with so-called trade unions, which neither have the freedom to organize, nor the right to freely negotiate for wages and conditions of work, nor the right to strike but are simply an instrument for strengthening the dictatorship of the Communist Party over the workers.

"It must be the task of all freedom-loving men and women, especially in the German trade unions, to fight against any policy of representatives of free workers making common cause, or placing themselves on an equal level with the representatives of slavery and oppression."

Chief of the Soviet Secret Service

"Moreover, the visit of the head of the so-called Soviet trade unions, Mr. Alexander Shelepin, in the Federal Republic of Germany is a scandal. Shelepin was for years the chief of the Soviet Secret Service, the KGB, and was responsible for the dastardly assassinations of the Ukrainian exiled politicians, Mr. Rebet and Mr. Bandera,

by shooting them with poison pistols. The Federal German Supreme Court, in its verdict of 19 October 1962, branded the present chief of the so-called Soviet trade unions as the true murderer of Mr. Rebet and Mr. Bandera. The following is a quotation from the Court's finding: 'The two murders, according to the evidence taken during the main proceedings of the Court, were committed by order of the highest Soviet authority,' which means: at least by government members with the cooperation of Shelepin, who was then the Chairman of the Committee for State Security (KGB) within the Council of Ministers of the USSR."

It can be added to the statement by Dr. Jaeger that, before Shelepin came to the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet authorities formally asked for, and received, the assurance by the Federal German Government that Comrade Shelepin would be granted a "safe conduct", and that no attempt would be made by German police or courts to prosecute him.

Biaggi Calls for Liberty

On June 6th, Rep. William J. Green (D. Pa.), submitted House Concurrent Resolution 300, which requests the release of both, Valentyn Moroz and Leonid Plyushch.

In addition to submitting his resolution in defense of Moroz, Rep. Biaggi on April 8th, made a statement on the House floor concerning the oppression of dissidents in Ukraine and the Soviet Union, Rep. Biaggi concluded his statement, in which he cites the specific examples of Moroz, Plyushch and the women political prisoners, with the following:

"In the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, a document to

which Russia is — though it is easy to forget — a signatory, I urge Congress to call upon Russia to release their political prisoners. How can we, as Americans, as sons of the sons of liberty, sit idly by while people cry out for freedom. We cannot, I say celebrate a Bi-

centennial of our liberty while Ukrainians, or any other people, are suppressed. The celebration loses all meaning.

"Mr. Speaker, in the spirit of Rousseau, in the spirit of Jefferson, I call for liberty for the people of Ukraine.

Book Reviews

Arthur Furman

Liberation By Means of Revolution

Günter Bartsch: "Revolution from the right? Ideology and Organization of the new Right Wing", Herderbücherei, volume 518, Yellow Series, 288 p., 7,90 DM. Freiburg in Breisgau 1975.

"Historical constructions collapse as easily as cardboard-houses, but one cannot destroy organically grown formations such as peoples and nations, not even in centuries. Imperialism falls, but nationalism remains" (p. 179). With this scientifically underpinned statement, the well-known German historian and Slavist Günter Bartsch pronounces the death sentence over the last intact colonial empire of this world, the USSR. The unsolved national question is the cardinal problem of central and eastern Europe; however, "liberation nationalism" is political and intellectual dynamite (p. 51 ff), forging weapons and mobilizing people for the future national liberation revolution.

Bartsch maintains, that wherever foreign domination and occupation prevail and peoples are dismembered, the political hydrogen bomb "liberation nationalism" keeps growing. This also applies to the heart of Europe, the divided Germany. The fact that through the partition of Germany the national question has been revived anew and therefore presses for a solution, it is not only a German problem, but an all-European, an international problem.

"Not only Vietnam, but also Ireland should be a warning for us", argues the historian. "Sometimes the horror pictures from these partitioned countries, which we still observe from a secure distance, seem to announce the German fate" (p. 179).

Yet the historian is convinced, that for Germany a "Vietnamese solution" à la Hanoi is out of the question, because the German Communists and their Russian orderers fear a reunited, strong Germany, animated by a national spirit, like black death. Therefore the East Berlin Marxists have renounced the idea of German unity, therefore they campaign for the annexation of the GDR to the USSR. Bartsch describes the situation as follows: "Every partitioned country becomes pregnant with civil war! Does not the Berlin wall prove this again and again, it is more convenient to shut one's ears and to repress the partition of our country. But, in turning away from the national question and purging the constitution of the DDR from the term "German" (as though this were a potato-beetle), the SED has already, though unwillingly, signed its death sentence... Each nation cut apart **wants** to grow together again. History shows many examples and what a price has to be paid for this (p. 179).

But Bartsch is sufficiently realistic to realize that there cannot be an isolated solution to the German question and states: The precondition for Ger-

man reunification is a "revolution in the USSR". He implies the fall of the Communist parties in all East European countries and the dissolution of the Russian multi-national empire by means of a nationalist liberation revolution. From this stand point, the German question is indissolubly linked with the fate of the Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Georgians, and with the Ukrainian, Croatian, Polish, Lithuanian, Turkmenian and Armenian question. There cannot be freedom for Germany without freedom for the colonial peoples under the yoke of Russia!

There is no definite chance for German reunification without an anti-imperialistic, anti-Communist "revolution in the Soviet Union, also involving Eastern Europe and throwing sparks as far as GDR; we might live to see a mighty revival of German nationalism" (in the sense of democratic patriotism), (p. 180). The foreign-political prerequisite for the success and victory of the German patriots is a new national liberation revolution, "which has actually been on its way already from the 1950's" (p. 181).

Günter Bartsch mentions several examples of the pre-revolutionary development, he analyses the liberation struggle of the Ukrainians under Petlura, Chuprynka, Bandera, Symonenko and Moroz, the Hungarian national revolution of 1956, The Spring of Prague and Bratislava of 1968, the concentration camp uprisings after the death of Stalin, of June 17, 1953, the Polish workers' rebellions on the Baltic Sea of 1970, the students' revolt in Croatia, the national underground movements of the intellectuals in the non-Russian republics of the sixties and seventies (the Baltic countries, Ukraine, Caucasus) and he arrives at the conclusion, that Marxist Russia has been at the time of the Czars and still is a typical prison of nations, mortally threatened by the national question (p. 76/77). "Reviewing the development since 1948, one notes a chain of bloody and blood-

less revolts against the domination of Moscow, with a new link almost every year" (p. 77).

Günter Bartsch describes the ideas, principles, the intellectual-moral trend and the traditions of the New Right Wing in the Federal Republic of Germany. No doubt, this is a new kind of phenomenon on the political stage, a relatively young political group, which was created in 1964, following, in contrast to the leftist social democrats and young socialists ("Jusos"), a strictly anti-Marxist and anti-imperialist course.

The new right wing arose as a counter part to the new left wing, as a force opposing neo-Marxism and anarch-fascism. As the new left wing, it is primarily composed of young intellectuals, i. e. students, high school students, lecturers, publicists, social scientists and writers. The new right wing recognizes democratic principles and the state and rejects any kind of terrorism. For this reason it is hushed up by the "progressive" press.

Whereas the orientations of typical rightist parties in post-war Germany are mostly pro-Russian, anti-semitic, even Nazi and racist (for instance the NDP), the new right wing advocates the intellectual-political solidarity with the oppressed and non-Russian peoples of the east, irreconcilable opposition to any kind of racism, "Führerkult", Nazism and Pangermanism. Bartsch shows this by the writings of the New Right Wing (newspapers, programmes, leaflets, manifestos, magazines, pamphlets).

Günter Bartsch notes: "The New Right Wing has declared its solidarity with the peoples of Eastern Europe. It supports the struggle for national self-determination and political liberty. The hope the Hungarians had for western support against their military oppressors and the Czechs and Slovaks in 1968 was in vain. It (the West) has become the ally of the Moscow imperialism by tanks. The New Right Wing forgets neither this nor the Spring of

Prague. It recommends a common uprising of the East European peoples, which it is ready to support. It also supports the subjugated nations and those subjugated nations opposing the USSR, where it expects upheavals. It sympathizes in particular with the Ukrainian people thus stressing its opposition to the racial theory of the dominating German race" (p. 53).

Bartsch points out that the New Right Wing speaks of a "permanent revolution of nations", a revolution, which began with the liberation struggle of the Ukrainians under Petlura shortly after the Bolshevik October Revolution and has meanwhile been extended to all countries dominated by Moscow" (p. 81).

Bartsch mentions several models of the New Right Wing, including among others Vasyl Symonenko, Jan Palach, Valentyn Moroz and Pal Maleter. According to Bartsch, the New Right Wing has several predecessors or allies, such as the UAP, the Independent Workers' Party of the Ruhr region, about which Bartsch states the following: "The UAP maintains close relations with the Ukrainian organizations in exile. It advocates active support for the liberation nationalists of Eastern Europe. In case of necessity it is ready to help the revolutionaries with arms, to render their struggle successful (p. 95). The Right Wing also supports the liberation struggle of the brave Kurds.

Moreover, the New Right Wing has supported the rebellions of prisoners in

the USSR from 1952 to 1954. In these revolts (Vorkuta, Kingir, Taishet, Vyatka, Karaganda, Norylsk) over 10 million forced labour camp prisoners participated under the leadership of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and officers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Bartsch writes: "According to various statements and publications there were about 54 % Ukrainians among 20 million prisoners of the Soviet Gulag-system", (p. 81). According to Krushchev, Stalin would have preferred to deport the entire Ukrainian people. The historian emphasizes, that the Ukrainians with 45 million people are the third largest nation of Europe and are the most advanced among all the oppressed peoples in the USSR with respect to the national revival. "The intellectual revolution of its intelligentsia (that is of the Ukrainian people) precedes the political one and continues among the workers" (p. 81).

The author cites several voices from the camp of the New Right Wing. Thus Alexander Epstein, a young publicist from West Berlin, declared at the Congress of Würzburg, that it is the historical task of the liberation nationalism, to "shake off", the foreign domination of the USSR "in all Europe and Asia" (p. 156), and another young writer predicts a "third revolution". In describing the chain explosion of June 17, the prisoners' revolt in the USSR, the workers' rebellion in Posen in 1956, the Polish and Hungarian events in October 1956 and the nationalist upheavals in Croatia, Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and Czechia, he foretells the following: "In the seventies and eighties our planet will be characterized by a flood of revolutions, streaming from the East, the steppes of Kazakhstan and the forges of Siberia and Ukraine to the West. Learn, you old Europe, to fear the future Great Revolution" (p. 83).

Bartsch himself, as a temperate observer and scientist, sees entirely realistic chances for the break out and

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the victory of the national liberation revolution, quoting from the writings of the New Right Wing and finally stating: It is important that the revolution of the peoples deprived of their right to self-determination be synchronized and timed in its coups against the oppressive Communism. This would render further military intervention impossible or spoil the military forces of the USSR . . ." (p. 82).

By "oppressive Communism", Bartsch of course means the Russian imperialist Communism!

It is to be hoped for, that this book — perhaps even translated into English — reaches many western parliamentarians (also in the US Senate, and the British House of Commons!), for it proves, that there is only one prerequisite for true peace, true détente, and true reconciliation of peoples, that is the revolutionary destruction of the last colonial empire in this world — the USSR.

Peter Parker

What Really Happened in Vietnam

Indo-China in the Field of Forces of the Three Superpowers.

1974, printed as manuscript, format DIN A 4, 322 pp., laminated paperback, 34.20.

ISBN 3-85913-076-5.

Published by (SEI) — Swiss Eastern Institute — CH-3000 Bern 6.

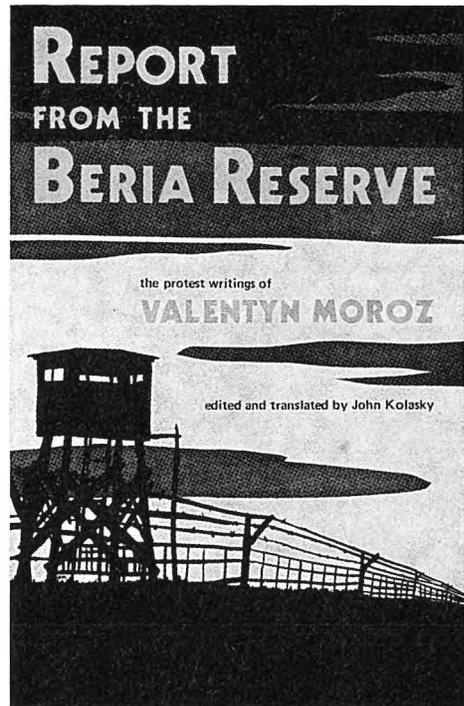
In a historically coherent presentation of the stages of the War of Vietnam up to now many facts acquire a different weight and new insights become possible.

The conflict of interests between the superpowers traces back to World War II which also explains this conflict. America having first supported the "nationalist" Ho Chi Minh did not — as an ally of France — show the same readiness for operation as in Korea; and the Soviet secret services furnished

Hanoi with the French projects from Paris: thus Dien Bien Phu became possible.

In the background the hardly noticeable third superpower — the People's Republic of China — has become very active; it piloted the USA and the USSR to the theatre of war as opponents and armed the Vietcong ideologically and materially. However, why has Moscow been furnishing the Vietcong with weapons since 1965 only, apart from propaganda? And how did the Communists manage to be victorious in the front of (mis)information? The "détente" furthered thereby led to the withdrawal of the US troops and an armistice agreement not signed by the two "Gray Eminences" of North Vietnam nor by the Vietcong: Chinese interests and, above all, those of the Soviet Union are still involved there.

The picture of Vietnam as a whole is considerably different from the section known to the public so far since history consists of coherent facts.



Demonstrations
in London
against
Murderer
A. Shelepin
31st March, 1975

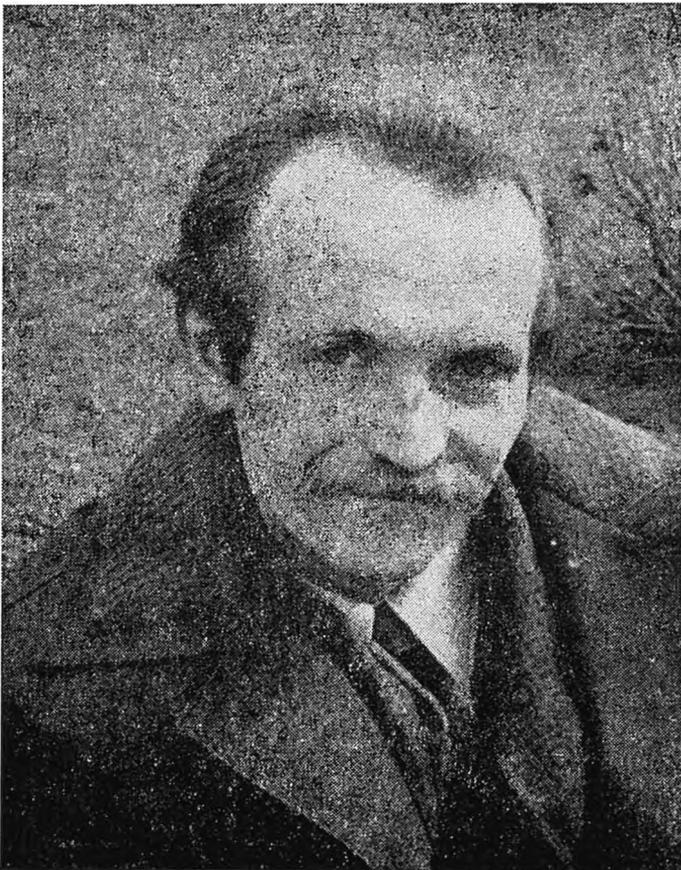


ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

A Long Term Prisoner Of Russian Concentration Camp Renounced Soviet Citizenship



**He Is Asking For
Canadian
Citizenship.**

Help Him!

Vyacheslav Chornovil

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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 18.— in Germany, 9 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 9 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: 48 25 32

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

After the Capitulation at Helsinki

Those who are familiar with the danger of Russian imperialism will doubtlessly come to the conclusion that the official West has capitulated to Moscow. The West has "given up" the captive nations in the USSR and the satellite countries and has accepted the status quo of enslavement without reserve. This means that the official West has "abandoned" its most powerful ally, the nations enslaved in the USSR and the satellite countries, surrendering them to Bolshevism for further oppression. The statement made by the West German Chancellor Schmidt to the effect that Moscow has agreed to a possible peaceful revision of frontiers based on bilateral agreements is a naive illusion. Such a possibility has always existed. The gist of the matter, however, is not the revision of frontiers, but the downfall of the Russian colonial empire, its dissolution into national sovereign states, the complete decolonization of Europe and Soviet Asia, the renewal of the independence of Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia, Azerbaijan and other nations subjugated within the USSR, as well as the liquidation of the colonial systems in the satellite states, in most of them Russian occupational forces being stationed, e. g. in Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and the Russian-occupied eastern zone of Germany (the so-called "DDR"). The West has not even attained the abolition of the Berlin Wall. Under such circumstances it is ironical to talk about a free exchange of people, ideas and information. How can an exchange take place over the wall, mined fields and electrical wires? It also seems quite ironical to expect the realization of human rights in the totalitarian, terrorist police system where there not only exist concentration camps for dissenters but also psychiatric prisons for healthy fighters for national and human rights, where tests with poison gases are carried out on human beings to the same extent as was done in NAZI Germany. Further, how can any member of a captive nation in the USSR make use of his human rights if his fundamental right to a national state can only be established after the downfall of the Russian empire! No world empire has ever established human rights for those belonging to a nation enslaved by this empire while the human rights of those belonging to the ruling nation have usually been realized. In Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland, for instance, there existed democratic systems for the English, French, Belgians and Dutch, respectively, yet democratic rights have not been acknowledged to the Irish, Boers, Indians, Algerians nor other subjugated nations. Thus at Helsinki the rights of the Russian imperial intelligentsia were under consideration, but not

the rights of Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians and others. Has Russification been stopped after Helsinki? Or have the fighters for the independence of Ukraine, Georgia been released from prisons? The Helsinki agenda did not even include one of the most important issues, namely the realization of the UN Declaration on World Decolonization, especially in the Russian empire — USSR — a declaration concerned with national independence for nations and countries which so far are colonies; this Declaration was approved by the United Nations in 1960 and subsequently confirmed in order to guarantee the right of independence for every nation.

At Helsinki President Ford and Kissinger have infringed the Congress Law relating to the enslaved nations, which had been unanimously approved as directive for the US foreign policy of any US government. This law instructs the American government to fight for the national liberation of the captive nations, including Ukraine, Lithuania, Hungary, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and other nations subjugated within the USSR, and of all satellite nations i. e. Hungary, the so-called "DDR", Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria etc. There was no mention of these obligations on the part of the USA at Helsinki. President Ford and the Secretary of State Mr. Kissinger have capitulated, in fact surrendering the captive nations — their most faithful allies — to Russian Bolshevik oppression.

Why did not President Ford ask Brezhnev, why the Helsinki Declaration was not signed by the Ukrainian and Byelorussian SSR's — both founding members of the United Nations? Luxembourg and Monaco signed but the Ukrainian nation comprising 50 million was not entitled to participate in this international conference.

Is it a sign of gratitude and a gift to the United States and NATO that Brezhnev's agent — the Portuguese Communist Party — is carrying on an antidemocratic struggle in order to subject Portugal to Moscow? This is how human rights and the people's will to institute its own order in Portugal are taken into account just after Helsinki, 80 percent of the Portuguese population having voted for an anti-Communist and antitotalitarian Government and anti-Communist social order.

It has become apparent from Helsinki that the West is deceiving itself and its own nations, that democracy has capitulated to tyranny. Present "Liberalism" has rendered people lazy, materialistic and hedonistic, incapable of defending the captive nations and people, and this to its own detriment.

S. P.

Nationalism — the Only Realistic Alternative to Communist Internationalism

Perhaps there has been no time in the past decade when the realities of the world power struggle have been made more vivid than at the present time. And perhaps at no time has the inadequacy of the international policies of the United States been more evident than today.

And, because of the collapse of United States' policies, it is time for those of us who are profoundly concerned by the disintegration of the free world to leave off talking, to forego further analysis and discussion, and unite for action.

For it is becoming more and more evident that the leaders of the Western world seem not to have the wit nor the will to resist the Communist tide. They have the physical power, but they do not have the understanding. For understanding is a matter of the spirit, of the mind moved by God. Unless the free world comes to a spiritual rebirth, to a putting aside of the narrow materialistic concepts that too often have guided our actions, our freedom will be lost.

In this, it appears that only the people can lead our leaders to take appropriate actions. Freedom is something that begins with the will of each individual, the will to overcome the constraints and difficulties of his situation. The failure of our leaders to preach freedom has disillusioned our peoples.

Our leaders have fallen back on social mechanisms to achieve national goals. The solution to social evils too often is sought for in money or new laws. The appropriation of funds, the

erection of vast social welfare programs, the confiscation of private property and private finances, the proscription of certain activities through regulations and punishments — all of these are the standard illusions produced out of the politician's bag of tricks.

Such methods are bound to fail, since they fail to satisfy the full humanity of man. Man is both a biological and a spiritual creature. The mechanistic approach to social systems does not fulfill his destiny. So it is the same in the international field. Heavy investments in defense systems alone do not provide adequate defense. International trade and monetary mechanisms do not provide economic stability and prosperity, if we depend upon the structure of the mechanism to work automatically.

History has shown time and time again that peace treaties are a prelude to war, that pragmatic working arrangements with enemies are milestones on the road to disaster, and that often negotiations themselves are an irretrievable concession leading to surrender. The reason why this is so is that these so-called "Structures of Peace" are empty structures with no power to affect the spiritual destinies of mankind. The body must be strong and healthy, but unless the will, the mind, and the heart of a man are endeavored to lift above his circumstances, even the strong man sinks back into dust.

Communism feeds upon these problems in the free world. The more free

men forget the inner nature of freedom, the more these mechanistic systems fail to satisfy them. We see the spectacle of Communism prospering with the empty prosperity of many highly developed nations, and the inability of free institutions to counter internal subversion and erosion of political systems. And we have seen how not even the wealth and military power of the strongest nation in the world has been able to preserve freedom in Southeast Asia, because the structure of American power lacked the essential component of the will for victory.

It is the failure of that will, not only in the United States, but throughout the nations that are loosely grouped under the name of Western Civilization, that brings us here today. I cannot speak for the nations of the East, many of whom are represented at this Conference. But we must have a mutual understanding of our weakness and our strengths.

Our weakness is the failure of Western leadership to reassert the spiritual and moral traditions of our culture. This failure is reinforced by the dominance of leftism in the educational and journalistic elites, a force which is fundamentally alien to our traditions rooted in Christianity and historic forms of social organization.

But our strength lies in the persistence of ancient traditions handed down through thousands of years from father to son in the family structure, and the ability of these traditions to resurge once the pernicious climate of hate introduced by leftism is lifted, even momentarily.

I have talked with the great religious leader, Dr. Billy Graham — a native of my State of North Carolina and a long-time friend — and he tells me of his experiences in his world travels. Europe, he finds, is, almost spiritually dead. Asia — particularly Japan and the Republic of China, he says — are alive and vigorous. South America, he says, is in the midst of a revival. It is, per-

haps, no coincidence that it is from these very countries that the leadership for the strongest anti-Communist movements comes.

When the best religious traditions of the West meet with the ancient spiritual concepts of the East in Buddhism, Islam, and the stern traditions of moral conduct, all of us here can easily find a common ground in rejecting the materialistic atheism of Communism. For Communism is rejecting not only the present social arrangements of societies everywhere, but also the deeply rooted connections with the past, the reality of venerable spiritual beliefs, the filial piety for our ancestors, and the hope of a common destiny with our descendants. All of these are concepts ridiculed by leftism, and targets for vicious extermination by Communism when it gets control. Yet, we know that they form the basic fabric of all stable and satisfied societies.

Indeed, these ideas form the basis for true nationalism — not the artificial nationalism drawn on colored maps of the Nineteenth Century, but the nationalism that unites a people and gives them a common purpose. Such nationalism is the only realistic alternative to Communist internationalism. Those who seek the internationalism of trade, the internationalism of finance, or the internationalism of cultural control organizations, such as the United Nations organization, are preparing the world for war or Communism. Many such persons are doubtless well-intended; but by eroding and even destroying the spiritual and group identity of nations, they destroy the moral dimension that gives order and purpose to the lives of most men. Without the unity inherent in national pride, a group of people becomes defenseless and unable to identify and reject that which is alien and subversive of the moral order. Society soon disintegrates and is then susceptible to the totalitarian and mechanistic solution offered by Communism.

Too often we swallow the subtle and vicious propaganda that nationalism leads to war; the very opposite is true: **Internationalism** leads to war. World War II was spawned by the blurry internationalist sentiments of the League of Nations on the one hand, and internationalism imposed by fascist conquest on the other. And the internationalist drive that seated the Soviet Union in the United Nations, along with the free nations, led to the ratification of Soviet conquest, the betrayal of the Chinese people, and the steady march of Communism across the world map.

I believe that the hope of freedom in the world today rests in the rapid development of anti-Communist nationalist movements, both in the free world itself and in the Communist empires, wherever they may be.

These movements must come from the people themselves, because — for the most part — our leaders have failed. We will have two tasks ahead of us: We will have to show our leaders how to lead, and we will have to take direct action ourselves to support and nourish the growth of honest nationalism in every country, including the United States, and including Communist-dominated countries.

The World Anti-Communist League has the unique opportunity to be in the forefront of this movement. By helping nations rediscover their identity, and inspiring individuals to release the dynamic of individual creativity, WACL can offer a continuing positive program that will undermine and ultimately destroy the false totalitarian ideologies of socialism, fascism, and Communism. All three impose an artificial economic and cultural program upon a nation, and cut a nation off from the organic, free development of its heritage, and from the personal liberation that fidelity to spiritual tradition brings. It is no coincidence that the Chinese nationalists have played such an important role in providing the initial and continuing leadership for WACL.

The people of the United States seem to have forgotten who they are and what they are about in this world. But there is hope, because they have grown sick of the leaders who have led them to their present state. And Doctor Graham tells me that he feels the religious revival — the same wind that is sweeping Asia and South America — is blowing up strong, especially among the youth. There are those who say that it is too late; but it is never too late until we quit.

The catastrophe taking place in Southeast Asia brings to a close also an era of US foreign policy, and will set off a searching debate on our future course. The time is at hand for all anti-Communist leaders to understand the nature of our past policies, and the reasons for our failure. They must now speak out, and seek to bring about dramatic changes in the future of US policy.

In the United States, we often receive accounts of various manifestations of "anti-Americanism", meaning negative reactions to the United States and its policies. It pains me to read such accounts, particularly when they come from Latin America, in our own hemisphere. I am no expert on this part of the world; indeed, this is my first visit and my first chance to make new friends here. But I wonder whether or not this "anti-Americanism" we hear about is not a reaction to the corrosive internationalism that too often has dominated US foreign policy, undermining the local identities of each nation and destroying their historic cultures?

Both of our dominant cultures are derived ultimately from the same elements in Western civilization. To the extent that the United States has rejected its own national heritage, is this "anti-Americanism" not a reaction from those nations which have not jettisoned their past and fear the overwhelming power of their northern neighbor?

The United States, which I fear most of you know is not the United States of the American people, but the United States dominated by the foreign policy-making decisions of a relatively small, unrepresentative group who captured the decision-making circles years ago.

If I could judge the United States only by the activity of the United States Secretary of State, I think I might be tempted to be anti-American myself.

Doctor Kissinger has espoused a policy that is so devoid of moral content that he has perpetually antagonized our closest allies and friends, betrayed their interest, and dismissed their concerns. His loyal clients have been our determined enemies who, time after time, have taken advantage of his empty "structures of peace" to advance the cause of totalitarianism.

I have tried very hard to see his great accomplishments, but I am still looking. What I see are strategems and deals, and mechanical solutions which omit the pressing claims of liberation and freedom.

These deals do not represent the desires of the American people, nor do they advance the interests of the United States. In fact, the Secretary has usually proceeded as though his chief opposition were the American people themselves. He has proceeded in the utmost secrecy in his most dramatic moves, seeking to outflank and outwit not only the Congress of the United States, but even the internal organs of the US Government charged with the formulation of foreign policy and the preparation of the defense of the United States. Not only the State Department proper, but even the Joint Chiefs of Staff had to organize a system of spying to discern the direction of US policy.

But the propensity to operate outside of the US Constitutional system is paralleled by his propensity to set aside the substance of international law, mak-

ing international agreements and forms a dead letter.

At the beginning of the SALT I negotiations — the initiation of the so-called "policy of détente" — the US had clear strategic superiority. But the hope of arms reduction which Doctor Kissinger held out restrained the United States, while the Soviet Russians continued massive production. Even today, few people realize that the Soviets achieved overwhelming superiority in numbers of weapons and through weight during the protracted negotiations.

The new China policy was conducted in secrecy, as was necessary, since a public debate would probably have been fatal to its execution. But once the results were announced, Doctor Kissinger was able to institute the substance of diplomatic recognition with Communist China, without technical recognition itself. Nevertheless, the policy was a betrayal of our allies and threw them into disarray.

The Vietnam Paris accords of 1973 were a masterpiece of semantic duplicity which allowed the Communist North Vietnamese regular forces to maintain their positions of aggression in the South, and failed to set up a practical method of monitoring re-supply. The legitimacy of the Saigon government was never mentioned in the document, nor was any reference made to the illegal occupation by the Communist regular forces. The document bore within itself the implications of the present disaster, a fact many of us pointed out at the time. Yet it deluded many into believing that the war was over.

The conflict in the Middle East occurred at a time when Doctor Kissinger was obsessed with his Soviet negotiations. Yet, even though he played the role of impartial mediator, the failure of the recent negotiations was preordained by his incredible, but calculated, remarks that a US invasion of the Arab oil-producing lands, using

Israeli air bases, was not beyond contemplation.

In all of these cases, the bald attempt to use a structural solution, devoid of moral content, devoid of sympathy or concern for liberation, has undermined the cause of freedom.

At this very moment the Secretary was supposed to be visiting this country and its neighbors, seeking another so-called "solution" to the Cuban problem. When the Organization of American States failed to establish an accommodation with the Communist regime on Cuba because of the thirds-rule on the lifting of sanctions, Secretary Kissinger was not disturbed, nor did he try to formulate better arguments for maintaining sanctions. Instead, he has been concentrating on changing the rules so that sanctions could be dropped in the face of opposition. Once again, it is a typical structural change, which changes nothing substantively, yet betrays the interests of the Cuban people, and of all the Latin American countries who are threatened by Cuban and Cuban-type anarchists.

The courageous country of Chile, which knows well the power of subversion by alien ideologies supported by Cuban Communism, is ignored in such consultations. Instead, according to the account — I read, Chile is to be pressured to change and allow the leftists to re-open their subversive campaigns.

To our Latin American friends, I say that you must not allow yourselves to be pressured into precipitate action on Cuba, or to underestimate the importance of procedural changes. Once Cuba is admitted to full partnership in the OAS, it will be too late to undo the mischief. You must not allow the prestige of the United States to mislead you into accepting a policy that can destroy not only your freedom, but ours as well.

The United States once had a policy of "containment" of Communism, which was in itself a false policy. It used a

superficial hostility to Communist expansion to concede Communist territorial gains, and to condemn those inhabitants forever to the Communist yoke. At no time did US policy ever seek to liberate the oppressed, not even when the oppressed rose up internally, as in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. "Containment" was a policy of allowing the Communists to consolidate their strength and liquidate their opposition, and to build a base for the next leapfrog of subversive activity.

The policy of "détente" followed logically upon concessions of territory. Rather than territory, "détente" concedes Communist strength and organization. It is a policy which confirms and encourages Communist gains and allows them to demoralize and disrupt the free nations.

It is time now to organize to defeat such policies, and to work for liberation all over the world. The World Anti-Communist League must organize to have a continuing program that works to assist all freedom groups in organizing to resist Communism where it is an immediate threat and to change the policies of the decision-making circles in their own countries. We can no longer indulge in comfortable rhetoric and in analyses that are meaningful only to ourselves. Such a program would include the following:

- 1) An information program of international seminars and lectures which will highlight the importance of united action and the decision-making process in the free countries. Our countries, particularly in different parts of the world, have different institutions, and the impact of powerful personalities can materially affect the making of policy in ways the outsider does not realize.

- 2) An appreciation of the importance of nationalism in the traditions of each country, and how it can be strengthened through cooperation and understanding. There are bound to be differences of opinion when national

identities are reasserted; yet there is no need for conflict if these interests are understood on both sides.

3) A program of training in organizational techniques and counter-Communist action. This should include both strategy and tactics of group dynamics, a utilization of news media techniques, and preparation and distribution of organizational manuals. There should be especially close cooperation where there is a natural affinity. Brazil, for example, should be expanding its relationship with the anti-Communist elements in Portugal and the Azores; Chile and other Spanish-speaking countries should be working with the critical situation in Spain. The nations of the Middle East should be increasing their already large contacts with the United States, where their message is so poorly understood. And, of course, the Asian nations will continue their close relationship with Free China and Korea.

4) Special attention should be given in each country to involving the decision-making circles in the policy goals of the organization. In every country, the approach should be different. In some countries, a mass movement will be the most effective approach; in others, specialist seminars for leaders and their staff-support groups will be the answer. We must make an attempt to understand the need for these different approaches in each country.

5) We must emphasize the importance for close and continuing exchange on a personal basis of new developments and opportunities. We cannot meet only once a year and hope to be effective in the fast-changing pace of today's events. Perhaps there is no need for frequent full-scale meetings, but we must be ready to make personal contact in emergencies and to secure cooperation whenever a special operation is necessary.

In Support of Portuguese People

Statement by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang,

Honorary Chairman of World Anti-Communist League.

In the recent weeks the masses of people in Portuguese cities and towns have taken widespread resolute actions against Communist autocracy. Violent street clashes have developed, bringing that nation's angry anti-Communist tide to a new height ever recorded since the leftist military junta came into power some 16 months ago. This new development reflects the common Portuguese determination against Communism and for freedom. It also reflects the genuine intention of the Europeans in general to reject Communism.

The surging anti-Communist wave in Portugal was triggered by the economic crisis aggravated by totalitarian rule and by sentiments against deprivation of freedom by Communist rulers. The love of freedom and the spirit of endeavor for survival and religious belief as demonstrated by the Portuguese

masses indeed command our respect and support.

In order that we may achieve better through joint efforts to win and promote freedom for mankind, I now solemnly urge all the freedom-loving and justice-respecting nations and peoples to provide hearty encouragement and effective assistance to the heroic anti-Communist struggle of the Portuguese. I furthermore call upon all the member units of the World Anti-Communist League, Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and World Youth Anti-Communist League to strive for an enhanced unity of forces, for freedom and justice so that all the people, regardless of age and other factors, will be fighting shoulder to shoulder in support of the anti-oppression and anti-Communist actions of the Portuguese who have risen for freedom.

From Prague to Kyiv — Devotion and Readiness to Die — also in "GDR"

In March 1975 the writer Anatolyi Marchenko was sentenced to 4 years of exile. Meanwhile several western intellectuals have requested his release — so far without success. The son of a Ukrainian worker from Siberia, an engineer, had spent 9 years in prison and camps and was set at "liberty" in the Soviet sense for a short period of time in 1971. He also became well-known in the West for his book "My Depositions". In this autobiographical work Marchenko describes a horrible form of individual protest: selfmutilation. The decision to mutilate oneself at any price originates from the "hopelessness of any protest against hunger, arbitrariness and injustice".

Marchenko writes: "the prisoners put out or threw powdered glass in their eyes or hung themselves. Some cut their veins under their blankets, and unless, during the night, a neighbour woke up soaked with blood, a martyr had delivered himself from his suffering."

With scrupulous exactitude Marchenko records the deaths of three prisoners who had arranged "to put an end to their lives in the most simple way" by climbing up the barbed wire fence in broad daylight. One of them answered the guard's call as follows: "Please do me the favour and deliver me from my unfortunate life, shoot me dead". The submachine gun rattled three times, three men fell down, one of them survived and remained imprisoned. Marchenko writes: "Two had escaped for ever".

There is one method of protest — the most consistent and tragic one — Marchenko does not describe: selfimmolation — the total denial of the individual. For a desperate or scandalized person wishing no return this is

the most radical method of boycott. Acts of selfimmolation on political, ethical or national grounds have been committed as often as hunger strikes. There is a large number of "living torches" in the enslaved part of Europe, from Budapest to Kyiv, from Riga to Kaunas and Dresden. The book about the blazing victims in the Russian Prison of Nations has not yet been written.

In his essay "Amidst the Snows" Valentyn Moroz states: "national revival cannot do without the spirit of sacrifice, models and spiritual leaders. The human torches in the atheistic empire of the 20th century have not yet been extinguished. Nero's and Caligula's Rome continues in Stalin's and Breshnev's Third Rome. The Bolshevik Russian empire — the incarnation of the most extensive and bestial persecution of Christians in human history — is the personification of Antichrist. However, Christianity and patriotism live on the blood and spirit of their martyrs. God and the nation are not dead in the empire of Russian-Marxist Atheism. In 1971 Marchenko writes in his Siberian place of exile, Tchunya, that he lives under the torment of reminiscences about the inmates of death-houses: "again and again I must think of those Ukrainians who fight and die for their national independence". Marchenko calls them martyrs.

The youth of the enslaved and fighting peoples possesses a great number of such symbols of devotion and readiness to die. The Crimean Tatar, Ilya Gabay, immolated himself for his people. In 1969 the Latvian student of mathematics, Ilya Rips, tried to immolate himself on Liberty Square in Riga, but sailors smothered the flames. The 21 year-old Latvian held a poster

in his hands, reading "I protest against the occupation of the CSSR". Wasyl Makukh, father of two children, long term prisoner of Stalinist concentration camps, immolated himself on November 5, 1968, on Khreshchatyk in Kyiv, shouting "Long Live the Free Ukraine!" On February 10, 1969, the Ukrainian Mykola Beryslavsky, 55 years old, father of 3 children, set fire to himself. Militiamen smothered the flames, and the court sentenced the mutilated man to 2 1/2 years of prison.

Neither Makukh nor Beryslavsky were intellectuals, the former being a worker and the latter a kolkhoz slave — 2 simple men. The Christian Moroz had them perhaps in mind when in 1970, shortly before being arrested for the second time, he compared the catacomb Christians in Breshnev's empire with the Christians persecuted at Nero's time. "Rome has been revived by the Christians", Moroz writes in his underground work "Amidst the Snows". What matters is not logic and reason, knowledge and science, says Moroz. The degree of feeling tying the human being to truth is the essential thing. According to the Bible faith displaces mountains. The faithful will be victorious if he is ready to make the last sacrifice. Heroism and devotion are the supreme virtues.

Moroz uses Lesia Ukrainka's term "Oderzhymist" — a word for which there is no precise equivalent in English, connoting the enlightenment, enthusiasm, inspiration, holy infatuation and total conviction of a human being, his devotion to an idea, his faith in the absolute validity of a truth.

In the revolutionary practice of the non-Russian fighting peoples the names of martyrs stand for this word. Some of them have already been mentioned. In the Lithuanian Capital, Kaunas, the 20 year-old worker and evening student, Roman Kalanta, poured benzine over himself and burned up as a living torch. On May 14, 1972, the young patriot and Catholic Kalanta shouted "Long

Live the Free Lithuania!" and died after 12 hours of death struggle. This happened at the same time as 248 members of the German Bundestag agreed to the so-called "Eastern Treaties" with the same empire that had forced the young Lithuanian to commit suicide in an act of desperate resistance protesting against national and religious oppression.

Roman Kalanta was not the first torch in the Russian-occupied part of Europe, but his selfimmolation aroused the bloodiest popular insurrection since the occupation of Lithuania in 1940. The fightings in the streets of Kaunas lasted several days. Dozens of thousands demonstrated under the slogan "Freedom for Lithuania!" after the funeral on May 18, and Moscow had to bring into action Russian paratroopers to crush the rebellion ceasing with hundreds being arrested.

A young man whose name the authorities did not notify died as Lithuanian torch No. 2 in the City of Varona. In summer 1972 Roman Kalanta's example was followed by the Lithuanian worker Stonis (May 29), Andrus Kukavicius (June 3) and Salis Kauskas (June 9). Stonis was 29 years old, Kukavicius 60.

Egidius Stepanoviczus, a young Lithuanian poet, cut his arteries on Lenin Square in Vilna, vis-à-vis the central office of the KGB. The man nearly bleeding to death was forcibly dragged to a psychiatric hospital and subjected to a "recovery cure". The physicians injected the notorious Aminarin. As "incurably insane" he was released and allowed to return to his family. Egidius Stepanoviczus' will to resist had not been broken; in June 1973 an appeal of the tortured man from the Lithuanian underground — addressed to the Party — requested the separation of Lithuania from the USSR.

On January 1969 the Czech student of philosophy, Jan Palach, voluntarily put an end to his life thus proving his love for his fatherland and for free-

dom. Professors and students of the Protestant Comenius Faculty of the University of Prague interpreted Jan Palach's deed as "an act of love deserving the utmost respect". His step was a sign of hope. His death recalled the Christian martyrs who would have preferred to die rather than only secure their physical survival "at the price of denying spiritual and moral values".

After the Russian invasion hundreds of Czech and Slovak students wished to die through flames, but only 15 of them were selected, a professor of the Charles University of Prague stated after Jan Palach's death. In Pilsen the 26 year-old brewery worker, Josef Hlavaty, set fire to himself, and in Brunn Miroslav Malinka became the living torch No. 3 on January 22; passers-by saved the 23 year-old man from the flames. Torch No. 4 was the 24 year-old Frantisek Bogyi in the prison of the Slovak City of Leopoldov, and torch No. 5 the 18 year-old student Blanka Nachaczlova. On the historical perron of the Budapest National Museum where on May 15, 1968 Petöfi had proclaimed the national insurrection the 17 year-old Hungarian secondary school student Sándor Bauer, immolated himself on January 20, 1969; in Yugoslavia the 24 year-old locksmith Mariyan Lombar from Ljubljana (Slovenia) followed the tragic example of Palach on January 23.

The farewell letter of the 19 year-old secondary school student Jan Zayic, from Troppau in northern Moravia who immolated himself on Wenzel Square on February 25, 1969, since 21 years before, i. e. 1948, the Communists had violently usurped power in Czecho-Slovakia was very moving. The authorities of Prague intercepted the political testament of the young Czech, avowing: "I have decided to die this way in order to finally arouse your attention and to make you cease obeying the dictators. Death is not sore, but dying is horrible. And national freedom is slowly dying in

Czecho-Slovakia. Do not allow anybody to impose on you, proud and beautiful Czech and Slovak people, whom you should obey for ever! All of you, who do not want any further victims, listen to my appeal! Strike and fight! My torch shall light up the path to a free and happy Czecho-Slovakia."

During a one month lasting hunger strike in Perm concentration camp WS 389/35 — from May 12 to June 16, 1974, — the Ukrainian Silka died. The Ukrainian political prisoner Opanasenko, physically and psychically exhausted to death, committed suicide. The last words he addressed to the guard were: "I have no more force, damn you." Only 35 months of Opanasenko's 25 year sentence were left. A hunger strike was proclaimed by the Jewish physician from Kyiv, Simon Glusman, the Ukrainian literary critic, Ivan Svitlychny, and the Ukrainian scientist, Yevhen Proniuk.

In many cases only events have become known, and not the names of the victims involved. In the case of the selfimmolation of a young girl detained in the prison of the East German City of Dresden, for instance, only her first name was known. Sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for "espionage" Antje continued to be interrogated, tortured and beaten. When the young girl was ordered to wash and clean police vehicles she poured benzine over herself and died in the flames.

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

La Ostpolitik del Vaticano

In July all ecclesiastical and political circles of Rome found themselves confronted with Rome's tragic figure and the human tragedy surrounding him. The Supreme Metropolitan of Lviv, Cardinal Joseph Slipyj; — a very tall old man with a waving long beard, forcing dignity and typical Slavic cordiality — was once more faced with the dilemma:

— either to follow the call of his Church and the request of ten million Greek-Catholic Ukrainians or to obey the Pope; either to join the protests of the Ukrainian Anno Santo pilgrims from the American Diaspora against the Vatican's "Ostpolitik" or to keep silent — and only pray in secret for the national Catholic Church of West Ukraine, since thirty years doomed by the Soviets to non-existence and forcibly united with the Great Russian Patriarchate of Moscow.

The spokesmen of the Ukrainian Rome pilgrims request the eastern rite Cardinal to insist on his being nominated Patriarch of the Ukrainian Church, i. e. claim the same rights as the Patriarchate of Moscow. Since May 24, however, the Metropolitan has certainly read again and again Paul VI's letter imploring him to renounce such requests and not to incriminate Church politics vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

In Rome Professor Wasyl Markus of the Loyola University of Chicago and parson Ivan Hryniuch from Cleveland accused, on behalf of one million Greek-Catholic Ukrainians from the United States, Western Europe and Canada, the diplomacy of the Vatican as promoting the Soviet drive for Helsinki. It is prepared to let the Pope's representatives sign the Declaration of the European Security Conference without even having tried to lay down religious and Church freedom for the East European peoples in this document.

However, the diplomats of the Vatican may argue that for the first time since 1945 their "Ostpolitik" has recently succeeded in laying down altogether the existence and vital interests of eastern rite Catholics vis-à-vis a Communist, Slavic and Orthodox state, in a common document — the communiqué issued on the occasion of the visit of the Bulgarian State and Party Chief, Shivkoff, on June 27, mentioned "the problems of the Bulgarian Catholics of both rites."

On the other hand, those criticizing the Vatican "Ostpolitik" argue that it was easy to have the Bulgarian, inexperienced in these matters, discreetly mention these problems; the Russians, however, would certainly know how to censure and correct this in practice. Indeed, the Minister

of Foreign Affairs, Gromyko, appearing for a hearing before Pope Paul VI a few days later was not at all willing to discuss Church problems in the USSR. Thus they only talked — as representatives of two states — on the problems of peace in the Near East and on the European Security Conference.

The second half of the past month was marked by the particular "Ostpolitik" activity of the Vatican: Monsignore Casaroli in East Germany; Shivkoff and Gromyko visiting the Holy Father; Nikodim, Metropolitan of Leningrad, with a delegation of the Moscow Patriarchate talking with a Roman-Catholic delegation (precisely in the City of the anti-reformatory Council of Trient) and finally with Pope Paul VI in Rome. This period was subsequently called "the Red Fortnight of the Vatican".

The critics, apparently forgotten and disappointed — for instance Ukrainian and Lithuanian Catholics, but also many German Catholics — could not but note that the Pope's diplomacy had, unrequited, bestowed upon the Soviets and their allies much of its own prestige and moral authority for the objectives of their "Realpolitik". This criticism is certainly justified, but does not exhaustively deal with the problem and does hardly touch the fundamental motivation underlying the Vatican's attitude towards the Communist states and the East European governments.

It is therefore to be expected that the State Secretary, Cardinal Villot, the "Minister of Foreign Affairs", Archbishop Casaroli and above all the Pope himself will not easily be diverted from utilizing any possibilities for maintaining contacts with the Communist regimes and will abstain from anything — within the limits of what can still be tolerated — that might break off the connexions formed. For this "Ostpolitik" is hardly based on modern or fashionable inclinations but rather on a secular tradition and experience, a spiritual vision and simultaneously a "Realpolitik" approach.

There is first of all the traditional, logically underpinned and historically — even under severe political incriminations — tested attitude towards the established secular power as a relevant fact approved by God. Only if a state does not want to talk with the Church altogether there is nothing left but the silence of catacombs.

The diplomatic tradition of the Vatican takes into account the real political circumstances and international development in order to prevent a hopeless isolation of the Vatican. Even though the Holy See does not anticipate mutations it follows them: for instance as regards its policy vis-à-vis Germany; only after the Government Brandt/Scheel, as a result of its "Ostpolitik", had created a completely novel political, legal and moral situation the Vatican deemed it necessary to adapt itself, however,

with a considerable delay compared for instance to the attitudes of the West European states, including the Federal Republic of Germany — even after Casaroli's visit to East Berlin. The term "La Ostpolitik del Vaticano"¹⁾ was not accidentally introduced in the Romanic countries — annoying the Roman Curia and the traditional Vatican diplomacy — which should not be overlooked precisely by the German public. However, the Roman Curia thinking and living in other power and time dimensions should be less attracted by this German invention than the inventors themselves.

This "Realpolitik" with its delayed effect is also based on a Christian, pastoral and apostolic vision which precisely the last two Popes, John XXIII and Paul VI, cannot be denied. In their view all means of diplomacy, protocol and "Realpolitik" have always served the purpose to widen, step by step, pastoral freedom within the Communist sphere of power, to have the connexions between Catholics and Rome authorized and to make the ecumenical dialogue possible with the Orthodox East European Churches, on the one hand, and with the spontaneous movement of religious revival in Russia, on the other.

In the examination of the Vatican "Realpolitik" in the East the following basic question prevails: "Can a particular measure improve and/or deteriorate the situation of the faithful and the clergy relative to the status quo?" Unless it deteriorates their situation and if there is the slightest chance for improvement Monsignore Casaroli will always — without any illusions but obstinately — move towards the East.

This reflection — in its literal sense — was made precisely 12 years ago by John XXIII when he was informed about Khrushchev's desire that his son-in-law, Adshubey, be received by the Pope. At that time, in July 1963, it was possible to initiate an active and direct policy of contacts with the East. In view of the procession of prominent East European Government and Party leaders appearing in the apostolic palaces since that time this regime can at least supposedly no longer accuse and persecute its Catholic subjects for their connexions with Rome as "traitors and spies".

The tragedy of the Pope and his East European Church leaders resides precisely in this dilemma: Unless John XXIII — the Ukrainian Church having been exterminated — had taken up relations with Khrushchev the Supreme Metropolitan, Cardinal Joseph Slipyj, would not have been released six months later, after 14 years of imprisonment in Soviet prisons and concentration camps, and expelled to Rome where, since that time, he bears witness to the living Ukrainian Church but must simultaneously live in a permanent moral conflict with Pope Paul VI. ("Die Welt")

¹⁾ taken from the present German political vocabulary.

Promises Before Helsinki

Americans with compassion for the Baltic states which were invaded and swallowed up by the Soviet Union 35 years ago have won a moral victory here this week.

It came with the State Department formally notifying Congress that the United States will continue its policy of non-recognition of the Soviet claim to Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia.

The assurance was made to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in a position paper signed by Ambassador Robert J. McCloskey, a key aide to Secretary Henry Kissinger.

The affirmation was extracted from the department by Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R., Ill.), who was backed with the force of thousands of telegrams and letters sent by citizens from all over the nation.

The avalanche of mail followed our March 15 column about the potential shift away from the long-held policy of non-recognition. Some bureaucrats had hoped to go to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe later this year with the issue domestically dormant.

There were considerable signs that Kissinger, in private diplomacy, could have then "traded" the recognition issue with the Russians in further pursuit of "détente". One of these signals came from the fact that Kissinger's staff attempted to suppress the news of a cordial meeting between President Ford and leaders of the Baltic cause.

Another was the footdragging of the State Department in supplying Derwinski with a response to his "sense of Congress" resolution urging continuation of non-recognition. The turnaround came after Dr. Kazys Bobelis, national president of the Lithuanian Council,

generated the intense letter-writing campaign.

More than 10,000 letters and telegrams poured in to the White House, the State Department, and individual members of Congress. More than 66 members of Congress responded by cosigning the Derwinski resolution. Sen. Carl Curtis (R., Neb.) introduced a companion measure in the Senate.

The results showed in the State Department position paper sent to Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D., Pa.), Foreign Affairs Committee chairman. It read: "The Department of State agrees with the resolutions' stipulations that the United States delegation to the conference should not agree to the recognition by the conference of the Soviet Union's forcible annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

"We expect that the conference will adopt a declaration of principles which will include respect for 'frontier inviolability', but in our view this will not involve recognition of the forcible annexation of the Baltic states.

"At the same time, at the initiative of the Western delegation to the conference, the declaration of principles will include specific references to the possibility of peaceful border changes, to self-determination and to respect for human rights."

Derwinski said the position paper "in large part" satisfied his request, also he will probably again seek additional details.

"I really don't think they wanted to go on the record," Derwinski told us. "This is the kind of an issue they would rather have go away."

Chicago Tribune, April 1975

Political Prisoners Stage Strikes And Boycotts!

Political prisoners confined in the USSR's forced-labour camps are risking harsh punishments by organizing strikes, boycotts and other protests in an attempt to attract outside attention to the appalling treatment they are receiving.

They are thus becoming a cohesive group despite the authorities' attempts to divide and rule by stirring up ill-feeling between different sorts of prisoners, particularly between those of the Soviet Union's disparate European and Asian nationalities.

The evidence of these new developments in the vast network of Soviet prison camps is contained in interviews with several internationally known political prisoners, the transcript of which was recently smuggled out of the Soviet Union. Earlier, the document, dated October 1974, was given a wide private circulation within the Soviet Union by intellectuals concerned about human rights.

The interviews were conducted, despite difficulties such as surveillance by guards and informers, in Camp VS 389/35 in the Perm region.

One of the interviewees, 28-year-old Dr. Semyon Gluzman, a Kyiv psychiatrist serving a seven-year sentence for circulating information about the incarceration of some political prisoners in Soviet mental hospitals, said that he had begun to see "internationalism in action" in the labour colonies. He described the new "spirit of solidarity" among political prisoners.

Gluzman said that there were at least three categories of political prisoners: participants in national liberation movements (Ukrainians and Balts); people who were imprisoned for their "deeds"; and those who were confined because of their "words".

The "deeds" prisoners were mainly older people who in the past had taken part in direct action in protest against denials of basic human rights. Many such prisoners had been in the camps

very long. However, despite illnesses and age, they supported the younger inmates in their struggle for their rights.

These younger prisoners, many of them with a secondary or a higher education, actively protested against illegalities perpetrated by the camp authorities.

L. Yagman, serving a five-year sentence, emphasized the importance of publicity to make the outside world aware of conditions within Soviet prisons, camps, so as to mobilize public opinion to help the inmates.

He described various forms of resistance to arbitrary behaviour by camp staff.

There were at least two strikes in the Perm complex of prison camps in mid-1974. About 30 inmates of his own camp, VS 389/35, refused to go to work in protest against the authorities illegally depriving a prisoner of a meeting with his relatives. In the neighbouring camp, VS 389/36, about 40 prisoners went on strike to express their horror over the killing of an inmate by a camp official.

Yagman, himself a Jew, described a protest by a group of Jewish prisoners against the non-delivery to them of an estimated half of their letters from relatives and friends. The group voluntarily abstained from writing letters for six months, evidently in the hope that this silence would convey to their families that there was trouble in the camp.

Jewish and other non-Russian prisoners also protested by declaring that they wanted to give up their Soviet citizenship.

Prisoners ostracized the most odious camp officials. For a full year, for example, inmates successfully managed to avoid talking to a particularly offensive KGB officer noted for his extreme anti-Semitism and foul language.

Yagman also said that there was the ultimate form of protest-suicide. "We

have had our Jan Palachs in the prison camps", he declared in a reference to the young Czech university student who publicly burned himself to death a few months after the Soviet-Russian military occupation of his homeland in 1968.

The Soviet prison camps are nominally controlled by the Ministry of the Interior (MVD), and the guards and most of the other staff are MVD men. However, according to Yagman, KGB officers oversee them and despise them.

He and another political prisoner, Z. Antonyuk, described the appalling working conditions of political prisoners held in labour camps. Yagman said that the inmates were often made to do work harmful to health, like cleaning chemical plants' clogged-up filters. Industrial safety standards were ignored.

Antonyuk, a Ukrainian serving a seven-year sentence, said that the aim of work in the political prisoners' camps was to "squeeze the maximum out of people and pay the minimum". The camp administration had its own arbitrary wage system.

There were no regulations governing night shifts, and inmates were sometimes forced to work two shifts in succession. When work was harmful to health, the working day was not shortened.

A. Khnokh, serving a ten-year sentence, said that prisoners were subjected to interminable checks made day and night, had to march from place to place, and slept in crowded barrack blocks.

A political prisoner had a dreary, low-calorie diet costing the State 43 kopeks a day. (In the past, inmates have pointed out that the camp guard dogs receive better food, including much more meat.)

Political prisoners could in theory receive an unlimited number of letters, but the authorities often confiscated them for punitive or arbitrary reasons. The authorities also often arbitrarily stopped the few meetings between pri-

soners and their families which were allowed under the camp rules. Relatives might travel up to 3,000 kilometres only to be told that a prisoner had been deprived the previous day of the privilege of receiving visitors.

Josef Mishener, a teacher and historian serving a six-year sentence, said that there were five basic types of camp staff and administrative personnel.

Firstly, there were the sadists. The second sort of personnel were the cynics. One of them was a deputy minister of internal affairs of the Mordovian Autonomous Republic who told a prisoner: "If we fed you properly, we would never get rid of you."

The third sort were sufferers from inferiority complexes. Most of them were junior officers who self-consciously drew the prisoners' attention to their rank.

The fourth kind were idiots with initiative. These included a political officer who spent ten minutes looking on a map for a region in the USSR, but could not find it.

The fifth sort were typical Soviet bureaucrats, who did what they were told but totally lacked initiative.

Ivan Kandyba, a Ukrainian lawyer serving a 15-year sentence, said that non-Russian detainees were forced to talk to the authorities and to visiting relatives in Russian.

Ivan Svitlychny, a Ukrainian literary critic serving a 7-year sentence, said that he had taken part in four hunger strikes in less than a year. He believed that they were the only means of getting senior officials to visit the prison camps.

However, he admitted, prisoners only obtained small improvements through staging hunger strikes, which were "a very serious and risky method of struggle". After a hunger strike in May-June 1974, the participants were punished.

Political prisoners in Camp VS 389/35 included Ukrainians, Jews, Russians and Armenians.

Georg Bensch

Intensified Persecution of Christians in the CSSR

Whoever Says Mass Is Punished by Imprisonment

Czech Secret Police Chasing People Day and Night

(Terror Directed From Moscow)

The persecution of the Church in Czecho-Slovakia is being continued. This is not an empty allegation made by "revengers" but a matter of fact having become widely known. The persecution by the Red regime of Prague starts with vexing the few nuns still allowed to practice and ends with a complete surveillance of the bishops. It further consists in hampering religious welfare in the parishes and the training of future priests. However, the persecution of other groups of undesirable persons has recently also been intensified.

Thus the Czech secret police has now included 3,600 citizens in the list of persons "closely to be watched". This is known from a reliable authority. All letters of these persons — mostly relatives of prominent emigrants and leading personalities of the Spring of Prague of 1968, but also notable Church representatives — are shadowed and their telephone calls are intercepted. The correspondence of other CSSR citizens receiving letters from abroad or sending letters to western countries is controlled only irregularly. Official circles being afraid of the political influence of the Church within the country, of the organizations in exile and the emigrants, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the CSSR has convened a confidential meeting at the highest level at Bratislava to deliberate on how to fight against the influence of the Church and the emigrants.

The secret talks carried on in Bratislava have led to the following results:

The methods of persecuting Christians in the CSSR are getting worse and

worse. Numerous clergymen are imprisoned, and the nuns are obstructed in their charitable activities. The Church is "run" by the Church Secretariates created by Government and Party. The bishops exert hardly any influence on the running of the Church since they are — just like other clergymen — only employees of the State Church Secretariates. Theological literature sent to the CSSR is confiscated.

The addressee is interrogated by the police and questioned about alleged "returns". No priest is allowed to say mass without official permission. Transgression of this prohibition is punished by two years of imprisonment. Formerly convicted priests who were rehabilitated under Dubček are now sent for trial again. They not only have to pay the costs of the new trial which is compulsory, but also return the indemnity received upon their rehabilitation. This applies to all CSSR citizens who were rehabilitated in 1968 and have now again been subjected to Socialist justice.

The effect of the Church press which is censored anyway has been considerably reduced in Czecho-Slovakia. By refusing to allot paper the state thwarts the edition of books and publications. The importation of religious literature from the West is punished in principle. Clergymen are even not allowed to have duplicators or visit families; bishops must not publish pastoral letters. Even the most insignificant publication must be authorized by the State, for instance a reference to confirmation lessons.

There is one exception to all this: a small group of priests whom Moscow

is prepared to present to Rome at any cost. Monasteries no longer exist nor hardly any church educational institutions. The Church in the CSSR is exposed to a pressure menacing the roots of its existence. The large number of clergymen dismissed by the regime of Prague from Church life during the past months are now doing any work just to subsist. However, these persecuted priests have only a limited choice of alternative jobs. According to Party functionaries they are suited for subordinate jobs only.

For instance, parson Jiri Weber drives an ambulance. His colleague, Vladimir Dus, works as a liftboy in a hotel of Prague. Parson Ladislav Heydanek is night-watchman in a library. The formerly popular priest Jan Simsa, not in good health, works as a cowherd, and parson Jan Dus is presently employed as a store worker in a factory of Pilsen. In the CSSR, however, not only ecclesiastical dignitaries must suffer under the present regime of Prague, but also others — politically not following the Party line — are persecuted by the Czech secret police, harrassed and vexed. Whoever becomes the victim of the so-called "extrajudicial persecution" in Czechoslovakia is often struck much more than anybody sentenced to a shorter period of imprisonment. Scientists, medical doctors, writers and others prohibited from exercising their professions can be compared to those sentenced for life. Two examples — representative of many other cases — of dissenting men and women persecuted this way are mentioned below:

Some time ago there was a purge in the Barrandov studios of Prague leading to the dismissal of the respected producer Elmar Klos. The well known television commentator during the Dubček era, Kamila Mouckova, has not found any job till now. There are no prospects for her even to earn money as a charwoman.

In the CSSR terror continues to rage through the regime of Prague. Just in

the past weeks the Czecho-Slovak state security service has searched the houses and apartments of many known representatives of the political opposition, of clergymen of all confessions and of prisoners released. The searches were not carried out in view of judicial directives but on the basis of a new law by the so-called "relapsing". In accordance with this law the state security service is authorized to search houses and apartments at any time, at the STB's discretion. As a result of this many Czech oppositionists have been instructed to report regularly at the police-station of their place of residence, respectively.

In spite of the brutal and inhuman terrorist measures applied against political dissidents by the regime of Prague Moscow is apparently not satisfied with the methods of oppression of Czech little "brother". The Soviet Union is particularly dissatisfied with Czecho-Slovak court proceedings against the "political opponents of Socialism". This is what the Soviet ambassador in the CSSR, Mackevicz, told the Czech Minister of Justice, Dr. Jan Nemec. Prague also attributes the trip to Moscow of a delegation of leading functionaries of the CSSR justice and courts, headed by the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the CSSR, Josef Ondrej, to this discontent. In Moscow the judges of the CSSR are to be familiarized with the most recent experiences of their Soviet colleagues with respect to fighting against political opposition in the Soviet Union.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

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

The Cruel Treatment of Political Prisoners In Concentration Camps

The Case of S. Sapeliak

Information obtained from The Chronicle of Current Events states that a Ukrainian, Stepan Sapeliak, age 24, is being held in Perm camp VS no. 36. He was arrested and sentenced in 1974 to 5 years imprisonment for distributing Ukrainian protest letters and for an assumed allegiance to a youth organization.

On the 22nd of June, 1974, several political prisoners, including Sapeliak, were sunbathing in the dwelling zone of the camp when the captain in charge, Milentiy, told them to get dressed, which they duly did. Sapeliak was taken away to the guard room and ordered to write an explanation for "breaching clothes regulations". Sapeliak refused to do this, and Milentiy then told him to stand with both hands against the wall, as if he was to be searched. He then brutally beat him up, cursing away "Here's your law".¹⁾ Upon Sapeliak's demands for medical attention, Dr. Kotov, wife of a former head of the camp, was called for. She declared that the red marks on Sapeliak's body were "from birth". Alexey Safranov, sentenced to 13 years for attempting to escape to the West while doing military service in East Germany, was on guard duty at that time. Sapeliak was ordered not to mention to the other prisoners what had taken place, but once he was let go he recounted everything. Soon afterwards, a guard came to take him away to the guard room again. Sapeliak was then surrounded by the prisoners, who refused to let him go.

On the following day about 45 prisoners announced a strike, demanding that Sapeliak's case be investigated. Major Kotov carried out the inquiry,

¹⁾ In the original text this phrase is given in Russian: "Vot tebye zakon".

and on the 25th of June he declared to the prisoners that Sapeliak was a "slanderer" and for this he would be punished. That same evening Yevhen Sverstyuk, Anatoliy Zdorovy (a 35-year old mathematician from Lviv, sentenced to 7 years imprisonment, date of sentence unknown) and Symon Aronovych Hrylyus (born 1945, student at the Ryazan radiotechnical institute, arrested in the case of "Komunar") were put into solitary confinement. After this several prisoners stopped the hunger strike, but 32 others carried it on for a whole month. They included. Sapeliak, Sverstyuk, Pokrovsky, Men-delevych, Gulil, Dymshyts, Zdorovy, Zalmanson, Hryn'kiv, Makarenko, Syn'kiv, Zhykavskas, Berniychuk, Maravskas, Lukianenko, Shylinskas, Kalynychenko, Kudirka (now in the West), Kifiak, Vorobyev, Hryhoryev, Davydov, Gerchak, Safranov, Chernoglas, Astra, Pulse, Saarte, Lapp, Aabn'kin. Several prisoners, amongst them Lukianenko, were finally transferred to Vladimir prison. Some ended up in hospital, while others were put into solitary confinement.

Some Other Cases

Lyubomyr Starosolsky (born 1955, sentenced to 2 years concentration camps) and Roman Kolopach (born 1954, sentenced to 3 years concentration camps) are imprisoned in camp no. 19 in Mordovia. They were sentenced by the Lviv regional court for hoisting up blue and yellow flags on the 9th of May, 1972, in the village of Stebnyk (Lviv region). They were tried on the 19th of February, 1973.

In October 1974 the prisoners Ivan Svitlychny, Volodomyr Balakhnov, Zynoviy Antoniuk and Semen Hluzman passed on to the academician Sakharov the following declaration: "We have been on hunger strike now for 3

months. We demand to have our status as political prisoners recognized. We have written to all the higher authorities of the USSR — none have replied. Thus they have given a free hand to the camp administration to treat us as brutally as they will. We appeal to you, a well-known activist in the democratic movement, to do everything possible to bring our plight to the attention of higher authorities."

V. Balaknov was a translator attached to the Soviet delegation of the UN in the Meteorological Commission in Geneva. During his period abroad he decided not to return to the USSR, but after a discussion with the Soviet consul (who persuaded him that he would not be punished) he returned to Moscow on the 1st of December, 1972. On the 7th of January, 1973, he was arrested and then sentenced to 12 years imprisonment.

The Ukrainian, Pavlo Fedorovych Kampov, born 1929, mathematician, candidate-member of the Academy of Sciences, lecturer in Uzhorod University, is presently serving out his sentence in Perm camp VS no. 36.

In 1970 Kampov and three others were struck off the list of candidates

for deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Kampov was dismissed from the Uzhhorod electoral district by the Volovetsky woodwork combine. About 100 pre-election propaganda leaflets were distributed in support of the candidates.

On the 16th of June, 1970, two days after the elections, Kampov was arrested without the prosecutor's authority (who signed the arrest warrant only on the 1st of July). He was kept in isolation before the trial, and in a closed court was charged with distributing pre-election leaflets. Another version of this claims that Kampov wrote a brochure in Ukrainian entitled "25 years of hope and disillusionment" and sent it to various publishing houses of the USSR. He was also charged with writing a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union asking to be allowed to form a separate Communist Party in Transcarpathia. His family were not even allowed in to hear the verdict. He was sentenced to 5 (or 6) years concentration camps, and has been threatened by members of the KGB that should he talk about his "case" he would be forbidden to see his family.

Commemoration of the Death of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka in Ukraine

At the same time as the USSR was noisily celebrating the 30th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the Ukrainian people were commemorating in their own way the memory of their national hero — Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, symbol of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. The following leaflet was distributed in Ukraine in March, 1975:

"Read this, copy it and pass it on to your friends."

"On the 5th of March, 1950, the late Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka,

Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, symbol of the liberation movement, fell in battle against the Russian occupation forces in Bilohorshcha, near Lviv. He fought with an unbreakable faith in God and Ukraine and fell on the field of glory. The Ukrainian nation is proud of its great son.

Long live an Independent Ukrainian Sovereign State, for which he lived and for which he died!

Death to the Moscow prison of nations and people!

March, 1975."

Declaration of Mykola Horbal' in Defence of I. Kalynets

The following document, a declaration by the Ukrainian political prisoner Mykola Horbal, has been smuggled recently to the West from the Perm concentration camps in the USSR. The declaration, dated October 1974, has been written due to the fact that the camp administration did not allow Ihor Kalynets, a Ukrainian poet, to meet with his mother. The declaration also describes the various methods used to treat cruelly the prisoners. M. Horbal writes as follows:

To the Prosecutor of the RFSSR from inmate Mykola Horbal Andryevych (VS 389/35), Perm region:

Declaration

On the 1.10.1974 I was informed of Prosecutor... (illegible) and jurist Holdyrev's answer to my repeated declarations about the fact that Ihor Kalynets has been forbidden to see his parents. The answer states: "Kalynets has not been forbidden any such visit, and is completely entitled to one."

I was not satisfied by this answer since it is not true. As you already know, Ihor Kalynets has not been allowed to see his family. His elderly mother and young daughter travelled from the region of Lviv to visit him, and the reason for his not being permitted to see them was quite petty. Having found out about this, many prisoners, including myself, were quite indignant and declared a hunger strike as a sign of protest, demanding that Kalynets be allowed to receive visitors.

I wish to bring to your attention the fact that the groundless deprivation of visits is not a solitary incident: it has become part of the accepted system, the aim of which is to lower one's human dignity, to create the appearance of a hopeless situation and the feeling of doom for the prisoner, to provoke despair and fear among his family, to cause misunderstandings within the family, and to occasion material, physical and moral loss of the prisoner and his family. Having found out about the planned visit to the prisoner in advance (for this reason the prisoner has to apply well before his next visit so that he may be accorded a date), the administration usually finds a reason to pu-

nish the prisoner by not allowing him to see his visitors. A reason can always be found, and it becomes impossible to prove that one is innocent. The transgression, on the basis of which a punishment is handed down, is noted down. On such occasions it is not even worth complaining.

However, this declaration does not deal with the fact that the administration forbids the visits in advance, but with the fact that they forbid the visits when the family has already set out to, or has arrived at the camp. This happened, for example, with the families of prisoners Burtman, Torosian, Hluzman, Ahman and Davydenko. Apart from this, the administration is not even particular about legalizing such a prohibition. As you can see, a whole complex of lawlessness has been created for just this. Forbidding Kalynets to receive his visitors on 28.8.1974 was the last straw. Over 20 people declared a hunger strike in protest.

On the following day, the substitute of the head of camp VS 389, Major Kotov, in the presence of the head of the local settlement, senior St. Poliakov, admitted to Kalynets: "To allow you to see your family would amount to a victory for the prisoners. There will be no visit." He said the same to those of us who were on hunger strike: "Disperse. There will be no visit for Kalynets." We later found out that Kalynets' family had received the same categorical reply: "Don't bother waiting. There will be no visit."

A large group of prisoners were on hunger strike for 10 days. Four prisoners (Hluzman, Svitlychny, Antoniuk

and Balaknov) are in the 37th day of their hunger strike. Many complaints and declarations have been sent to various higher authorities.

In compliance with the MVD's orders,¹⁾ the prosecutor of the Perm region, General Vychyzyhanov, explained to Kalynets in a letter of the 10th September, 1974, that: "... with regard to the groundless prohibition of a family visit, the regional prosecutor's office has taken certain measures." Later, Kalynets received a letter from the Perm prosecutor's office, signed by the head of the department in charge of the area including the Perm camp, Matsiyevsky, dated the 16th of September, 1974. It stated: "All the necessary measures have been taken. An application for the refund of costs incurred during the journey can only be put forward by the mother."

Did they make a mistake? It happens. Only then how is one to interpret the fact that on 18.3.1974 Davydenko, a Ukrainian political prisoner, was not allowed to see his family? After many complaints the explanation given was that: "... the application card for a visit was filled in wrongly. It should be rewritten and the costs will be refunded." But what was the result? When Davydenko's mother arrived a second time for a visit, on the day stipulated by the administration, they refused to discuss the matter of compensation at all. In actual fact, the costs of the visit were never refunded. Another mistake? One can rarely prove that the administration has infringed the law, and the thought then comes to mind that such answers are intended to make the prisoner and his family fed up with seeking justice and a refund of expenses incurred. And they are right in counting upon such a reaction, proven through long years of experience, because it is difficult to find anybody who would wish to bring the camp administration to court with the outcome of the trial unknown. Even

in the most justified cases it is uncertain whether as much as the costs of the trial will be refunded. And is there any sense in filing a complaint when it takes months for the case to come before the court and a further few months for the court to pass judgement? If you 'sit quietly', on the other hand, the administration may change its mind and allow a further visit. Thus, if people should start filing complaints in the future, do not make any noble gestures claiming that a mistake had been made and parents are entitled to file complaints, since this will be interpreted as a gesture not backed up by any concrete actions. However, if I am wrong then please answer me the following questions:

1) If it is admitted that the forbidding of Kalynets to see his family was unfounded, then why not stop the victimization and punishment of those who protested against it?

2) What "measures have been taken" with regard to the groundless prohibition of Kalynets meeting with his family?

3) What is the guarantee that similar systematic illegal incidents will not take place again?

4) Why are prisoners immediately punished for the slightest infringement of the numerous regulations on the basis of the assiduously worked register, while the camp administration gets away with gross violations of the law?

5) Even if a miracle happens and Kalynets' mother receives material compensation for the costs incurred during the visit to her son, whom she did not see, who will compensate, and how, the moral suffering caused to his young daughter through coming into contact with the savagery of those entrusted with the re-education of their son and father? Who will compensate the elderly lady for the harm caused to her health through such an "outing" and through the degrading, desperate and tearful conversations with the administration?

3. 10. 74

(Horbal')

¹⁾ Ministry of Internal Affairs

Russian Colonialism in Georgia

The Tiflis Initiatory Group for the Defence of Human Rights has appealed to the academician I. R. Shafarovycz of Moscow to defend Valentyna Paylodze. The letter was apparently written on or after 17. 7. 1974:

„We wish to inform you of several details from the case of V. S. Paylodze, who has been sentenced for "spreading blatantly false information smearing the Soviet regime" and for "religious propaganda about citizens' rights". (Valentyna Serapiyonovna Paylodze was sentenced on 26. 6. 1974 to one and a half years imprisonment in concentration camps). She is accused of writing 136 anonymous letters which were sent out to various organizations in Tiflis throughout 4 years, though the court could not prove that she was the author. These letters are original appeals of a religious-political nature, and their main point is the position of Georgia, whom the author considers oppressed by Russian super-power chauvinism, hiding behind Communist slogans. The author regards the Soviet regime and Communist Party as an evil of Satan's will and calls upon people not to be tempted or deceived by them, and to refuse to join either the Communist Party, the Komsomol or the pioneer organizations. The author also appeals to those who are already members to leave the ranks, and considers Georgia a Russian colony, points out the dangers of Russification, loss of freedom and nationhood which threaten the Georgian people, Georgian culture

and the Georgian church, and brands with infamy the renegades who serve the interests of superpower imperialism in their quest for a career and distinction.

Nevertheless, when the Georgian Soviet press writes about Paylodze, the fact that she is a political prisoner is never mentioned and, to disorient the people, she is classed as an anonymous parasite who also took part in political agitation.

V. Paylodze was visited not long ago in her concentration camp by a female KGB interrogator called Julietta (surname unknown), who promised her that she would be set free if she agreed to work in Rustav (a metallurgical town near Tiflis) and live in Dzhandzhar, (a village set in the Azerbaijan wilderness, in a dark forgotten area, about 50 kms. away from Tiflis, where murders, robberies and all sorts of crimes often take place). V. Paylodze could be "accidentally murdered" even in broad daylight, and what better place for this to happen to you, an indefatigable fighter for religious freedom, to defend V. Paylodze, a deeply religious person and true patriot of her country, and to demand political prisoner status for her.

The Initiatory Group for the
Defence of Human Rights

Z. K. Hamsakhurdia, translator, member of the Writer's Academy of the GSSR

M. I. Kostava, musician

O. Tsikolia

INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT by VALENTYN MOROZ

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

Published by

Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67

Protest of Z. Antoniuk against Moscow Chauvinism

Letters of Ukrainian Political Prisoners to the USSR State Public Prosecutor

Zinovy Antoniuk, a Ukrainian political prisoner at the Perm camp VS 389/35 sent a declaration on 20th June 1974 to the leader of the branch of the administrative organs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which he writes about a commission from Moscow which in June last year came to the camp to investigate the prisoners' grievances about which they had written to Moscow in May of that year. The said commission was headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Anastasov of the MVD, and an official of the Prosecutor's office of the Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic, Ryzhov. The text of the declaration is as follows:

"Instead of an investigation into the case, on the 20th of June, 1974, I was witness to an arrogant display of great power chauvinism on the part of Lt. Col. Anastasov, who offended my legal national rights, guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. He literally said to me: "What language do you write in? Wouldn't it be better to write to your wife telling her to ask a neighbour to write a letter in Russian for her?"

Antoniuk then carries on: "It might be possible to ignore this coarse attitude towards a non-Russian, just as so many similar daily incidents are ignored and ascribed to the lack of culture and savagery of this or that bearer of national chauvinism. However, in this case, it concerns a representative of the MVD from Moscow with considerable authority and with the errand of appraising in practice the lawlessness and arbitrary rule which exist in the camps. When insults are addressed to a Ukrainian (such as 'khakhyly')¹⁾ by standard-bearers or by camp

guards, one swallows them silently, attributing them to the low cultural level of these bearers of international ideas. When one sees the same display of Ukrainophobia on the part of the administration — this arouses one's indignation."

There have also arrived in the West letters of Ukrainian women prisoners — S. Shabatura, I. Senyk, N. Strokata and N. Svitlychna — sent to the Supreme Prosecutor of the USSR, A. Rudenko, in 1973.

Stefania Shabatura, in her letter dated 12th June, 1973, writes: "Our descendants will talk of our age as the age of great scientific and technical achievements, but not as the age of a harmonious development of individuality. What sort of development can there be when the circulatory vessels of culture are periodically cut open in interrogators? But how long can all this go on with impunity? Maybe you share the conception of Sherwood Anderson that "every human being is Christ — and all shall be crucified"? If so, then I am willing to be crucified for my country, for my nation, which has not been allowed to develop freely neither by the Batyj hordes,²⁾ nor by the Tsarist oppressors, nor by the actions of your colleagues, both former and present."

Iryna Senyk, in a letter of the 15th December, 1973, states: "I, who with anguish narrated my life in the lines of a few hundred poems, have lived to see court investigations of poetry and poets." The poetess further states that victimization and imprisonment is violation of human rights, as defined by the Declaration of the United Nations Organization, of which the USSR is a cosignatory.

Nadia Svitlychna makes the same appeal in her letter of 10th December,

¹⁾ Derogatory term for Ukrainians, used by Russians.

²⁾ One of the Mongol hordes which invaded Ukraine during the 13th century.

1973. She writes: "In fact, I have been deprived not only of my liberty but also of my motherhood because an unguarded faith in such documents as the Constitution of the USSR and the Declaration of Human Rights has led me to prison. The Criminal Code has taken priority over the above-mentioned as regards constitutional guarantees which result from international stipulations about human rights."

Nina Strokata, in her letter of 10th June, 1973, writes: "If the law of government is the essence of Socialist democracy, then all those who reject such a democracy will be right."

*

A Demand for Political Prisoner Status

by Vitaliy Kalynychenko

To the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
(Copy to the Human Rights Commission of the UN)

A statement about the demand for political prisoner status

The circumstances:

On the 12th January, 1967, I was sentenced by the Murman regional court to 10 years imprisonment for my political convictions. The judge did not allow any errors to be made, and the sentence was convincingly put, as follows: "In disagreement with the social and political regime of this country... he committed a crime from political motives, etc."

I myself admitted that my convictions contradict those which are officially sanctioned in the USSR, so... "in the beginning of 1963 I destroyed my Komsomol membership card..." However, this action does not provide any grounds to class this as an attempt to escape the country, as stated in paragraphs 15-64 of the Criminal Code of

the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic.

Interpreting the attempt to leave the country illegally (as in paras. 15-83 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR) as treason, the court once again showed the true face of political terror.

Thus, there has been no crime committed which warrants the imposition of a rigid sentence.

*

The Aim:

With regard to the above, I bring my demands to the attention of the Presidium:

1. *That the conditions under which I am held be in accordance with political prisoner status.*

2. *That the sentence passed upon me by the Murman regional court be revoked.*

3. *That representatives of the United Nations and of other international agencies be allowed to investigate the grounds of my charges and imprisonment, as well as the conditions under which I am held.*

Unless my demand for political prisoner status is met by the 12th January, 1975, I shall be forced to introduce for myself from that day onwards two stipulations in accordance with political prisoner status: a) not to take part in any forced labour, b) not to cut my hair.

As a sequel to this protest about my illegal imprisonment, I declare a hunger fast for one day on the occasion of the acceptance of the General Declaration of Human Rights on 10th December, 1974.

24th November, 1974

Political prisoner
Vitaliy Kalynychenko
of Kuchynsky concentration camp
no. 389-36, Perm region

Political Prisoners Talk About Themselves

Conversations with Svitlychny, Kandyba, Kalynets, Pryshliak, Antoniuk and others

A very descriptive samvydav document, which is currently being circulated in the USSR, has reached the West. It contains the notes from an interview which opponents of the Russian Soviet regime managed to hold with a group of political prisoners of Perm concentration camp towards the end of 1974. The following Ukrainian political prisoners took part in the interview: Ivan Svitlichny, Ivan Kandyba, Ihor Kalynets, Yevhen Pryshliak, and Zynoviy Antoniuk; Jewish political prisoners Semen Hluzman, Yosyf Meshener, Ar'ye-Leyb Khnoh and Lev Yagman, Russian political prisoner Volodomyr Balakhnov and Armenian political prisoner Bahrat Shakhverd'yan also took part.

The prisoners talked first of all about the isolation in which they are kept by the camp administration. I. Kalynets said:

"It's obvious to me that this is done to hide the true facts as they contravene international laws and moral norms, and even go against the Soviet Constitution. I was sentenced, for example, for my literary works which were not anti-Soviet in any way whatsoever, nor even did they have a socio-political character. It is ridiculous to claim that there were any state or military secrets in my works. Furthermore, my trial was held 'in-camera', and even my closest family was not allowed to be present. This is understandable: my trial for committing "an extremely dangerous state crime" was based solely on a few poems which were completely apolitical. This would have surprised even the Soviet public, accustomed as it is to everything.

They attempt to keep all materials relating to such cases in the strictest secret, and many — completely ille-

gally — are held back even after the termination of the trial.

Apart from this, the camp administration holds even suspected 'criminals' in inhuman conditions. They are kept half-starved, exhausted by hard labour, and their human dignity is continuously degraded. If all this were made public, such things would not be allowed to take place.

The cases of V. Stus, Y. Sverstyuk, M. Osadchy, and many others, are similar. M. A. Horbal' was sentenced to 5 years in prison camps and two years of banishment for writing just one poem: 'Duma'."

Asked about the legal position of the political prisoners in the USSR, I. Kandyba replied thus:

"The USSR denies the existence of political prisoners, and we are forbidden to term ourselves as such. This tradition dates back to Czarist Russia, only then they were called „state criminals" while now they have additionally become "extremely dangerous".

Another difference is that there are many more "extremely dangerous state criminals" now in the USSR than before, and the authorities treat them even more cruelly.

There is one important feature in the position of political prisoners in the USSR. If one bears in mind the fact that there indeed exists a Constitution in the USSR which is the supreme law, then the majority of so-called political prisoners, imprisoned because of their attempt to make use of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, have been imprisoned illegally. Strictly speaking, it would be difficult to term such people even as political. Nevertheless, there also exists the Criminal Code which defines the use of basic demo-

cratic rights, as guaranteed by the Constitution, as a crime, and the people who have dared to use them as "extremely dangerous state criminals".

Thus political prisoners appraise themselves and their actions in various ways: those who call upon the Constitution consider themselves innocent as a rule; those who take the Criminal Code into account admit their guilt. The position of political prisoners in the USSR is thus doubled from the very beginning."

Lev Yagman added to this:

"The same disparity which exists between the paper Constitution and the Criminal Code can be seen between the new Labour Code¹⁾ and the actual rights of political prisoners.

Here are a few examples. In the preamble of the principles of the new Labour Code it is stated that the serving of one's sentence of imprisonment should not cause any physical or moral sufferings. How, then, is one to interpret the fact that prisoners are often put into solitary confinement for up to six months at a time, where food, low in quantity and poor in quality, is served according to the miserable norm no. 9. This is a well thought-out way to undermine a person's health, and you can understand what it means to survive on reduced rations for half a year, when even the normal camp rations, as confirmed by the camp doctors (in the employ of the KGB), cause stomach illness as a rule after only a few years."

I. Kandyba said this:

"The rights of non-Russian political prisoners are especially limited. They are taken outside the territories of their own republics, and forced to live in harsh climates to which they are not accustomed. Their families cannot always come and visit them, and not only the prisoners but other members of

the family also suffer because of this and families are thus split up. This is to the regime's advantage, which explains that this is done for political motives. Non-Russian political prisoners are forced to communicate with the administration only in Russian, and incoming and outgoing mail is held up under the pretext of being written in a non-Russian language. We are even forbidden to speak in our own language with parents during visits. The numerous appeals and demands of political prisoners to be allowed to serve out their sentence in their own countries have all been flatly rejected."

The prisoners' conditions of work are described thus by Z. Antoniuk:

"The combination of two jobs into one (without pay, obviously!), is widely practised. The number of hours on the night shifts is not strictly defined, and we are often forced to work two shifts one after another without any payment for extra hours. There are no shortened hours for doing work which could be harmful to one's health or any compensation for special work carried out; extra food (which usually means powdered milk) is given out infrequently and not to everybody, and has thus taken on the form of a reward. The timetable of workloads is completely fictitious — there are no possibilities for rest for the second shift. Theoretically, work is in two shifts, but in reality there are three, since the second shift works two shifts in a row."

A. Khnoh added:

"The conditions here are semi-regimental, with constant searches both during the day and night, forming up into lines and inspections, living in barrack-like dwellings with forty people or more to one section, prisoner's clothing and footwear, having to wear degrading name tags sewn onto one's clothes, low-calorie monotonous food daily, etc."

Asked about relations between the political prisoners themselves, S. Hluzman said:

¹⁾ The new Labour Code relates to the forced labour camps.

"In general, I can confirm that here, for the first time, I saw true internationalism, not on paper but in action especially between the so-called "bourgeois nationalists", in spite of the fact that the KGB and MVD have been trying for a long time to make prisoners of various nationalities quarrel amongst themselves."

Y. Pryshliak talked about the different groups of Ukrainian political prisoners:

"Immediately after the war, the concentration camps were full of political prisoners in the category of 'war criminals'. Some of them were released, others died, while others are still languishing in prison to this day. Such 'criminals' are still tried even nowadays and brought to the camps — the aim of which is evident. Up until the 1960's this category usually consisted of members of the Ukrainian underground movement, their families, and those who either morally or materially aided them. This was generally the rural youth, skilled workers, students and intelligentsia. The political prisoners from the Baltic countries also consisted of the same category of prisoners. They were harshly sentenced to between 10 and 25 years of imprisonment; many of them died in the severe conditions of the prison camps, though the majority of them were released in 1957, some even before serving out their whole sentences. Those left are people with broken health and an unbalanced nervous system.

During the second half of the 1950's, after the total destruction of the armed underground movement, political prisoners of a different category were brought to the prisons and concentration camps. These were mainly people who had grown up under the Soviet system — almost all of them intellectuals or workers. They saw that elementary democratic freedoms did not exist in the USSR and decided to struggle to achieve them. New arrests and trials began. In 1961 a group of 7 peo-

ple (all with secondary or university education) were tried in Lviv for calling open the appropriate paragraph of the Soviet Constitution and conducting a propaganda campaign for the withdrawal of Ukraine from the Soviet Union. This was the Lukianenko-Kandyba group.

Twenty people, members of the "Ukrainian National Committee", whose aim was to print and distribute literature propagating the idea of Ukrainian independence, were tried the following year. Two persons were executed, and others were sentenced to between 5 and 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps. About 20 people were tried in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv and other Ukrainian towns in 1965 for coming out in defence of democratic freedoms. In 1967 members of the "Ukrainian National Front", which printed and distributed samvydav literature, were tried in Ivano-Frankivsk. It would be difficult to enumerate all the trials which took place and sentences passed, but their main characteristic was the fact that writers, artists, scientists and intelligentsia all came under the repressions."

Asked what means the prisoners could use to fight for their rights, Svitlychny replied:

"A hunger strike is worth special mention here, and both the camp administration and the prisoners take different attitudes towards it. "You are punishing yourselves" said several officers to us gloatingly when in May-June of this year (1974) a large group of prisoners went on hunger strike in protest against the arbitrary rule of the camp administration.

Generally speaking, hunger strikes in Soviet prison camps are not as effective as in other countries, and prisoners are not even allowed to inform their families, let alone widely publicize them. Nevertheless, they do have some positive results, so prisoners do not go on hunger strike just by chance. I have been in this prison camp for less

than a year, but have already taken part in four hunger strikes. We have at least been able to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation in the camp, since it is only during and after a hunger strike that higher officials come to the camp to try and settle the matter in question. Although the outrages committed by the camp administration are always numerous, they at least examine some of them and try to rectify them. At the end of 1973, for example, all my notes on philologic topics were confiscated, and I tried for more than half a year to find out what had happened to them but in vain, until, after having finally decided that they had been destroyed, they were unexpectedly returned to me during a hunger strike."

To the question of whether they regretted the fact that fate had brought them to prison camps, the prisoners gave very characteristic replies, such as that of Antoniuk:

"On looking back over my life from the beginning of the 1960's, I regret not having felt like a citizen earlier but having been only a passive observer of sociological processes in Soviet society. I heard about the different faces of Soviet legality only through rumours, therefore I am glad that at least now I am able to experience everything myself... He who has not been in the DOPR¹⁾ is not a citizen."

Lev Yagman:

"Do I regret anything? Obviously I don't feel any particular pleasure in being separated from my wife, in being deprived of even the elementary necessities for a normal human existence, in being behind barbed wire. This will all definitely leave its mark, reflect on one's health, influence one's character and introduce new elements into one's outlook. I believe that imprisonment has freed me from just the "intellectual

weakness" that Lenin accused the intelligentsia of in his time, and this I do not regret."

Ar'ye-Leyb Khnoh:

"It is sad to be separated from one's family and country for so many years, but in many respects I am satisfied. The arrest and trial of myself and my colleagues was one of the factors which caused the Soviet Union to change its policy on Jewish emigration."

Ihor Kalynets:

"Just as in every prisoner, my heart grieves for freedom, but considering the oppressive situation which exists in Ukraine today, I prefer to be in a prison camp, and, as Antonych said, I prefer the harsh and grim life." It brings me friends, who prove their friendship through daily ordeals, and here I again bring to mind Antonych's prayer:

"but let us pray to the distant stars to give us in this world a great and suffering life.""

Ivan Kandyba:

"I do not regret having chosen the path which led me to this concentration camp not so long ago. I cannot grieve for a lost freedom, which I never had. How can one feel free when one is aware of the fact that one's motherland is in chains? We have to undergo many hardships, but morally I feel better now than when, as a supposedly free citizen, I could do nothing to improve my country's fate. The longer I stay in these conditions the clearer it becomes to me that I chose the right path and that true freedom will only exist when Ukraine — my motherland — is free."

Slava Hluzman:

"Yes, I have my regrets. Although I am here, I am not only serving my prison sentence. I am here because in freedom I could oppose the criminal psychiatric treatment of healthy people

1) DOPR — concentration camp.

more vigorously. I am a psychiatrist and at present members of various professions are protesting against the imprisonment of healthy people in psychiatric prison hospitals, except, unfortunately, psychiatrists. There is an objective reason for this. My colleague — Leonid Plyushch — is being held in a special psychiatric prison hospital of the MVD . . ."

Ivan Svitlychny:

"The passage from freedom to imprisonment for me was not as brusque as for some others. For many years before my arrest I was unable to find employment within my profession, my literary works, which in no way were anti-Soviet, were not published solely because my surname was not in favour with the official circles, and up to the time of my arrest I was in fact treated as an outlaw. In this respect I did not lose much after my arrest. Obviously, it is hard not to see for years one's wife, family and friends, with whom I formerly shared all my joys and troubles. Apart from this, my main object in life was my philological work, and not 'politics'. Here in this camp there are no possibilities whatsoever for the continuation of this work.

The arrest, trial, imprisonment and many ordeals freed me from certain naive illusions and occasioned a more serious examination of my moral beliefs, so in this respect this school of life is richer than mere study. I lost several friends who did not survive the harsh ordeals, but my friendship with others strengthened. Apart from this, I also made friends with whom I could not even dream of before. As a writer I am able to observe many different types of character here in the camp and to acquaint myself with such unbelievable human destinies which I would not meet during my whole life-time if I were free. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether I would lose or gain more by being free. I do not complain about my fate, nor do I envy my friends who are free."

Vladimir Balakhnov:

"I have no regrets . . ."

Bakhrat Shakhverdian:

"I know what fate holds in store for me, but freedom will never be achieved without sacrifices. For a true patriot, to struggle for the independence of one's country is good fortune, honour, and the essence of life. A fight to the final victory! Such is our slogan! Our way of fighting is peaceful and honourable although we are up against perfidity, cruelty and despotism. Physically we can be destroyed, but we can never be defeated! Although it is hard for me in a concentration camp, hard for me to reconcile myself with the mockeries and the arbitrary and severe regime, I will not denounce nor give up my beliefs and ideals. I am ill (with heart and stomach trouble, etc.) but my strength of will, steadfastness, spiritual energy, hopes and dreams all give me strength. I met many people in the concentration camps who have been held there for over 25 years, young patriots-democrats. This was the university of life for me. I met people of many different nationalities — Ukrainians for an independent Ukraine; people from the Baltic states whose only crime is that they love their own country too much; Jews who wish to live in their own country, Israel; and many young people struggling for the democratic reorganization of society. Their only crime is that they wish to live a free and worthy life.

I love life and liberty. I want to see a free and democratic Armenia, and it is not my fault that I was born here and am what I am. I cannot understand how people active in politics and society can claim that repressions against patriots and democrats, their arrest and imprisonment in psychiatric prison hospitals, prisons and concentration camps, is an internal matter of the USSR. For us political prisoners, it is below our dignity to bargain with our own conscience."

Greetings From Women Political-Prisoners

Towards the end of 1973 a group of Ukrainian women imprisoned in the Mordovian concentration camp, sent a New Year greeting and address to the President of the International PEN Club and to various individuals and organizations. This address was printed in 'samvydav'¹⁾ and reached the West only in March of this year. There are no signatures to the address.

The text of the address is given below:

"To the President of the PEN Club, Heinrich Boell,

To the President of the World Federation of Doctors,

To the President and Directors of international womens', cultural and trade-union organizations,

To the Red Cross Organization,

To the Organization of the Red Half-Moon."

"New Year greetings to you and

¹⁾ Samvydav — Ukrainian term for self-published materials, similar to the Russian term of 'samizdat'.

your fellow-countrymen are not possible without a faith in civilization, whose ideal will become the sacredness of human life. We, women who have ended up in the kingdom of Father Frost, maintain our faith that the barbed wire will be cast off by the reason and ideals of our contemporaries.

Respectfully yours,

Ukrainian women political prisoners, Mordovia, December, 1973."

The Ukrainian women also sent a separate greeting to "friends in the external zone", that is, to all those in the USSR who do not live in concentration camps and prisons. That is what political prisoners call the USSR as opposed to the "internal zone" — that is, prisons and concentration camps.

The text of this address follows:

"To all friends outside the internal zone. To our dear ones and all the faithful. We wish you luck with the New Year, inspiration, faith and freedom!

Mordovia, December, 1973"

Prof. Dr. R. Havemann Criticizing Denial of Human Rights in the "GDR"

Professor Dr. Robert Havemann, the East German nuclear physicist and chemist who was a prominent exponent of Communist opinions in the 1950s, recently criticized the denial of basic human rights in the GDR. His views on this subject were recorded privately and were broadcast by West German radio.

Explaining why he had decided to speak his mind to people living outside the Soviet sphere of influence, he said: "I would be condemned to total silence unless I did so. Not a line I write is published in the German Democratic Republic."

"Even if I wrote harmless material like recipes it has been decided that the name of Robert Havemann does not exist in the GDR."

Professor Havemann said that the overwhelming majority of East Ger-

mans were suspicious and afraid of the State authorities. This had led to a great exodus before the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Since then there had been no mutual trust between the people and the government.

Born in 1910, Havemann was actively engaged in underground opposition to Hitler from 1935 to 1943. Though the Nazis then condemned him to death, he was kept in prison until the end of the Second World War in 1945.

For a number of years immediately after the war he played a prominent role in the Soviet-led world "peace" movement. However, he eventually developed misgivings about Communism. About ten years ago he was expelled from the SED (the East German Communist Party) and from the GDR's Academy of Sciences.

Manifesto of The 17

Since June, 1974, a letter, called the Manifesto of the 17, has been circulating clandestinely in the USSR. Addressed to the Supreme Soviet, it has been written by 17 political prisoners in the Mordovian concentration camps. The authors and signatories of the Manifesto are Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Georgians, Armenians and nine Ukrainians, whose names are known: Levko Lukianenko, Volodomyr Bezuhly, Anatoliy Korniychuk, Volodomyr Hlyva, Ivan Il'chuk, Dmytro Pylyniak, Ivan Pokrovsky, Oleksiy Stepaniuk, Andriy Turyk.

The contents and style of the Manifesto give a revolutionary character to this document, born from the struggle of the subjugated non-Russian nations within the USSR. The main excerpts of the Manifesto are given below:

"The Soviet Constitution emphasizes the sovereignty of national republics within the USSR and provides for a series of conditions which should guarantee this sovereignty. According to the Constitution, the work of government should be carried out by the so-called Soviets of workers' representatives. In reality, however, and contradictory to the Constitution, the Party has usurped all power — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has become the ruling party. In its structure the CPSU is not an international, but a **Russian** organ of domination. The CPSU and its Central Committee are in fact Communist organs of power of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic, and simultaneously are the highest ruling authorities of all the Communist Parties of the non-Russian "republics".

As for economic colonialism, labour is gathered on an international basis in order to raise industrial production in non-Russian republics, while the indisputable fact remains that Russians are placed in all the leading cadres of industry and commerce. The Russifica-

tion of the economy in non-Russian republics is the order of the day.

The state system for education and culture serves only one aim: to inculcate into the younger generation the "greatness" and the "invincibility of the Russian superman". The national liberation struggles of the non-Russian nations against former (Czarist) and present (Communist) Russian imperialism is concealed or accused of being "reactionary" and "conservative". At the same time, Communist propaganda characterizes the modern national liberation struggles of our day — based on the right to self-determination — as "bourgeois nationalism" and the opponents of the state security agencies are cruelly suppressed.

In the name of our countries we demand: the raising of the national language in the various republics and autonomous territories to the status of official state languages; the introduction of autonomous rights for all national minorities and the removal of all privileges and special rights for Russians outside Russia; the extension of sovereign rights for national republics in all aspects of foreign, cultural and economic policy; the nationalization of all means of production, heavy industry and all subterranean deposits, which would mean the transfer of all these to the national republics; the renewal of the rights of state organs, as guaranteed by the Constitution, — power should belong only to the people and to their freely elected representatives; the purging of state organs from all Party influences; the separation of State and Party, national and Party rule, workers' councils and the Party; and the renewal of national and state control over the KGB.

The policies of the state organs of the national republics and autonomous territories must serve only one interest: the vital interests and the general good of their own nations.

The continuous violation of the Constitution and the above-mentioned rights guaranteeing the sovereignty and national equality of all nations, as well as the policy of the ruling party which fatally threatens the existence

of our countries, gives us the moral and political right, on the basis of Article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR, to propagate openly and freely the separation of our countries from the Soviet federation."

Letter of S. F. Hluzman From Mordovian Concentration Camp

The March 1975 edition of the monthly "Notes of Samvydav" published in the French language in Brussels, included a letter from a Kyiv psychiatrist, S. F. Hluzman, which was distinctly marked 'for publication'.

Semen (Samuyil) Hluzman was born in 1946. As a doctor-psychiatrist he became a member of the initiatory group for human rights and was arrested in Kyiv on 11.5.1972 and sentenced on the 20.10.1972 to 7 years concentration camp and 3 years exile in connection with the case of Lyuba Serediak, a 19-year old typist, who typed out several handwritten documents in his house.

He was accused of preparing material in defence of Gen. Petro Hryhorenko and of "anti-Soviet activity". He is at present in the Perm hard labour camp no. 36.

Hluzman's letter, addressed to his parents, was smuggled out of the camp. It is undated but was written after August 9th, 1974, in answer to his father's letter of August 3rd, in which he calls upon his son not to oppose the camp administration and to "reconsider his views". Dr. Hluzman explains in his letter why he cannot do this, and expresses a desire for his letter to be brought to public notice. The letter follows in a shortened form:

My dear ones:

On the 9th of August I found out that you had travelled here to see me, but in vain. I was not told about this and only found out from your letter, because they are afraid to tell us anything fearing the reactions of my companions. Remember last year I was al-

lowed to have visitors, but only at the expense of a compromise with myself? Not long before I received your letter I was sent to dig over the ground in the control zone which encircles the camp. I openly admit that I collaborated with them for my self-protection.

From a prisoner's point of view, this was an immoral act, but I did it so I would be able to see you. This was my first and last compromise. Captain Utyr, appointed by the KGB, said that my one weakness was my parents. He's wrong — I don't have any weaknesses...

Every day, every hour, they crush my individuality, my live essentiality. The dog which guards the stockades receives better food than I do — you wouldn't feed it rotten cabbage and putrid fish. I am dressed in a thin cotton shirt in the celebrated Stalin fashion and wear a breast-plate; I am completely shaven and always hungry, I freeze on the floors of the penal cells, I am forced to march in lines, they can strip me when they want and force me to squat down any number of times. I am a slave. Any sadist has the right and the power to compel me to do degrading work. I, S. F. Hluzman, have been sentenced as an extremely dangerous state criminal. But I am not a Yakir nor a Dzyuba. I cannot see rosebuds on barbed wire. I am not a chronic alcoholic who has hallucinations. During the inquiry I was confronted with the 'confession' of Z. Franko, Selezhenko and Kholodny. They tried to persuade me to confess, saying that Selezhenko was sitting in the restaurant "Kyiv" eating shashliks and drink-

ing cognac while "you are in prison". I'm not used to eating shashliks with cognac, and among my gastronomic tastes there were no motives for a confession. Otherwise, I would have to renounce myself and my moral principles, received during my childhood from you, from grandfather Lev, from your friend, father, Misha Yavorsky, who "disappeared, no-one knows where".

The interrogator, Gunikhin, (name unclear in the original text) tried to convince me that during the period of the personality cult there were no "serious excesses". Only 5 million people were arrested, among them the great majority were criminals, and "only a small number of people died". Should I continue? You, yourselves, are witnesses of 1937 . . .

I am accused of spreading "slanders" such as the fact that the town of Komsomol'sk on the Amur river was built by prisoners. Remember the writer Abraham Kogan (name unclear in the original text) — he took part in this great Komsomol "construction". Among the prisoners here there are some who took part in the building — did they really not exist? Do you remember the "doctors' affair" — did it really not take place? The cruel actions of Gararin, the camp uprisings, the night arrests, did they not happen either? It was you, not I, who were contemporaries of those happenings!

An old building, dating from 1949, was demolished in our camp. We read an inscription on one of the girders saying: "25 years of prison, 12 years left, A. Gr. Maksymov." An inscription on a girder, all that was left of a person. Out of all the older prisoners from the Ural camps almost none of them came out alive. The prisoners in Norylsk and Vorkuta camps were threatened with being transferred to the Ural camps, similar to the threats received nowadays by the prisoners in the Moldovian camps.

Thanks to my companions, both known and unknown, thanks to the "Chronicle of Current Events", a young

girl called upon to give evidence answered the judge's question thus:

" 'The Chronicle of Current Events' exists so that everybody can find out the truth about closed trials, such as this one." This young girl is not one of the "leaders", she does not even belong to the circle of people who give out Samvydav. I take a negative attitude towards the personality cult, about which I was taught by the Institute teachers, by books, films and even official party publications. Was I taught to forget the dozens of my friends who all knew the horrors of today's 'oprichnina'?) I am a doctor, I have seen death and to a certain extent have gotten used to it. But I have seen the death of only one person at a time when science can no longer save him and death is you unavoidable. It is hard for me to imagine the death of hundreds of healthy people, young and old, dead from hunger, from bullets or from torture. The death of millions is not one death but millions of deaths, the total unforgivable destruction of human beings.

The prosecutor asked me: "Why do you pay so much attention to the period of the personality cult? Was someone in your family killed during the repressions?"

You lecture me in your letter, believing in the words of the professional prison overseer, a person without any principles, thus helping in my persecution. It is the same Primenov who once said to my friend Menshenerov: "I can make you stand on your heads, if I want to". The humanism of the Socialist penal system lies in this same type of acrobatism. My own experiences have convinced me of this.

Yesterday, for example, a 62-year old prisoner named Pryshliak was put into a penal cell. He has already served over

1) Oprichnina — a special land-based establishment created by the Russian Czar Ivan the Terrible, which is regarded by historians as the forerunner of the KGB.

22 years in prison camps (while I am barely 27 years old). The reason for this 'humane act' was his refusal to paint the exterior of the camp stockades. Without considering the moral aspect of this refusal, the area which borders the stockades is ploughed over (the prohibited zones are all ploughed over to make it easier to see tracks of escaped prisoners), and who will guarantee that one will not be shot "while attempting to escape"? Such an incident has already occurred, for example: on the 30th of May, 1970, 12 shots were fired in a Mordovian prison camp into a prisoner dressed in a patient's uniform from the prison hospital, in full view of dozens of prisoners and in spite of their protestations of "Don't shoot, he's mentally ill!" No attention whatsoever was paid to the fact that he raised his arms after he first shot. This is one example only, but not the worst.

And do you know (now I am speaking from my own experiences) that during our transport march one step out of line was interpreted as an attempt to escape, and I was forced to lie on the snow at night in temperatures of 50° below zero "for security purposes" while a German shepherd dog chewed his bone on top of me?

All these are my values. I have no others that could equal them, therefore there will be no more compromises. How could I forget the cells of the transit prison in Kharkiv, the brutality of the guards during the train journey, the way in which the convoy leader "re-educated" a prostitute, taking her to his compartment at night?

Is everything in order in your "distant kingdom"? You are Communists. Why have you thus been forbidden — you, pensioned citizens of a "socialist country" — to familiarize yourselves, even superficially, with the documents of my case? Why were you not allowed to be present at your own son's trial? Why were you not informed of the sentence?

Were "state security interests" the reason why you were not informed of my charges? Or of the speech given by Albert Camus on the occasion of receiving his Nobel prize, or of the parody of Kochotov's novel "What do you want?", or of the open letter of Ark. Byelenkov to the Writer's Union of the USSR? Were those same interests the reason why the witnesses' testimonies, all of which said there was no "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" in my statements had been concluded I knew what my sentence would be. Lt. Col. Borovin, who was conducting the inquiry, betrayed it to me.

Let's go back to the question of my views. Borovin and I had the following conversation:

B. — "You still have some time left. Confess, give us the necessary information, and you won't get 10 years."

I — "Do you really believe that views can change under the pressure of arrest and investigation?"

B. (interrupting) — "Nobody is interested in your views, that's not what this is about."

It is hard for you, infinitely hard. Your hopes for a medical and scientific career for me have been broken . . . and my whole family has suffered. But is this really so?

I wrote a dissertation "An examination of court psychiatry on the basis of documents from the case of Grigorenko", and I thank destiny that I am not yet married. No KGB agents, eavesdropping in the visiting room, will be witnesses to my adultery.

Also I will not try to "re-evaluate" my convictions as a doctor and psychiatrist as to the mental health of Leonid Plyushch, a close friend of mine.

You are already aware of the fact that in September 1973 an agent from the KGB central administration, Digas Georgiy Trofimovych, came and questioned me in the camp building ITK 36, reserved for visits, for three whole

days, without the prosecutor's permission and without any witnesses. No bargain was struck because I refused. Everything pointed to the fact that somebody badly needed my co-operation, so they could claim "And all of a sudden Hluzman decided to correct the West's "lies" about the sending of mentally healthy people to Soviet psychiatric prison hospitals." And the price which they proposed for this was not ignored either.

Would you, an honest and scrupulous person, a doctor, praise such a denunciation by me? No, you would not. If I made such a denunciation then I would become a criminal and fellow of El'za Cox and Daniel Luns. I am not strong enough nor weak enough to go against my conscience. Here in the camp I am fortunate and live a morally joyful life, notwithstanding all that I suffer. Even if there is a hunger strike, which is the only means through which I can affirm my human dignity in the midst of all the filth that surrounds my companions and me, and even when a refusal to build a camp prison is one of the few ways by which we can express the morality of our convictions and our stand as citizens, this is luck (this is not a slip of the pen, I indeed feel very fortunate).

I am a Jew, but my Judaism is not based upon maintaining the memory of the sacrifices of genocide, the racist persecution raised to the level of a moral doctrine. My Judaism is based upon getting to know the people as they are today, with their own State, history, future, and, luckily, their own army. My grandfather, Abraham, who was shot in Babyn Yar, does not allow me to make any "re-evaluation". His spirit returns every September, — and you know why.

Dear parents: You are in a difficult situation. Faced with such a long wait you are surrounded by fear. Nevertheless, please believe in the sincerity of this letter which has escaped censorship; whatever happens, I do not regret anything. I am truly content with my

fate. It is hard for you to understand this. Your generation was crushed in 1937 and during the following years. Fear, fear, fear. To be afraid of your own desires is unbearable. Just as during the trial I regarded the witnesses charitably. They stammered while they testified, pale, looking away. They talked about me, about my views, my statements and my actions. But they only talked through fear, they did not wish me any harm personally since they were terrified themselves. Theirs was a transcendent fear, a Kafka-type fear.²⁾ Is it not fortunate that I have been deprived of this and that my conscience is clean? Is that indeed so little?

It is difficult for me as well, but do you really want me to betray Jan Palach's mother (I have been plied with questions about my statements during the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968)? She no longer has her son — he is dead. How else can one regard a "re-evaluation" if not as treachery?

It's not necessary to become a famous KGB informer to spy on your friends — what Dzyuba did is enough.

I have to finish my letter now. There is not enough time and I am being rushed. The letter will seem confused to you, but what can one do? I do not know when I shall be able to give you more news which is uncensored so that once again I may be able to tell you the truth about myself. Do not be surprised about the very few letters I wrote earlier, I cannot answer your letters. I cannot write about my companions nor even mention their names. I cannot write about confessions, about my own illnesses, about the food, nor about many other things. All this is a state secret, severely guarded.

I therefore say goodbye to you, my dear parents, and embrace you.

Semen.

²⁾ F. Kafka — (1883-1924) Austrian writer. His works abound with the sentiments of hopelessness, fear, sadness and despair.

Soviet Russian Imperialism in Turkestan

Part III

The Basmachi* Struggle

Shortly after the Bolshevik takeover of power the Council of People's Commissars on November 15th, 1917, issued a "Declaration to the Peoples" of the disintegrating Russian empire:

1. Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.

2. The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state.

3. The free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.²⁹⁾

*) Mustafa Chokaev, leader of the Kokand government gives the following explanation for the word:

"Etymologically, 'Basmaji' is derived from the Turkish verb 'Bashmak', meaning 'to press', 'oppress'. 'violate'. Hence in the Uzbek tongue 'Basmaji' means a 'bandit', 'robber', 'violate'. And this work, which does not correspond either in idea or meaning to the conception it has come to imply, now designates a wide anti-Soviet movement in Turkestan. However, strange as this may seem, the word 'Basmaji' has lost, even in Turkestan itself, its original offensive meaning and has become a synonym of the nationalist rebel — the active participant in the armed anti-Soviet struggle. It has come to have the same meaning as the Arabic word **Mujahid** so extensively used in the Muslim world, and thus the October revolution has raised the low word 'Basmaji' (a bandit) to mean 'Mujahid' — the holy warrior."

"The Basmaji Movement in Turkestan", *Asian Review*, XXIV (1928) sect. 4, p. 273.

²⁹⁾ Robert Daniels, (ed.) *A Documentary History of Communism*, (New York, 1960) Vol. I, pp. 125-6.

The Declaration was signed by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin, and the Commissar on Nationality Affairs, Stalin. This Declaration was followed by a manifesto specially addressed to "All Muslim toilers of Russia and the East":

Muslims of Russia, Tatars of the Wolga and the Crimea, Kirghiz (Kazakhs are probably meant, for the Russians confused Kirghiz with Kazakhs — A. R.) and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tartars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and mountaineers of the Caucasus and all you whose mosques and oratories were destroyed, whose beliefs and customs have been trampled by the tsars and the oppressors of Russia. Henceforth your beliefs and usages, your national and cultural institutions are proclaimed free and inviolable. Organize your national life freely and without hindrance. This is your right.³⁰⁾

These declarations were followed by a series of gestures calculated to win the sympathy of the non-Russian peoples.

Thus, in December, 1917, for instance, Muslim relics, including the sacred Koran of Osman, were returned by the Russians to a congress of Muslims then being held in St. Petersburg. Also in June, 1919, the Soviet government published a decree forbidding any further settlement of Russians at the expense of the Kazakhs, even on the lands already allocated for the settlement.³¹⁾

³⁰⁾ *Sobranie Uzakoneny i Rasporyazheniy Rabochego i Krestianskogo Pravitelstva (Collection of the Statutes and Orders of the Workers' and Peasants' Government)*, Moscow, No. 6 (December 19, 1917), App. 2 c.

³¹⁾ *ibid.*, No. 36, Art. 354.

This policy was obviously successful in confusing and temporarily neutralizing the masses and thereby providing the Bolsheviks with allies and valuable room for maneuvering in their most critical moments. That these "declarations" were strictly tactical moves was clearly corroborated by Stalin himself when he stated that:

When a life and death struggle is developing between proletarian Russia and the imperialist **Entente** there are only two possible outcomes for the border regions. **Either they go along with Russia**, and then the toiling masses of the border regions will be freed from imperialist aggression; or they go along with **Entente**, and then the yoke of imperialism will be inevitable. There is no third course.

The so-called **independence of so-called** Georgia, Armenia, Poland, Finland, etc., is **only an illusion**, and conceals the utter dependence of these **apologies for states** on one or another group of imperialists.³²⁾

Stalin's contempt for the national aspirations of the non-Russians is potent and it obviously applied to Turkestan as well.

The causes of the Basmachi Movement were a thwarted desire of the Turkestani to exercise the right of self-determination, the repressive policies of the Soviet Russian regime, and the steadily growing famine and economic crisis. The savagery with which the Russians pursued their policies drove all the population first into opposition and later into armed struggle for survival.

Political discrimination against the Moslem population was evident from the very beginning of the renewed Russian rule. Thus, the Third Regional Congress of Soviets had refused to allow the Moslems a single seat on the Regional Council of People's Commissars and had limited their representa-

tion in the Regional Executive Committee to two seats and the Regional Council to four seats.³³⁾ Still harsher discrimination prevailed in the social and economic policies toward Moslems. Thus, in the Kirghiz (Kazakh) areas especially, Russian immigrants, aided by local soviets, continued without abatement the pre-revolutionary policy of banishing the Kirghiz to the less fertile regions in order to provide more land for themselves. Moreover, a system akin to slavery emerged in Semirechinsk. According to P. S. Nazarov who visited the district at that time, the local soviet organization mobilized the Kirghiz for agricultural labour, distributed them among the Russian peasants, and decreed the death penalty for those who refused or deserted.³⁴⁾

On the other hand, the Tashkent Soviet Government assumed an attitude of utter indifference towards these acts; and one prominent Bolshevik functionary, Tabolin, remarked at a session of the Turkestan Central Executive Committee that the Kirghiz were "the weakest from the Marxist point of view (and) must die out anyway".³⁵⁾ A similar situation prevailed in the rest of the country. While within the cities the regime continuously demanded contributions of money and property from the Moslem population, by conducting house to house raids, and by wholesale confiscation of goods, in the coun-

³³⁾ Joseph Costagne, "Le Turkestan depuis la revolution russe", *Revue du Monde Musulman*, (June, 1922), p. 45, cited by A. G. Park, *Bolshevism in Turkestan 1917-1927*. (New York, 1957), p. 34.

³⁴⁾ P. S. Nazarov, *Hunted Through Central Asia*, (London, 1932), p. 168. This was confirmed by Turvar Ryskulov's *Revolutsia i Korennoe Naselenie Turkestana (Revolution and the native population of Turkestan)*, (Tashkent, 1925) p. 84, cited by Park, p. 36.

³⁵⁾ Cited by Mustafa Chokaev, "Turkestan and the Soviet Regime", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XVIII (1931) pp. 409-10.

³²⁾ I. V. Stalin, *Works* (Moscow, vol. IV) p. 365.

tryside the Russian outlawry was even worse. Bands of Red Army men and members of the Communist Party, raided the **kishlaks** (native villages), killing and robbing the population. The conditions became so desperate that entire villages fled into the mountains and even native Communists were led to complain that the situation was "worse than it was at the time of Nicholas the Bloody... under the pretext of pillaging the rich, everyone has been pillaged".³⁶⁾

On top of this famine was the other calamity which fell upon the Turkestani as a result of war, revolution, and genocidal policies of the new Russian regime.

The famine began from the isolation of Turkestan from the grain-producing regions of the former tsarist empire, upon which Turkestan depended for foodstuffs. This lack of selfsufficiency was the direct result of Russian colonial policy which had converted the country largely into a cotton growing area. With the complete breakdown of communication during the years of war and revolution the local production was simply insufficient for satisfying the needs of the population. Although it was possible to remedy the situation by switching from cotton production to grain, (the price structure was favourable to the change since the value of grain soared while the price of cotton fell), and by reducing the food tax, the Russians did not pay heed, and further increased their repressive measures. They began fixing prices artificially which stopped the flow of goods to the markets and sent raiding parties to the countryside to requisition grain and other commodities. The food tax on Moslems in Fergana, for instance, was over-collected by twenty per cent; and the Red Army once given the "right"

³⁶⁾ From a statement by a Moslem delegate at the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Turkestan in June, 1919, cited in Ryskulov, pp. 100-101. (Park pp. 36-37).

of self-provisioning, raided Turkestani villages with merciless regularity.³⁷⁾

The policy of the Soviet government of Turkestan was also not intended to relieve the famine. Tobolin's view that the problem could be best disposed of by allowing the Kirghiz, who were "economically the weakest from the Marxist point of view" to die out and "far more important to devote available resources to the maintenance of the front rather than expending them on famine",³⁸⁾ typified the Russian attitude toward the whole Moslem population. At the same time projects to raise funds to fight the famine were scrapped on grounds that such taxation constituted a "form of repression" which might "increase the number of the enemies (of the people)".³⁹⁾ Although the exact extent of the famine was never properly assessed, it was estimated in 1919 that one-half of the population was starving, and Ryskulov later calculated that "**about one third of the population must have died**".⁴⁰⁾ This figure appears to be accurate since Georgii Safarov summed up the consequences of those genocidal policies at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party in 1921: "Since the establishment of Soviet power", he said, "Russian land ownership has increased in Semirechie province from 35 to 70 percent while the number of the Kirghiz exterminated is estimated at 35.5 per cent."⁴¹⁾ Although those latter figures refer only to a particular region, there is sufficient evidence to show that the situation was not any better in other parts of Turkestan.

³⁷⁾ For a full discussion of the economic situation and for explanatory tables see Park, pp. 36-40.

³⁸⁾ Ryskulov, p. 212.

³⁹⁾ Chokaev, p. 40.

⁴⁰⁾ Ryskulov, p. 212.

⁴¹⁾ *Protokoly 'sezdov i konferentsi' Vsesojuznoj Komunisticheskoj Partii: Desiatyi S'ezd R. K. P., mart 1921 g.* (Moscow, 1933), p. 197. Cited by Park, p. 36; ft. 75.

To the social and economic plight of the Turkestani should be added the tragic collapse of the so-called „Kokand Autonomy“, (Fergana district). The independent Turkestan government, set up at the end of November, 1917, at Kokand by an extraordinary Congress of Turkestan Muslims and which had proclaimed the independence of Turkestan, was “liquidated by detachments of Red Army Guards”,⁴²⁾ sent to Kokand from Tashkent, the Bolshevik headquarters in Turkestan. This was followed by a revolt of the Kokand populace supported by the peasants of the adjacent countryside and an ensuing whole sale slaughter of the native population by the Russian troops which left — according to Soviet sources — ten thousand Turkestani dead between February 21 - 22, 1918.⁴³⁾

Two Soviet writers in the early twenties accurately summarized the immediate causes of the Basmachi Movement. G. Skalov in an article entitled “The Social Character of Basmachism in Turkestan” wrote that “the destruction of the ‘Kokand autonomy’, the robberies and violations of the ‘Soviet’ partisan (sic) detachments, the relentless requisitions and confiscations of the last loaf from the ‘dekhans’ (Moslem peasants) ... had convinced the ‘dekhans’ of the unavoidable necessity of the struggle.”⁴⁴⁾ Another Soviet author, Georgii Safarov, wrote that “the Basmachi Movement grew up, on the one hand, on the ground of the struggle for national self-determination which resulted from the destruction of the ‘Kokand Autonomy’ and the subsequent ‘colonial’ misdeeds, and, on the other hand, on the ground of economic crisis — the economic famine which destroyed the cotton industry in Fer-

gana (sic) and deprived both the Uzbek — Sart bourgeoisie of their former prosperity and the native agricultural labouring masses of their usual livelihood.”⁴⁵⁾

If the above citations were the result of objective assessment of the situation by non-Turkestani, the following complaint which a group of Moslems registered soon after the sack of Kokand reflects the profound indignation and alienation of the people of Turkestan:

Under the Red banner, dark deeds are now being perpetrated in Russia. The old rude force which dominated (us) before the revolution has now been strengthened again and has declared open war on the “small” nationalities who strive to embody in life one of the great achievements of the revolution, the idea of self-determination. It (the Soviet government) has spilled rivers of human blood on the lands of these peoples, has abolished their governments, and by its cruelties toward the weak and defenseless has outdone the old (regime). Recently, it sprinkled the streets of Kokand with human blood, razed the Old City which is populated by Moslems, destroyed the lives of thousands of innocent, defenseless Moslems, and looted all their property.⁴⁶⁾

In this exceptional and unprecedented anti-national and anti-popular severity of the Soviet Russian regime in Central Asia, when the theory that “the bearer of the dictatorship of the proletariat here can be only Russian”,⁴⁷⁾ was openly practiced, the only and undisputed cause of the birth of the Basmachi Movement among the Turkestani

⁴²⁾ B. S. E., 1st ed., LV, 684.

⁴³⁾ Baymirza Hayit, *Sowjetrussischer Kolonialismus im Turkestan* (Oosterhout, 1965), p. 19.

⁴⁴⁾ *Zhizn Natsionalnostei*, Nos. 3-4 (1923) p. 56. Cited by Chokaev in “The Basmachi Movement...”, p. 277.

⁴⁵⁾ *Kolonialnaia revoliutsia: Opyt Turkestana* (The Colonial Revolution: Turkestan's Experience), Moscow, 1921. Cited by Chokaev, *ibid.*, p. 277.

⁴⁶⁾ *Novyj Turkestan*, March 7, 1918. (Park, p. 40).

⁴⁷⁾ *Moscow Pravda*, June 20, 1920.

can be found. Alexander G. Park has accurately synthesized the whole situation out of which grew the Basmachi Movement:

It emerged directly from the regime of violence, from the ceaseless requisitions, the mass arrests, the degrada-

tion of the native population which the Soviet (Russian) regime in Turkestan had made its policy. Its content was nationalism and the bones of Kokand autonomy its foundation. ⁴⁸⁾

⁴⁸⁾ Park, p. 40.

Arrests and Persecutions Continue

In the autumn of 1974 the KGB arrested Levko Bohdanovych and Petro Krishtalovych in the town of Stryi, Ivano-Frankivsk region, and Bohdan Levkovych in Morshyna. All three are accused of nationalist activities and are being held in the Lviv interrogation prison on Myr street. Bohdan Vasylenko was simultaneously arrested in the town of Bolekhov and is being held in Ivano-Frankivsk prison.

Upon suspicion of having taken part in national and patriotic activities, the following students were expelled in 1974 from the Faculty of Pediatrics of the Lviv National Medical Institute, situated on Pekarska street: Yuriy Vyrovych, born 1954; Volodomyr Maksymenko, born 1953; Volodomyr Halko, born 1954 in the town of Boryslav.

Ihor Vovk, born in the Lviv region in 1953, was expelled from the Rivne branch of the Kyiv National Institute of Culture. After having visited his father in the West, Petro Guzyk was sentenced to 4 months imprisonment and to a fine of 50 roubles for having related the conditions of life in Ukraine.

"One Nation"

With the aim of uniting into one "Soviet nation" all the non-Russian nations, the chauvinist-imperialist policy of Moscow makes use of many languages, amongst them the Ukrainian language. On the main street of the town of Zaporozhia, near the Hotel "Zaporozhia", a huge placard was hung up, declaring in Ukrainian: "**One nation, one language, and one culture.**" This means, obviously, one Soviet nation, one Soviet (Russian) language, and one Soviet (Russian) culture.

"They Try to Step on Everyone's Throat"

As a document of the fate of Ukrainian women during International Women's Year we give below the text of a letter by Nadia Teodorivna Yakymyshyn from Lviv. The letter requires no further comments.

"To the all-Union Central Council of Trade-Unions.

Re: **Article 40 of the Criminal Code of the USSR.**

If you receive this letter then try to imagine yourselves in my place. On the 6th of March, 1974, I was illegally dismissed from my job in the Zelek factory in Lviv on the basis of Article 40, paragraph 3 of the Criminal Code of the USSR. As a result of this I have been trying for more than a year to be reinstated in a job. I have applied many times but my applications have always ended up in the regional government offices by whom I am blatantly blackmailed. They have even begun to intimidate me, just as Aleksenko, former head of the factory from which I was illegally dismissed, did. Nowadays he works on the regional trade-union committee, to whom 42 men signed a protest against the tactless conduct and coarse behavior of the foreman, Padiak. And I was the victim of this injustice. I was then given a job with a lower salary, fired from this job, thrown out of the hostel where I lived, and deprived of any right to work on a collective farm which sympathizes with me and is surprised by such injustice. I wrote to Moscow many times during the year that I had no means of subsistence. The county, regional and supreme courts are one big parody! The courts do not protect the

peoples' rights — on the contrary, they try to push them into oblivion, into the mud. I travelled to Moscow thinking that at least here I would find justice, but in vain. Neither the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, nor the all-Union Central Council of Trade-Unions, nor the newspapers "Trud" or "Pravda" wanted even to listen. After living in the railway station for two weeks I ended up in the prosecuting magistracy of the USSR and the Lviv prosecutor was charged with the study of my case. Unfortunately, he was only interested in the views of the administration, which had dismissed me and was trying to smear my name in all sorts of ways by making up various reasons for my dismissal. The trade-union organizer, Chuyak, testified during the trial how the administration had forced her to sign false statements. Neither the court nor the prosecutor believed the Communist Haduniak, who confirmed that there were no grounds for my dismissal. The workers themselves tried to talk to the Moscow prosecutor, but he would not even listen to them. They have already written two letters to the supreme prosecutor who admitted to me that they would do everything they could to put me in prison or into a psychiatric hospital. There's our justice for you! Up to now I believed in the courts and in the justice that our press writes about!

Now not only I, but none of our workers believe in such 'justice'. However, they are afraid, because what happened to me will happen to them.

I am disturbed by the police every day and threatened with imprisonment; if anything happens to me then you will know that it is the work of our Communists who try to step on anybody's throat who attempt to attain even some basic rights.

For these reasons I beseech your help so that I may leave the USSR. I have already written to the embassy many times, but unfortunately my letters never arrive there.

Please write to the following address:
USSR,
m. Lviv,
vul.č Karbysheva 8/6
Yakymyshyn Nadia Teodorivna.

Respectfully yours,
Yakymyshyn, 24. 3. 1975

New KGB's Acts of Terrorism

Motor vehicles often play a part in "wet affairs" — the KGB's euphemism for politically-motivated murders and other special acts of terrorism committed by its Executive Action Department, also called Department V (as in V for Victor).

The word "wet" refers to the blood usually spilt in such "affairs".

Formerly described as the Thirteenth Department or Line F, Department V was expanded and renamed in 1969. It appears to be responsible for "wet affairs" abroad, though its world-wide experience is doubtlessly a source of inspiration to KGB specialists working inside the USSR.

It is believed that Department V was responsible for the murder of an Afghan newspaper correspondent, Minhajuddin Gahiz, in Kabul in 1972. His death was discussed at that year's Congress of the World Muslim League, held in Mecca. Two S. Arabian newspapers accused KGB agents of being involved in the murder.

On the night of the crime, a car stopped outside Minhajuddin's office. Two men got out and offered him money to stop publishing reports alleging that the KGB was smuggling arms into Afghanistan. When he refused the bribe, he was shot dead and his nephew, who was with him, was injured by a bullet.

The history of proved or suspected "wet affairs", undertaken with or without the help of motor vehicles stretches back to the earliest years of Soviet Russian rule. The first crime of this kind was the shooting dead of a Ukrainian leader, Simon Petlura, in Paris in 1926.

News and Views

Observance of the Captive Nations Week — New York

The Captive Nations Week according to the American Public Law 86-90/1959, organized by a special Committee headed by Judge Matthew Troy and Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of AF-ABN in charge, was observed in New York between July 13 and 19, 1975.

On July 13, 1975, an impressive parade took place on 5th Avenue led by the American Catholic War Veterans and the American Legion. With their national flags there participated Albanians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Chinese, Cubans, Cossaks, Croats, Germans, Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, N. Caucasians, Rumanians, Ukrainians and several groups of American patriotic organizations.

In the St. Patrick's Cathedral a special holy mass for the captive nations took place, celebrated by Croatian Rev. Mladen Cuvalo. Over 2000 attended. The sermon was delivered by Lithuanian Monsignor John Balkunas.

Regardless of the heavy rain the program was fulfilled, with guest speaker Congressmann Mario Biaggi, the Ukrainian bandura orchestra and Croatian dance group.

Press, radio and TV gave full coverage.

Proclamations of President Ford and Governor Carey were read.

On July 15, 1975 a meeting took place in the City Hall during which the proclamation of Mayor Beame was presented to the leaders of the captive nations. Dr. Ivan Docheff received the proclamation and replied on behalf of the AF-ABN declaring that the struggle for liberation from Communist op-

pression would continue until victory without any compromises.

The different captive nations organizations organized meetings and other programs on this occasion.

Captive Nations Week in Buffalo, N. Y.

To observe Captive Nations Week, the Citizens Committee began the commemoration by a joint signing of a Proclamation on July 14, 1975, by both the Mayor of the City, Mr. Stanley Makovski, and Erie County Executive Edward Reagan designating July 14-19 as Captive Nations Week in Buffalo, N.Y. and vicinity. Flags of all nine participating nationalities were flown, for the entire week, in front of the County Hall.

Saturday, July 19, a Captive Nations Dinner was given in John's Flaming Hearth restaurant featuring the Hon. Henry J. Nowak, 37th District as a guest speaker.

For a number of years, the Buffalo Kiwanis Club has joined us to fittingly commemorate this important week. Wednesday, July 30th, a program was given at the Montefiore Club featuring an unusual man and artist, Thomas Sgovio, Mrs. Dasha Procyk, at whose invitation Mr. Sgovio appeared, introduced the American born artist and gave a short, history of his life. Mr. Sgovio spend over a decade in the Russian prison camp Kolyma and a number of years in "eternal exile" in Siberia. Freed during the amnesty that followed Stalin's death, he subsequently returned to the United States. The harsh years left an indelible mark on this man. Through his art of painting, he grafically describes the horrors of Russian prison life. The program was televised on Channel 4 and appropriate

interviews given to underscore the nature of our adversary in the light of the Helsinki conference which was in progress at the time.

Mr. A. O'Neill Kline, a prominent Kiwanian, and Mr. Atanas Kobryn, an active Buffalonian of Ukrainian descent, should be given credit for the continuous support Kiwanis has given to the concept of Captive Nations.

Remarks of Henry J. Nowak

It really is appropriate to speak of Captive Nations Week and our nation's 200-year old ideals in the same breadth. For the genuine belief in each individual's God given right to freedom and dignity which inspired the American Revolution is the underlying spirit of Captive Nations Week. The commitment to freedom and human dignity embodied in our Declaration of Independence is reflected in the spirit of Public Law 86-90 which gave birth to Captive Nations Week.

Therefore, as we reappraise our two centuries of history as a nation and reassess our values, a few look to the future, let us remind skeptics who scoff at Captive Nations Week that they should not underestimate the power of ideals, especially ideals of such attraction as freedom, liberty and justice for all.

Our nation's international goal remains constant — the creation of a peaceful world where justice to all will inculcate the affairs of mankind.

Because of this goal, we — as a nation and as individual citizens — have a responsibility to support Captive Nations Week as recurring testimony to our opposition to aggression and evidence of our support and willingness to help the oppressed. This nation has a long tradition of helping others in need — a tradition that is unique in the history of the world.

We have a duty, therefore, to endorse the ideals of Captive Nations Week.

But what can we do beyond that?

As you know, there has been much talk of détente in recent years. I am sure we all favor easing international tensions. The horrendous arsenals for destruction that we have accumulated in the modern world leave very little room for miscalculation. There is, therefore, a need to establish clear lines of communication. However, caution does not mean appeasement nor surrender.

I am all for détente, if by détente you mean a genuine two-way street for communication and exchange of information and ideas, as well as products and technical assistance.

There has been much talk of expanding trade with Russia, of reaching arms limitation agreements with Russia, of another wheat deal with Russia and now even joint space exploration with Russia.

Our earlier experience in selling wheat to the Russians is a classic example of the need to avoid haste and tread cautiously in such ventures. What price did the American consumer pay for that first wheat deal — that installment of détente? Higher prices, grain shortages in this country and a boost to the inflationary trend that accelerated our economic difficulties.

At the same time, we see very little gain for our nation. We see very little evidence of reciprocity from the Russian side of the détente table. We see very little change in their foreign policy towards us or in their inclinations towards promoting mischief — such as exploiting local conflicts — anywhere abroad wherever and whenever it suits their purpose.

I believe our nation must develop a healthier skepticism, perhaps a more hard-nosed attitude, in our bartering with the Russians. It is clear that the Russians want to take advantage of our technological, agricultural and economic expertise, which dwarfs theirs. In materialistic terms, it seems clear also that they have more to gain from such exchanges. A major criticism of dé-

tente, however, has been that it has been maintained at the expense of excessive Western concessions. The United States should not be operating an economic concession stand for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Not without genuine reciprocity.

While there may be some short-term benefits in these exchanges, I believe it will better serve the long-range national security interests of the United States and the continued peace and stability of the world for us to demand that these economic changes be based on some form of reciprocity.

It cannot be a one-way street.

Secretary Kissinger this week defended his policies of détente as being necessary and reasonable in a nuclear age. I agree. However, I believe we must make détente a more meaningful relationship. The Soviet cancellation of its trade agreement with the United States this year because of the provision requiring liberalization of its emigration policies and the Kremlin's continued suppression of dissident intellectuals focuses on some areas that need improvement.

The bicentennial celebration is an opportune period to re-examine our attitudes, both at home and abroad, and to reaffirm our commitment to safeguard freedom.

It is a truism that the world has become a smaller place in which to live. Because of that alone, the issue of the Captive Nations is not a remote one. That issue, however, also remains a constant reminder that our national self-interest, security and moral traditions require active vigilance.

Letter to West Roxbury Transcript

In terms of special proclamations by President Gerald R. Ford and Governor Michael S. Dukakis, the week of July 13-19 is observed as "Captive Nations Week".

Its purpose is to manifest our support for the aspirations of captive nations

under Communist domination, Russian and Chinese, to become free and independent states. The first Captive Nations Week Resolution was adopted by Congress in 1959 and it listed the following captive nations: Ukraine, Armenia, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Cossackia, North Korea, North Vietnam and others. It also listed countries whose liberties have been taken away by Communist rule: Hungary, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria. Since 1959 were added: Cuba, Cambodia, South Vietnam. Portugal is on the verge of becoming another Communist state.

Continuous flow of writings from the Soviet Union and other sources of information attest to the fact that captive nations continue to be the thorn in the Russian Communist empire. Hundreds of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Armenian, Jewish and other dissidents have been jailed by the Soviet government for demanding free expression, free speech, free movement of people and other liberties.

In his 1975 "Captive Nations Week Proclamation", President Ford stated: "I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge rededication to the aspirations of all peoples for selfdetermination and liberty."

OREST SZCZUDLUK

West Roxbury

Vice President of the Boston

Chapter, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

Letter to Boston Herald American

This Week (July 13-18) is observed nationally as "Captive Nations Week". Enacted by Congress in Public Law 86-90, the purpose of the "Captive Nations Week" is to reinstate our support for the freedom and independence of nations which have been victims of direct and indirect Russian Communist aggression.

The 1959 Resolution enumerated 22 nations; since 1959 Cuba, Cambodia and South Vietnam have been added.

The idea of national self-determination has been sweeping the world. National, human and religious freedoms have been recognized as fundamental rights of nations. In spite of this, the Soviet government continues to deny the right to self-determination to the captive peoples in the Soviet Union and violates their human rights.

Hundreds of Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Armenian, Jewish and other dissidents are held in prisons and concentration asylums for demanding free speech, free travel, free movement of ideas between East and West and personal freedoms.

The principles of the 1959 "Captive Nations Week Resolution" must be reasserted this year in view of the pending Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Geneva. The Soviet Union would use the conference, under the disguise of détente and nuclear arms limitation, to legitimize its territorial conquests in Central and Eastern Europe.

The US government must stand firm behind its commitments and continue to manifest to the captive peoples American support for their national and human freedom.

Konrad Husak, president
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
Medway

Letter to The Pilot

The Week of July 13-19 is observed nationally as "Captive Nations Week". Its purpose is to manifest our rededication and liberty of captive peoples under Russian Communist domination. It was established by Congress in 1959. The original Congressional Resolution listed 22 countries as captive, among them: Ukraine, Armenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia

and others. Also included were nations whose liberties have been taken away by Communists, such as: Hungary, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria. Since 1959 were added: Cuba, Cambodia, South Vietnam.

The Soviet government had been continuously violating the national, human and religious rights of the captive peoples. It has put hundreds of dissidents into jails and psychiatric asylums. However, it cannot eradicate the captive peoples' determination and faith to pray in their own churches, to use their own languages, to exercise their historical traditions and customs. Following are just a few examples of religious persecution in the Soviet Union.

A recent copy of the underground "Ukrainian Herald" (No. 7-8), which reached the West, not only detailed the destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Catholic Church, but also described how Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant faithful continue to withstand Moscow's oppressive policies. According to the "Ukrainian Herald", "The strongest religious persecutions are directed against Ukrainian Catholics. They are carrying on an uneven struggle for the preservation of their Church". The Ukrainian faithful are harassed for going to churches; for protesting the closing of churches; and for practicing Ukrainian customs and traditions during Christmas, Easter and other holy days. Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian who detailed Moscow's destruction of the Ukrainian Church at Kosmach, was sentenced to long years of imprisonment.

On this 17th observance of the "Captive Nations Week" let us not only remember the captive nations, but let us organize world opinion and support for their freedom and national independence.

Orest Szczudluk

Jamaica Plain.

Captive Nations Week in Boston

The Week of July 13-19 was designated as "Captive Nations Week" in the Commonwealth by Governor Michael S. Dukakis. Referring to the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution, which began in Massachusetts, the proclamation stated: "It is especially appropriate during Captive Nations Week, 1975, to give renewed devotion to the just desire of peoples under Soviet domination and Communist rule for the rights proclaimed by the American Founding Fathers and defended at the battles of Lexington and Concord."

Prayers in Catholic Churches

On Sunday, July 13, prayers were offered in the churches of the Boston Catholic Archdiocese "for the freedom and independence of all captive nations currently under Soviet domination". Prayers were requested by His Eminence Humberto Cardinal Medeiros, Archbishop of Boston, according to a news item in THE PILOT of July 11. It was also stated that the Cardinal's request for the prayerful observance of "Captive Nations Week" was supported by Ukrainian, Latvian and Lithuanian American Organizations in Metropolitan Boston.

Arranged by the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Committee of America, the meeting with Humberto Cardinal Medeiros was held on June 9. Representing the Lithuanian Organizations were: Rev. Anthony Baltrushunas and Mrs. Ausra Petronia; the Latvian Organizations: Messrs. Juris Raudseps and Janis Vilcans. The Boston UCCA was represented by: Mr. Konrad Husak, president; Orest Szczudluk, vice president and Mrs. Maria Walzer.

On Television

On July 15, the "Good Morning Show" on Channel 5, WCVB-TV, presented a short program dedicated to the 17th observance of the "Captive Nations Week". The program started with a display of the most popular dish

from Ukraine, Armenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Hungary. The display was hosted by Mrs. Slava J. Szczudluk, a member of the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, Inc., in Boston. Rev. Anthony Baltrushunas, pastor of St. Peters Lithuanian Catholic Church in South Boston, spoke about objectives of the CNW and the present situation in the captive nations under Russian Communist domination. He called for the continued American support for the freedom of the captive nations.

In Boston Press

The purpose of the "Captive Nations Week" was raised in the "letters to the editor", which appeared in: THE BOSTON HERALD AMERICAN on July 15, written by Mr. Konrad Husak, president of Boston UCCA; WEST ROXBURY/PARKWAY TRANSCRIPTS on July 16, JAMAICA PLAIN CITIZEN/HYDE PARK TRIBUNE on July 17, THE PILOT on July 18 and THE BOSTON GLOBE on July 19. Those letters were written by Orest Szczudluk, vice president of Boston UCA. The letters stressed the need for the continued United States support for the freedom and independence of all captive nations, especially this year in view of the pending "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe", which is being held in Geneva and Helsinki. The Soviet government wants the free world to legitimize Soviet Russian domination over the captive nations. The same subject was also raised by Mr. Oswald Akmentins, a Latvian, in his letter, which appeared in THE BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE on July 20.

Senators, Congressmen, Radio

The Boston UCCA sent letters to Massachusetts Senators Kennedy and Brooke and Congressmen Moakley, O'Neill, Burke and Conte, urging them to make appropriate statements in Congress, reflecting United States support for the right of the captive nations to self-determination.

The Ukrainian radio hour in Boston on Station WUNR, under the direction of Mr. John Kezmur, broadcasted information about the "Captive Nations Week" on Sundays, July 13 and 20.

**Ukrainian Congress Committee
of America, Inc.**

Boston Chapter

82 Glen Road, Jamaica Plain, Ma. 02130

Boston, Mass., July 22, 1975

Letter to The Boston Globe

The universal forces of freedom and national independence were strengthened by the recent independence of Mozambique. Whereas the western empires have been slowly decolonized, the Russian Communist empire, the Soviet Union, has remained untouched. Moreover, it continues to expand.

Russian Communist colonialism came to focus recently during "Captive Nations Week". Established in 1959.

The purpose of the "Captive Nations Week" is to restate our support for the freedom and independence of captive nations. This support is especially needed this year in view of the pending "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe", which is being held in Geneva. The Soviet government wants the free world to legitimize Soviet Russian hegemony over Central and Eastern Europe. The Soviet government wants to insure its colonialism over the captive nations.

The US government must not only reject Moscow's "proposals", but demand that the Soviet government adhere to all international principles and treaties relevant to national and human rights, such as national independence of captive nations, free movement of people, free movement of ideas between West and East, release of all political dissidents.

OREST SZCZUDLUK

Vice President

Ukrainian Congress Comm.
of America, Boston Chapter

Jamaica Plain

**Vyacheslav Chornovil Has
Renounced His Soviet Citizenship**

The text of Vyacheslav Chornovil's petition to the Chief of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, dated March 1, 1975, containing his renunciation of his USSR citizenship and setting forth the reasons for this step is as follows:

*To the Chief of the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
M. V. Podgorny*

Declaration

For the past ten years my status inside of the Soviet society was determined not by my level of education, my talents nor my strivings but by the dictate of the KGB. For the attempt to develop my own view on various issues of Soviet reality and express it openly I have been deprived of everything: the possibility of working in my own profession, of publishing, of the inviolability of my personal freedom and of any protection against defamation; finally, for many years I have been deprived of my liberty.

The organs of repression have imposed on me (just as on the group of members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia) a role contrived by them, namely to "factually" prove the truth of the doubtful theory with respect to the intensification of ideological struggle and ideological diversion in the period of international détente (this theory may be considered a modern variation of Stalinist thesis on the intensification of class conflict in the phase of approaching Communism, having become a creative platform for massive repressions in the 1930s and 40s).

Having artificially set up my "case" the KGB not only interpreted real facts in an exaggerated way fabricating a considerable part of "the charges against me". The Prosecutor and the Court proved to be obedient tools of the KGB when examining my case, illustrating thus Soviet laws to be conditional and impossible to rely on. My

arrest and trial were accompanied by vexations and bullyings to my family, relatives and even to the children, which still continues to the present moment.

Under the circumstances prevailing in Ukraine — being black-listed and a falling victim to KGB repressions for all of my life, if I refuse to become a moral monster, and I find this impossible to do.

Therefore, there are no guarantees available to me that I won't be declared insane (such threats have already been made) and thrown for the rest of my life into "Palace No. 6" as was done with Plakhotniuk, V. Ruban and other Ukrainians.

Furthermore, it cannot be guaranteed that in order to punish me they will throw into prison anyone of my close friends or relatives, as such attempts have already been made with my wife and sister.

Finally, it can by no means be guaranteed that I won't be exterminated physically or mutilated on purpose, as shown for instance by the scene of brutal sadism arranged by the KGB section of Lviv on February 11, I was not only driven to take part in a long and difficult march in such a state of health that should have prevented me from such a burdensome and dangerous march, moreover, I was subjected to physical torture: Physically exhausted from starvation and through illness I was shackled, kept naked and bare-foot outside in the frost for three hours.

Refusing to be an everlasting victim to the KGB surviving under miserable conditions that continuously threaten my fundamental civic rights and even my life, I request the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to deprive me of my Soviet citizenship and after releasing me allowing me to leave the USSR. Taking into account any precedents I declare that I shall not oppose of being released immediately and exiled from the USSR.

Simultaneously not wishing to break off my spiritual connections with my

fatherland — I cannot imagine my life without it — in case I change my citizenship I shall not cease to consider myself a Ukrainian citizen and shall return to Ukraine as soon as Ukrainian patriotism is no longer considered a crime and Ukraine is excluded from the "tutelage" of the KGB!

Irrespective of your reply when writing this declaration, i. e. starting from March 1, 1975 I no longer consider myself a citizen of the USSR. Until (personally or by correspondence) I become the citizen of any democratic country I shall consider myself officially stateless being aware of all consequences of such a decision. A copy of this declaration will be sent to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for information.

March 1, 1975

V. Chornovil

Chornovil's Petition to the Canadian Embassy

To supplement the information concerning Vyacheslav Chornovil's renunciation of Soviet citizenship the text of his statement concerning his petition to the Canadian Embassy in Moscow asking for Canadian citizenship is given below:

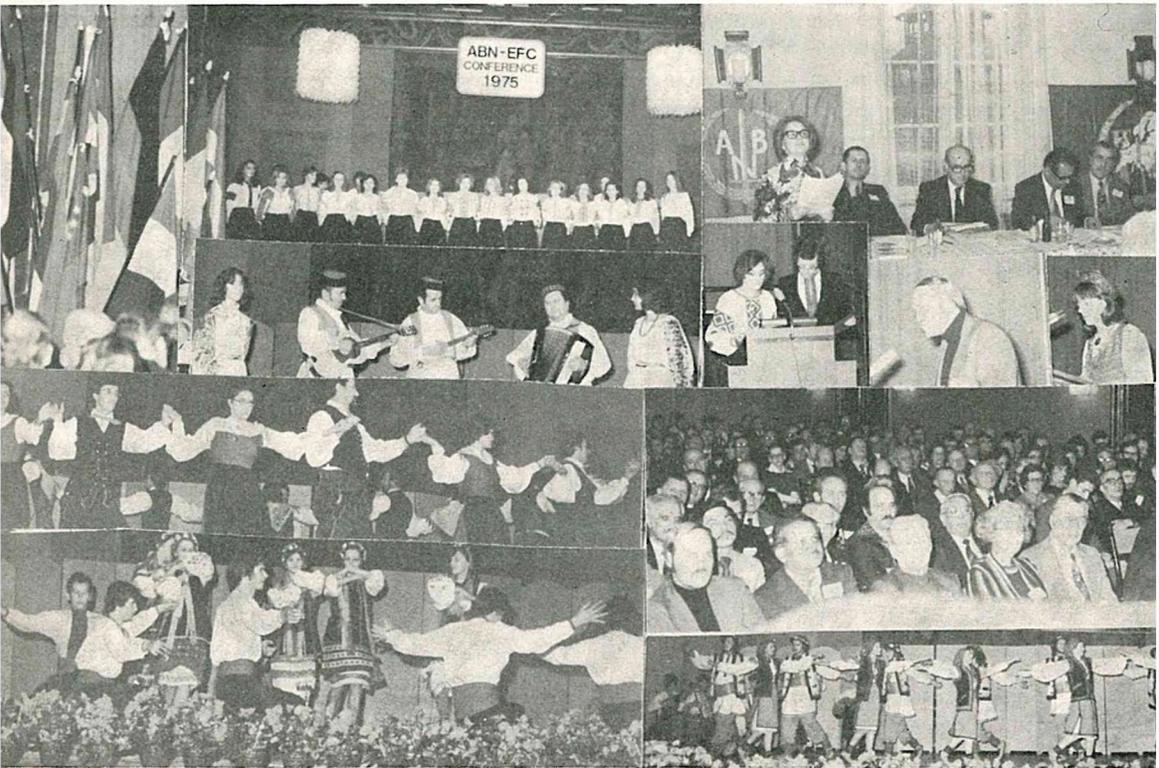
I sent a declaration to the Prosecutor's office stating that starting from March 1 "I would consider myself a man forcibly detained in the USSR" and also that "I refuse any contacts with the KGB, as I consider KGB to be an amoral and antisocial organization". Shortly thereafter I was summoned to the KGB representative of the camp, lieutenant Zuyko. He said: "I have already seen men refusing to talk but then I used to tell them something that made them talk immediately. This will also happen to you. "How this threat will be put into practice the future will show. I have asked the Canadian Government for citizenship and requested it to take steps for my release and my departure from the USSR. I directed my petition to the Canadian Embassy in Moscow but I have no doubts whatsoever that the administration has not dispatched it.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

ABN - EFC Conferences



Munich 14th - 16th November, 1975

U. S. S. R.

200 Liverpool Road,

London, N1 1RF, G. Britain

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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
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Annual subscription DM 18.— in Germany,
9 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of 9
Dollars in all other countries. Remittances
to Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositen-
kasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account, No.
30/261 35 (ABN)

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolsche-
wistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN),
8 München 80, Zeppelinstraße 67/0,
Telefon: 48 25 32

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

Final Communiqué

European Freedom Council Conference

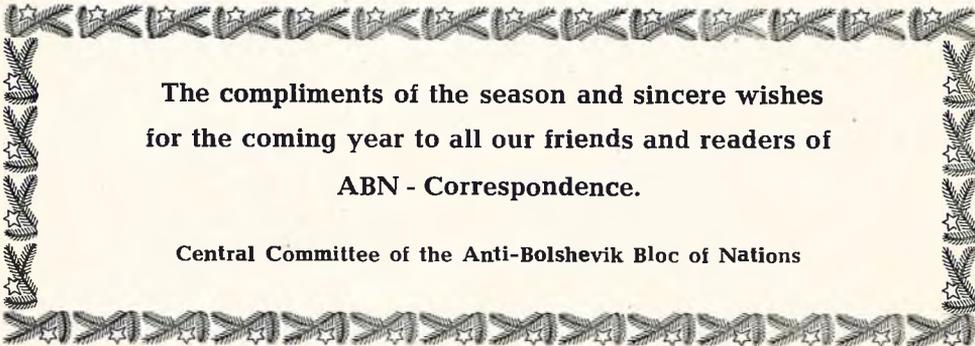
Munich from 14th - 16th November 1975

This meeting of the European Freedom Council, representing 34 free and captive European nations, noted that President Kekkonen, when opening the Conference in Helsinki, said: "It is essential to be clear about what we seek and why."

The initiative for the European Security Conference came exclusively from Soviet Russia — the only participant apparently with a pre-determined strategy — and Western Governments appear to have derived non appreciable benefits from it, since they offered no specific ideas for influencing or supplanting those ideas hostile to Western interests. It is vital now to recognize (1) the reasons behind the Russian leaders' acute anxiety to hold the Conference, and (2) the gains which accrued to them from what is now referred to as the Helsinki "Final Act", and to assess what global action should be taken by the free nations to ensure Soviet Russian conformity with the Helsinki document as a *m i n i m u m* basis for establishing true peace and security on the continent of Europe.

Under (1) above, four major reasons emerge:

- a) to lull Western Europe into a spirit of neutralism;
- b) to obtain official Western recognition of the postwar European frontiers, thus perpetuating Soviet Russia's grip on her colonial empire;
- c) to utilise the non-interference in internal affairs clause (Basket 1) to stifle Western criticism of future Soviet Russian policy in Europe and elsewhere;
- d) to secure essential additional trade, financial and technical aid from capitalist countries.



**The compliments of the season and sincere wishes
for the coming year to all our friends and readers of
ABN - Correspondence.**

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

So far as (2) above is concerned, the following are three major gains:

- a) "Bridge-building" by way of greater East-West movement, trade and other contacts will be used to spread Communist propaganda throughout Western Europe. Additionally, it will assist the freer flow of Russian subversive agents;
- b) Soviet Russia will use the non-interference clause to conceal her anti-West tactics;
- c) the same clause will also be cited by Soviet Russia as an excuse to refuse armament inspection.

The European Freedom Council Munich Conference having taken full account of the foregoing, addressed itself to close scrutiny of the full implications for the West arising from the Helsinki document, and the manner in which it can be turned to Western advantage: in the process, delegates discussed ways in which some of the political imbalance between the Kremlin and Western Governments might be corrected. The Conference recognized that Marxism-Leninism is synonymous with tyranny and that the tide of the future flows with true democracy and real freedom. The Conference, therefore, recommended the following points to Member Organizations as a basis for action.

1) That it is absurd to pursue Disarmament Talks while the **political factors** — which pose the **real** threat to European security — have not yet been recognized, properly tackled and resolved.

2) That Russia's expansionism be countered, and her empire dismantled, through the de-colonization machinery which she herself set up in 1960 at the United Nations.

3) That the guarantees of freedom under the Atlantic Charter for the nations within the artificially created state of Yugoslavia must be recognized and upheld.

4) Provision of formal facilities in world forums for free participation and expression of opinion for the National Liberation Movements of the enslaved European nations (under Basket 3 of the Helsinki document) until Soviet Russia is made to realize that their total independence



Donald Martin Speaking During ABN-EFC Youth Panel

must be restored, as laid down in their long-standing written Constitutions.

5) Early dismantlement of the Berlin Wall and removal of all physical manifestations of the Iron Curtain (also under Basket 3), which are such a constant and hideous reminder of Soviet Russian tyranny and source of irritation.

6) Recognition that *détente* is a snare and delusion. The Soviet Russian leaders never tire of stressing at home that it merely conceals the ceaseless battle of ideas, and the continuing struggle to expand Soviet Russian power and influence by any means short of nuclear war. The Helsinki Conference may have temporarily revived talk of *détente* — previously "peaceful co-existence" — but renewed doubts about the benefits of it to the West cannot long be delayed. If it is to be accepted that there is no alternative to *détente* in the nuclear age, then we must either insist that it works to the advantage of the West, or quickly find another formula.

7) Assess the growing evidence that Western trade and aid with the Soviet Union are contributing actively to our own eventual destruction 1) by financing, building and maintaining the Russian colonialist expansion programme, and 2) by undermining the economies and balance of payments of the free nations.

8) Evaluate the widespread abandonment of Marxism not only because of its intellectual shortcomings but also, because it has proved to be unworkable for the masses. Significantly, most Marxist leaders who have been swept into power by their fellow countrymen, have proclaimed themselves to be liberators from foreign domination rather than apostles of Communism.

9) Mobilize patriotism and nationalism amongst all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and thus defeat Communist supranationalist trends which seek global citizenship dominated by a Marxist socialist tyranny.

10) Recognition that Soviet Russian global interference lies at the root of world fear, disorder and conflict.

11) Increase vigilance over Soviet Russian interference in and manipulation of Western communications media, with particular emphasis on Marxist-Leninist indoctrination through teachers and school textbooks.

The European Freedom Council in cooperation with all anti-Communist organizations and countries at risk from immediate Communist interference, is now determined to present Western Governments with a strategy for de-colonizing the Russian empire, and freeing all the nations now in bondage to the Kremlin, by restoration of their national independence.

Liberation! Not Capitulation!

ABN and EFC Conferences, Munich 14th - 16th November, 1975

On 14th-16th November, 1975, delegates and invited guests gathered at the Conferences of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council. The main slogans of the Conferences were: Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual! Liberation, not Capitulation! Down with Russian Colonial Rule! Stop Bolshevik World Aggression!

The goal of the Conferences was to emphasize the policy of liberation of the captive nations by means of an all-round offensive against Russian colonialism and Communism. In view of Helsinki, the risks implied by the policy of détente and the bankruptcy of the conception of balance of power had to be pointed out and special attention was drawn to the neglected great power and its decisive role in the organization of future world order, i. e. the captive nations.

291 delegates participated in the joint Conference representing 34 countries comprising free and enslaved nations: Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, France, Switzerland, Netherlands, USA, Belgium, Turkey, Italy, Austria, South Korea, Germany, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, North Caucasus, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Armenia, Croatia, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Vietnam and Hungary.

During the course of three days the delegates and guests reported, analyzed and discussed the topics of the Conferences: the fatal Helsinki agreement sanctioning the Russian colonial empire, solidarity and a common front of the free world and the captive nations as an alternative to the capitulation before Bolshevik global enslavement.

The Achilles' heel of the Russian empire and the Communist system is the national liberation struggle of the captive nations. Projects were made on

how to solve the world crisis. 69 participants of varying age groups made speeches, participated in discussions at the round table or addressed the guests in the public political rally with the concert programme (Nov. 15th, 1975)

The Conferences were preceded by a press conference (Nov. 13th, 1975) given by Y. Stetsko, the President of ABN, and attended by numerous representatives of radio and press.

Over a hundred telegrammes and letters arrived from all over the world greeting the Conferences.

The EFC Conference

On the morning of Nov. 14 an internal closed session of the European Freedom Council was held with Donald Martin (Great Britain), Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A. (ABN), Lady J. Birdwood (financial report) giving organizational reports concerning the activity of the EFC. Individual reports were given by the Ukrainian H. Rawluk (SUB), the Dane Henning Jensen, the German Wolfgang Strauß, the Dutch Dr. A. Mertens, the Byelorussian D. Kosmowicz, the Croatian P. Yakowlewich. The reports were resumed on the second and the third days of the Conference by the Italian editor Eggardo Beltremette, the Swede B. Häggman, the Georgian C. Kalandaze, the Cuban Felipe Sin Garcia, the Belgian Vik van Brantegem, the Bulgarian Dr. Drenikoff and others.

The Conference decided to supplement the Charter of the EFC according to the requirements of the present stage of development.

Ole Bjorn Kraft, former minister of foreign affairs of Denmark, was elected honorary president and the former minister Per Federspiel (Denmark) and John Graham (Great Britain) were elected members of the honorary presidium; Ivan Matteo Lombardo was

elected president and Yaroslav Stetsko vicepresident. Donald Martin was elected executive chairman, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A. (Ukraine) deputy chairman, and Suzanne Labin (France), Bertil Häggman (Sweden), Henning Jensen (Denmark), P. Vankerkhoven (Belgium), Dr. D. Waltscheff (Bulgaria), Wolfgang Strauß (Germany), D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia) and Lady J. Birdwood (Great Britain) were elected members.

The sessions of the EFC Conference (both the closed and open ones) were opened by Y. Stetsko taking on the functions of the ailing president Matteo Lombardo, who authorized the British delegate Donald Martin to preside over the EFC Conference. After the opening of the public session the Right Reverend, Bishop Kyr Platon Kornyliak, conducted the prayer in English und Ukrainian.

In his speech Yaroslav Stetsko put forward the aim of the Conference and the principles underlying the EFC and the ABN as well as problems to be discussed and resolved during the Conference. Dr. Walter Becher, member of the German Bundestag, spoke on the inevitability of cooperation between the free and the captive nations criticizing the

actual official policy of the West and emphasized the significance of the struggle for liberation of the captive nations. The main topics of the Conference were subjected to detailed analysis and corresponding resolutions concerning action dealt by two panels, one moderated by Donald Martin and the other by Henning Jensen (Denmark). The following delegates participated in the panel: Dr. A. Mertens (Netherlands), Wolfgang Strauß (Germany), Felipe Sin Garciga (Cuba), Bertil Häggman (Sweden), G. Tamsons (Latvia), Dr. Nohami Labrada (USA), Alfred Gielen (Cias - Luxemburg/Bonn).

They were followed by a discussion bringing new ideas and plans of action.

The main speaker of the evening session was Senator Fethi Tevetoglu (Turkey) who dealt with the "Present World War".

On the morning of November 15th, the youth representatives of the free and captive nations took part in a panel on the theme "Programme of Actions". K. L. Bayer, publisher of the political monthly "Zeitbühne", edited by W. Schlamm, was the moderator of this panel. Participants: Vytautas Nakas (Lithuania), B. Bobyn (Ukraine), Miss



The Opening Address Of Y. Stetsko At the ABN Conference.

Leonties (Rumania), Guia Sardjuiladze (Georgia), Vik van Brantegem (Belgium), Zenon Kowal and Askold Krushelnycki (Ukraine). The panel was followed by a discussion.

The chairman of the Conference greeted the Italian senator Mario Tedeschi arriving at the Conference, in a short speech. Upon the motion of the Italian delegation an appeal was directed to the President of Italy, G. Leone, who intended to visit the USSR requesting him to intercede for the release of national, political and religious prisoners and for the abolition of concentration camps. Upon the motion of the Ukrainian delegation (Mr. O. Kowal, M. A.) the ABN and EFC sent a telegramme to the European Parliament in Strasbourg requesting it to intercede for the release of Ukrainian and other women prisoners in the USSR. The final communiqué of the European Freedom Council together with the resolutions and appeals directed to the free world as well as the communiqué for the press, published separately, were approved unanimously.

Donald Martin, chairman of the executive board, closed the Conference. In both Conferences Mrs. Slava Stetsko acted as coordinator and translator from various foreign languages and reported the greetings (over a hundred) received from various countries of the world, some of them read in full and the others reported during the course of the Conferences.

The ABN Conference

On November 15th, 2 p. m., the ABN Conference was opened by ABN president Yaroslav Stetsko giving in his address the general guidelines of the liberation policy and emphasizing the decisive role of the subjugated nations and their revolutionary liberation struggle for the preservation of all mankind. Y. Stetsko asked the head of the Turkestani delegation, Dr. Baymirza Hayit, to preside over the Con-

ference. The central issue of Y. Stetsko's speech was the **unconquerable liberation nationalism**.

Dr. D. Waltscheff, former Bulgarian secretary of state, spoke about "the present policy of the West from the subjugated nations' viewpoint". Dr. Margarita Ausala (Latvia) dealt with the topic "the crisis of Communism". Dr. I. Bankovski (Bulgaria) briefly commented on the problems of détente.

Among the members of the Presidium of the Conference were senator Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, the Korean consul general from Bonn, Donald Martin and others. The speeches were followed by a discussion. Then Ing. W. Oleskiw moderated a panel dealing with "the national liberation front of the subjugated nations as the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire and the Communist system" summarizing in two elaborate investigations the general aspect of the theme and exemplifying it by referring specially to the Ukrainian complex. Participants of the panel: Col. Kosmovicz (Byelorussia), I. Kowacicz (Croatia), E. Andreanszky (Hungary), Kristof Greiner (Slovakia) and G. Tamsons (Latvia). Then the Swedish delegate B. Häggman addressed the Conference. His speech was followed by the second panel dealing with the same topic as above which was moderated by G. Tamsons (Latvia). Participants of this panel: Dr. J. Kairys (Latvia), Dr. K. Drenikoff (Bulgaria), Dr. G. Brada (Czechia), Dr. D. Leonties (Rumania), C. Kalandaze (Georgia), Liuba Witochynska (referring to the imprisoned women — Ukraine) and B. Häggman (Sweden). In the subsequent discussion the Cubans proposed a resolution (which was adopted by the Conference) stating that they as an ABN member wanted to undertake concrete and practical liberation actions in various forms which should be performed jointly under the leadership of the ABN Presidium. After the panel N. Gane (France) addressed the Conference. On behalf of the Government of Chile Mrs. Lucia

Gevert, legate at the Chilean embassy in Bonn who was authorized to greet the Conference in the name of the Chilean minister of foreign affairs, delivered a speech. Then the Cuban delegates F. Gil and J. Menenoez, the USA delegate Dr. Nohemi Labrada and the Fleming Vik van Brantegem (Belgium) spoke about the problems of liberation, and the Korean consul general T. Chon from Bonn, official representative of the ambassador, spoke about Korean problems. Two important speeches were delivered by Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan) on "Russian imperialism in Asia and its danger to the free world" and Dr. Basil Mailat (Rumania) dealing with "the détente policy and Russian foreign policy vis-à-vis the West".

After animated discussions the ABN President Y. Stetsko (Ukraine) delivered his final speech concerning the neglected great power — the captive nations, drawing conclusions from both Conferences and summing up the pro-

spects on the basis of facts and ideas, for a common victory of the freedom-loving forces of the free and the subjugated world which inspire the captive nations, especially their youth. The chairman of the Conference, Dr. Baymirza Hayit, closed the Conference. The participants of the Conference still staying in Munich then had the possibility to visit the cultural treasures of Munich and to attend an opera performance in the evening.

As already stated 291 official delegates of the individual nations attended the Conferences. 69 of them delivered speeches, participated in panels, took part in discussions and addressed the Conferences. Furthermore, there were 31 representatives of press, radio and television. At least 300 people were always present during the deliberations. The Ukrainian, German, Bulgarian, Croatian, Cuban, Georgian, Turkestanian, Slovakian, Rumanian and Italian delegations numerically constituted the largest groups, followed by the Lithu-



Conference Delegates At ABN-EFC Public Rally

anian, Turkish and Brazilian delegations. The Poles were also present.

As part of the Conferences, documents on the national liberation movements in bookform, foreign language journals and publications, pieces of art and anti-Bolshevik literature of the various nations (including Ukraine, Croatia, Byelorussia, Rumania), as well as ABN publications were exhibited in a separate hall.

Public Political Rally of the ABN and EFC

On the evening of November 15th, 1975, 7 p.m., a public political rally with a concert programme took place. Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan) opened the meeting. The main speaker was **Y. Stetsko** (Ukraine) on the motto "Down with Russian colonialism! For the independence of nations and human rights! For the release of prisoners and the abolition of concentration camps!". The speeches of the day were delivered by senator **Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu** (Turkey) who stressed the important role of Ukraine and other captive nations in the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism, and **Bertil Häggman** (Sweden), emphasizing in particular Yaroslav Stetsko's action during Khrushchev's visit in Sweden as a contribution to Krushchev's downfall. The following representatives addressed the guests expressing their solidarity in the common anti-Russian and anti-Communist fight for the liberation of the subjugated peoples: **Jose Nalesso Lemos** from Brazil, **Lady Birdwood** from Great Britain, **Rita Pauluklvicus** from Lithuania, **G. Tamsons** from Latvia, **O. Kowal, M. A.** from Ukraine, **V. Berko** from Slovakia, **Dr. D. Leonties** from Rumania, **Dr. G. Brada** from Czechia, **I. Tuksor** from Croatia, **Felipe San Garcia** from Cuba, **Martha Gil** from Mexico, **E. Andreanszky** from Hungary, **W. Schlet** from Germany, **Dr. Drenikoff** from Bulgaria.

The following groups participated in the concert programme: the Ukrainian

Youth Organization choir conducted by W. Panchuk from Germany, the German dance ensemble "Böhmerwald-gruppe" directed by R. Slavik, the Ukrainian dance ensemble "Zhurawli" from Germany directed by Iryna Nahorniak and J. Karpynec, the East-Prussian choir conducted by W. Adam, the Croatian music ensemble, and in particular the Ukrainian dance ensemble "Howerla" from Great Britain directed by J. Kupranec, the latter also giving an excellent performance during the dinner on November 14th, 1975.

Iryna Bobyn and Mykola Frankewycz conducted the programme. The ABN'S appeal to the free world and the declaration of the youth of the free and captive nations concerning the common struggle for one ideal of liberation, were approved by acclamation and the ABN/EFC Public Rally was closed by a prayer. The hall was filled with guests enthusiastically listening to the political programme and admiring the artistic performances of the young generations of our nations in this public rally.

A Wreath on the Grave of a Ukrainian Hero

On Sunday, 4 p.m., the EBC and ABN delegations laid a wreath on the grave of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle for national liberation, who was assassinated by Moscow. Dr. F. Tevetoglu (Turkey), Donald Martin (Great Britain), B. Häggman (Sweden), Felipe San Garcia (Cuba), Martha Gil (Mexico), Dr. B. Mailat (Rumania), Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan) and Y. Stetsko laid the wreath on behalf of all participants of the EFC and ABN Conferences. They saluted and commemorated Stepan Bandera. Golden letters were inscribed on the blue ribbon reading "To a great hero fighting for freedom — the EFC and ABN Conferences".

November, 1975

**Secretariate of the ABN and EFC
Conferences**

Dr. F. Tevetoglu, Senator (Turkey)

High Hopes For the Future

Freedom loving Ladies and Gentlemen,
My distinguished anti-Communist colleagues,
especially our future, our young generation!

I will not deliver a long speech. I will just briefly express my views on Russia today, which I obtained during my visit there a few years ago.

First of all, I must point out that from 1939 to the present day, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Portugal, among the colonial powers of the West, have acknowledged the right to independence of 45 countries with a total population over 850 million, whereas the Russians, during the same period, have occupied 263,640 square miles of territory and engulfed no fewer than 220,750,000 human beings in the "Red Hell" behind the Iron Curtain.

This, if we are to believe them, is not imperialism but liberation, the restoration of freedom and incorporation in an Earthly Paradise. One of the loudest claims of the Communists since the first days of their revolution has been to say that, just as they had put an end to the Tsarist regime within their country, they had also renounced the external policy of the Tsars and forsworn every form of imperialism, being merely interested in applying the Marxist-Leninist principles within their own country and abroad.

The transformation of blooming valleys into blood-drenched ones, of rose gardens into ash heaps, is called socialist Recovery by them.

The tyranny and colonialism of the Tsars, which the Communists constantly cursed, concerned only their own subjects and their neighbours, whereas the internal and external policies practiced by Communists threaten the whole world and mankind at large, with Red slavery.

After seeing Russia, I can say even more definitely that in my opinion the present foreign policy of the Russians constitutes the most virulent, the most contagious phase of the 19th century Panslavic policy of Tsarism, which was Red death very thinly masked. In other words, the Red Imperialism of today is the twin brother of yesterday's Panslavism, only more pestilential and cancerous.

But, I'm not pessimistic, after seeing the Ukrainians and the Turks in Kyiv, Tashkent and Baku. I have high hopes for the very near future.

I must point out that the Ukrainians look upon themselves as being the most progressive Republic in the Soviet Russian empire. Actually this is the most European looking, the most promising country in the Soviet Union. We may expect from it a bright future.

I feel sure, that Ukraine, Turkestan, Azerbaidzhan and all the other countries and captive nations under the Communist regime must become and will become free countries and independent nations!

What the Free World Must Do to Remain Free

In the last year the tides of events in most of the world have strongly favored the Communists. It is my melancholy duty to note that the Communists are victorious in Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam, almost were victorious in Portugal and even in Hong Kong where they persuaded the British authorities to surrender to the Chinese Reds the gallant refugees escaping from Red China by long distance swimming.

In addition, the Soviet Communists are pressing for new overseas bases such as in Somalia, in the Spitzbergen Islands owned by Norway, in Libya and in the Madeira Islands owned by Portugal. Naval bases in the Madeiras would double the time available to nuclear armed Soviet submarines for patrolling American coasts because they would not have to make the long return trip to their Black Sea and Murmansk bases for rest and refueling.

Why does Communism appear to be the wave of the future in the second half of the twentieth century? There is need to analyze its strengths and its many weaknesses. Before science can conquer a disease, it must first learn the life cycle of the organisms causing the disease.

Communism is a virus which gains control of bodies politic by (1) military force, (2) psychological warfare and subversion, (3) infiltrating Communist agents and spies, and (4) faithfully supporting fellow Communists everywhere to the extent necessary for victory.

First, the Soviet Communists are willing to spend about forty percent of their gross national product for total military superiority and to steal every technical military secret possessed by the Free World. Thus the backbone of the huge Soviet submarine fleet consists of exact copies of the American Polaris submarine with its sixteen nuclear armed long-range missiles, the

blueprints of which were stolen by Soviet spies Morris Cohen, Harry Houghton, Ethel Gree and Soviet spy master Gordon Lonsdale, from the Portland, England naval base.

Second, the Soviets have developed psychological warfare to a fine art. They have persuaded the Free World that resistance to Communism is bad and that those who preach resistance such as the late great Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General Douglas Mac Arthur of the USA, former President Syngman Rhee of Korea, General Francisco Franco of Spain, and former Prime Minister Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar of Portugal are bad people because they did not acquiesce in Communist aggressions.

Statesmen who cooperate with Communist governments by giving them long term credits and the fruits of Free World technology such as former President Nixon, Secretary of State Kissinger, and former Chancellor Willy Brandt of Germany are praised as great statesmen who deserve the Nobel peace prize.

A third reason for Communist successes everywhere is the Communist intelligence system which has successfully penetrated most of the Free World countries. The top aide of German Chancellor Brandt, Gunter Gouillaume, confessed to being a long time Soviet agent. John Vassall, a confidential secretary handling top secrets in the British Admiralty, confessed that for seven years he turned over important secret government information to the Soviet KGB (John Barron's new book KGB describes the training and successes of this vast spy apparatus).

Vassall's treachery is fully described in his new book *The Autobiography of a Spy* published by Sidgwick and Jackson. There may now be equally high placed Soviet spies in the American go-

vernment just as Alger Hiss, Klaus Fuchs, the Rosenbergs and Joan Hinton obtained top American diplomatic or atomic secrets in the 1940s.

Someone in Washington informed the Soviet Embassy of Nixon's plan to send American troops into Cambodia but to forbid them to go more than 21 miles. As a result, the Communists were not surprised and simply retreated beyond the 21 mile limit.

Efforts to expose the current Soviet spies in the United States have been weakened by the Soviet success in destroying two American counter-intelligence agencies, namely the Subversive Activities Control Board and the House Internal Security Committee, in terminating the Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations, and by attacking and discrediting the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the CIA, and the FBI.

A fourth reason for Communist successes is that the Communists are more loyal to fellow Communists than Free World anti-Communists are to fellow anti-Communists. Under the Brezhnev Doctrine, a threat to Communist control in any country such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cuba, or Cambodia is met by the combined military and economic forces of the Soviet and Red Chinese power systems.

The fact that the Soviet Union and Red China have serious political differences does not prevent them from cooperating against the forces of freedom in Southeast Asia, and from waging guerrilla warfare against the anti-Communist Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. The Communist countries will never acquiesce in the overthrow of Communism anywhere even where it is a severe economic liability like Castro's Cuba.

Despite these strengths and impressive victories in the last year, Communism has many weaknesses which the Free World must exploit.

First, the Communists are unable to adequately feed, clothe and house their

own people. The clothing of Communist subjects is abominable and their housing space and facilities are intolerable. In the early 1920's, again in 1933 when the United States recognized Red Russia, during World War II, and again in 1972 and 1973, the Communists were prevented from literally starving by massive food shipments from the United States.

The basic physical needs of human beings are food, shelter and clothing and the Communist system has failed miserably to provide these.

The spiritual defects in the Communist system are even more glaring than its material shortcomings. Communism forbids all religion and teaches that there is no God, no life hereafter and that when the citizen dies, his fate is that of a dead dog or dead rat, eternal nothingness.

Worse, the Communists make their children accept these barren doctrines or forfeit all chance to get a good education.

By complete denial of religion, freedom of speech, change jobs, the right to travel, the right to leave the country, and by a cruelly savage slave labor penal system, the Communists have forfeited all love and respect for their governments by their own citizens. The Communist armies in World War II and in the Korean War had the highest desertion rates of any modern forces.

If, as we have seen, the Communist system is inherently inefficient, unproductive, and unjust to its own citizens, why is it winning on the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe? Why is the Free World in such disarray in face of the Communist challenges? Just as a physician cannot combat disease without accurate diagnosis and prognosis, so we cannot conquer the disease of Communism without scientifically taking advantage of Communism's many weaknesses. Here is a program for victory.

(To be continued)

Mr. Bertil Häggman (Sweden)

Rulers In Kremlin Are Afraid

Mr. Chairman!

Ladies and gentlemen! Dear friends!

First of all I would like to say how happy I am to be able to speak to you here in Munich. I'm quite sure that this Conference will ably and in detail cover the political-ideological aspects of the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of Helsinki, the final act of which was both a farce and a tragedy. It took 600 officials from 35 countries two years to produce the 30,000 words of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. It is not a peace treaty, it has no juridical force. What has been achieved? Has it changed anything? Have individuals behind the Iron Curtain gained anything? I think we all agree that there is nothing new.

Let me give you a few practical examples. At the beginning of August this year an artist in the USSR, Boris Mukmechin, was sentenced to five years of hard labour and two years exile because he had been selling his works to tourists. He was arrested for "currency speculation" when he tried to exchange 45 American dollars into roubles. His real crime, however, according to friends, was that he was producing works of an inadmissible political nature, possessed a copy of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago and planned to marry an American girl.

Earlier this year an engineer, Valentin Agapov, defected to Sweden. He found work as a metal worker. His family was left in Moskow. His wife, child and aged mother applied for exit visas. This was refused and officially justified by the fact that his wife, Ludmilla, had worked on the Apollo-Sojuz project and that she could bring military-industrial secrets to Sweden. Valentin Agapov threatened to hang himself outside the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm if the Soviet government did not give way. He said he would do it on November 7, the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Moscow retreated a few steps and declared that a renewed exit visa application would be considered within two months and Agapov decided to wait and see. What else is this than sheer inhumanity. But it also shows that Moscow is afraid of negative publicity. This case has done tremendous harm to the belief in Sweden that the CSCE in Helsinki has contributed to the cause of world peace and done great harm to Moscow. But what can we do and what are we doing in Sweden?

Let me mention a few examples. On November 13 this year, a few days ago, the director of Sweden's foremost institution of military science, Mr. Alf Edeen of the Royal Academy of Military Science, warned that the growth of population in Ukraine, Byelorussia and in the

Baltic countries was slowing down considerably. Up to 1985 the growth would be 2 millions including Russia proper but during the following 15 years up to the year 2,000 the growth would be only 5 millions. I cannot vouch for the figures but they show that Swedish scientific institutions are attentive to the subjugated peoples.

Another example. A few weeks ago a 52-year Swede wrote to me: "All my life I have been interested in Ukraine. I have compiled a list of books written about Ukraine in Swedish. Please publish it. It shows that too little has been written about Ukraine in Swedish."

On 7th October a Danish ex-Communist wrote me: "I have been a member of the Danish Communist Party for 15 years, an active member. Two years ago I left the party and since then I have been working to inform my former "Comrades" on Communist crimes and terror." "I want to wash off", he writes, "fifteen years of shams". "Please use me if you find me useful." What can one say about such an offer? Is not this man worth more than thousands of pages of anti-Communist literature?

Let me also tell you about the work of the Baltic Committee in Sweden against the European Security and Cooperation Conference. The Committee's first phase of action was between October 1972 and April 1973. A special documentary information book "**The Baltic States 1940-1972**" was published. It was a compilation of documents, facts and information surveys intended for the participants of the security conference in 1972 and for the new generation of politicians. A **Memorandum by the Baltic organizations** has been distributed in Helsinki and the preparatory sessions of the Conference in Helsinki were closely followed by a Baltic delegation. Two press conferences were held, one in Stockholm and one in Helsinki and a large quantity of materials and publications was distributed in Helsinki.

A second phase included the coverage of all of Europe and other continents with a comprehensive information campaign.

In November, this year, a meeting will be held in Stockholm to reactivate the Swedish Freedom Council, a succession to The June Committee, which protested against the visits of Khrushchev and Kossygin to Sweden. Human Rights activities might be started in cooperation with the European Conference on Human Rights and Self-determination and the International Committee for Defence of Human Rights in the USSR .

Let me finish with a few words on the Helsinki Conference and its Final Act of July 1975. The problem of the non-Russian nationalities was clearly one of the main reasons for Brezhnev to go to Helsinki and to bring the Western leaders there. The control over the republics of the USSR has never been legally justified and the rulers of the Kremlin are convinced that Helsinki has brought to them recognition of their right to rule. Now, Moscow hopes, there will be no hope for these nations of Western support and of gaining even a small degree of independence.

But the rulers in the Kremlin are afraid. The ruthlessness with which Moscow suppresses nationalist so-called "deviations" is particularly evident in Ukraine. I do not think that it would be an exaggeration to say that Moscow is carrying out a policy of ethnocide against the non-Russian nations. All is certainly not well. Purges are going on all over the Soviet empire. In Ukraine, in Kirghizia where this spring the First Secretary admitted extremely serious shortcomings within the party. Incompetent people were used, money-grubbing, parasitism, bribery and drunkenness were frequent.

My work and, I believe, the work of other Swedes in the support of the suppressed nationalities in the Soviet empire is based on the belief that the Russian empire must one day crumble as all empires have done in history. Until that day we will continue our campaign of information and support for the enslaved nations!

Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu

Today's World War



Dazzling performances such as achievements in space should not blind us to realities. Neither has international Communist Russian leadership renounced its aim to conquer the world, nor America its will to vindicate by all means its claim to be the Superpower...

We are involved in a World War that is being fought by other means than guns, soldiers and nuclear weapons.

Communism has grabbed by force one third of the world. The coup d'état

in Czecho-Slovakia, the seam-rolling of Hungary are among the most brutal procedures that modern history can show. However, Stalin's policy, after gaining a series of triumphs, went bankrupt, arousing fierce resistance in the West and worldwide repulsion.

After the Cuban defeat inflicted by Kennedy on Russia, and the subsequent change of power in Moscow the situation cleared up completely: It became quite evident that no power can seize the world by force. As a matter of fact the historic record of the last 6,000 years teaches us that, at no period, a regime can impose itself upon the whole world even for a short time. That this will happen in the coming 6,000 years, is highly improbable.

Even after the Superpowers had settled on a nuclear balance, and it had become evident that an outburst might cause the destruction of mankind, International Communism has by no means given up its aim. It has only carried out a radical change of strategy. The only way that remains open for it to achieve world domination is

by brain-washing human beings into submission to a given power. That sums up the Brezhnev Doctrine. The whole world has now for a number of years trembled under the impact of that doctrine. In some countries that tremor has grown into an earthquake.

This novel strategy is, for the time being, based upon the most systematic and efficient organization ever wielded by a power. This kind of strategy has been styled a Culture Struggle. The money spent now on this worldwide Cultural Struggle is many times that spent during both world wars. For other examples of the ruthlessness with which this struggle without arms is being waged, we must go back to the earliest epochs in the annals of mankind; however, the human brain has never before been exploited with such ruthlessness.

Goebbels was the pioneer of this type of warfare, but Moscow and Peking have dwarfed the Minister of the Third Reich for propaganda. Dr. Goebbels conducted his propaganda and Culture War brutally, like the hot war waged by the German armies equipped with classical weapons. This led to the downfall of mighty Germany. But we can be sure that Moscow and, within its more restricted possibilities, Peking, have learned a lesson from these radical blunders of Hitler's favourite minister.

The sums devoted today by many a state to the Culture Struggle are not below those spent for the upkeep of its armed forces; and all portents clearly indicate that they will soon exceed by many times all defence expenditure with national defence and economic investment; the Culture Struggle seems to be increasing, towards a half portion of the total expenditure.

A state without an army is not a real state. A state disposing of no force, without adequate weapons will be unable to survive. As soon as it ceases to be an element needed by its neighbours and for the balance of power, it will no longer exist.

But still more tragic is the situation of the State left behind in the Culture Struggle. Its army may be numerous and strong, it may have kept its ability to defeat its enemies. But the Culture Struggle is not waged on the frontier, between armies, it causes communities and states to collapse internally, it hits at their heart.

The Left has organized its Culture Struggle elements on an international basis, also that they can be cleverly manoeuvred into becoming active factors. It is always on the alert, ready to attack. The West is basically on the defensive, but as its national cultures are very strong, well developed and based on a long tradition, it is able to permeate even the strictest Communist countries. Under these circumstances, the nuclear forces styled "Balance of Terror" tend to lose any character except that of a very dangerous toy. The real function was taken over by the Culture Struggle. The generals of this war are the writers, the scientists and scholars, and the artists: They lead the propaganda action. In the countries of the Eastern Bloc this propaganda activity is extremely centralized and directed by the state. However, in the West the public, the nations are highly educated, and they are protected and immunized to the utmost possible extent.

The Culture Struggle of the West is no more dangerous than that of the East and Middle East. It has also its aggressive aspects. The West has behaved very niggardly in the supply of technical civilization, and has not always refrained from brutality in the spread of its culture. This development has marked the history of the last two centuries. Though the cultures were national, they were introduced to Asia and Africa under pretence of being a standard Western culture, the operation resulting only in the production of cosmopolitan generations. These cosmopolitan generations adopted a lenient attitude towards the West, they

even went so far as to serve the interests of the West. Communism saw in this a circumstance favourable to its own interests, and, in a first stage, encouraged it, because a national minded individual or community cannot change over to Communism directly. There is no direct communication between them, the passage is impossible. But when the individual and the community are first made cosmopolitan, they easily fall prey to the Left and the Extreme Left. That is how the system works.

Maybe not many states have yet succeeded in acquiring the modern elements of the Culture Struggle. But there are only a few that have allowed their national culture to be snatched from them, and have not understood what this struggle was all about. On

the other hand, a lot of states have hitherto realized that national cultures — Russia's included — are immune and sacred, and that the states concerned assume a humanistic mask only towards those countries which they intend to exploit. If Turkey and the Middle East countries have not been able to realize this, it is due to the fact that they have suffered less than some other countries of Asia, the Middle East and Africa that has never been colonized. That is why she has taken all kinds of baits. One side said "Humanism", the other said "Liberty, Peace, Fraternity": She believed both sides. While one side stripped her of the immunity and resilience supplied by the national culture, the other side easily secured for itself all the elements of the Culture Struggle.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman of World Anti-Communist League

Calls For Firmer Stands

to the Conference of the European Freedom Council and Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations in Munich, November 14-17, 1975

My sincere best wishes go to all those of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council who are in Munich for a four-day joint conference. It is against the background of a confused international situation and continuing rampancy of illusory appeasement thinking that your timely meeting is being held for the heightening of free world vigilance against Communist aggression and expansion, for the exposure of facts about Iron Curtain tyranny, and for the provision of powerful support to the struggles for freedom and independence waged by the captive peoples. Your undertaking is of great epochal significance. Your efforts are truly noteworthy.

Freedom and slavery cannot exist side by side. Appeasement in the face of the Communists and attempts to have détente with them, therefore, not only dampen the captive peoples' de-

termination to fight for freedom but also serve as fuel over the devouring flames of Communist aggression. Thus, the so-called "European Security Conference" in Helsinki on July 30 to August 1 this year amounted to setting the seal on Communist conquests and giving Moscow a free hand to spiritually disarm the West Europeans and destroy the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But we are certain that the peoples over the world, behind or outside the Iron Curtain, want freedom and are unchangeably and unwaveringly determined to win and safeguard freedom. This being the case, the European Security Conference has been bitterly criticized as an ugly farce by all those who love freedom, democracy and peace. The Helsinki event is already regarded as a smear in man's history.

Throughout the growth of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and

the development of the World Anti-Communist League in the past two decades, ABN and EFC friends have closely stood with all the others of the two leagues for joint global campaigns to win freedom for mankind. Even though our efforts have been under some impacts from the dark current of international appeasement, a close examination of the world situation readily reveals the continuing confrontation and struggle between two sets of ideologies, political systems and ways of life — one represented by freedom and democracy and the other by Communist autocracy. No peaceful settlement can be expected. But it also cannot be denied that freedom continues as man's common goal, the main flow of time,

and the direction of history's development. No force whatsoever can check or alter this march to freedom. However, only through constantly strengthening the unity of freedom forces can we effectively safeguard and enhance security and peace. This is a crucial moment in history which calls for firmer stands, redoubled endeavors, and stepped-up unity of freedom-loving and justice-respecting peoples in the free world and behind the Iron Curtain, for resolute all-out struggle to gain freedom, democracy, peace and prosperity for mankind. Our sublime task of anti-Communism will then be crowned with a decisive victory.

I wish you much success for your conference.

Our Strength Are Our Peoples

Panel on Theme: National Liberation Movements of the Subjugated Nations —

Achilles Heel of the Russian Empire and of the Whole Communist System

In many speeches, discussions and deliberations at the EFC and ABN Conferences, a wide range of world problems has been covered. We have learnt that the world situation has reached a critical stage. After many years of retreats and concessions to the aggressive Russian imperialists and Communists, the Western free world has been left with very little bargaining commodities, and still less evident is there determination and firmness to withstand any further pressure.

By abandoning and writing off a considerable part of South East Asia and lately the whole Eastern Europe, the West did not placate the aggressive forces. Faithful to their grand design of conquering and subduing the whole Globe to Communism in general and more specifically to the Moscow brand of Communism (as confirmed once more by the XXII Party Congress in 1961), the Kremlin masters have intensified ideological warfare and subversive activities in some countries marked down as the next victims — Portugal,

Angola, Thailand, — leaving sweet words of the Helsinki Conference and of détente for the contentment of Western societies, awaiting their own turn.

In this seemingly sombre situation one can hardly see a ray of hope. The political state of affairs behind the Iron Curtain seems to be even gloomier. The "Brezhnev Doctrine" of the "limited sovereignty" enunciated in 1968 takes care of the so-called satellite countries and was manifestly implemented in Czechia and Slovakia (as it was successfully used in Hungary and Poland a decade earlier) accompanied by an approving silence of the West and the United Nations.

As for the subjugated nations in the USSR there is yet another "Brezhnev Doctrine". At the XXIV Party Congress in 1971 a pronouncement was made by "Illich II", approved unanimously by a prolonged applause, that a new historical phenomenon has been firmly established, namely the **Soviet People** (one and indivisible).

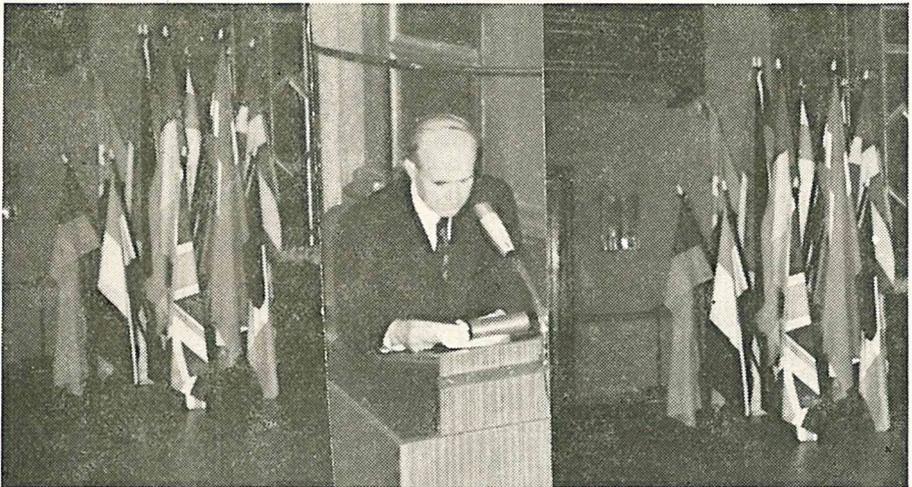
Thus a new "death warrant" has been issued for the nations inside the USSR except, of course, the Russian nation, which is synonymous to Soviet. The implementation of this new "doctrine" has started in January 1972 with a widespread wave of arrests and persecutions of the national and cultural elite of many nations, supplemented by intensified Russification attempts of all walks of life.

And here came a big surprise! The subjected nations, in spite of a new "doctrine", do not want to die, to disappear from the world family of nations. Ours is an age of national revival throughout the world. We are witnessing a huge upsurge of national consciousness and identity even among the small peoples and tribes most trampled upon throughout history. This very week we saw a final descent of the last West European colonial power from its African realms. Emancipation of the former colonial peoples has been completed.

The same forces exist and are vividly manifesting themselves in the Soviet Russian empire. The aim of the subjugated nations is to restore their independent national states. This is possible only by a destruction of the present imperial and Communist sys-

tem in Eastern Europe and Asia. Thus our maxim is of a prime revolutionary character. Not reformation, democratization or humanization of the present imperial structure, but a complete change of political scene in that area is the main goal of our nations. Our struggle is for nothing less than political power for our nations in our countries. In this respect the national liberation movements differ diametrically from the Russian dissidents and democrats, whose aims are limited to human rights of individuals and some improvement of living standards, but leaving intact the present political structure.

Thus we are in a direct confrontation with the ruling imperial power, which possess colossal material resources, a huge administrative apparatus and repressive forces. Our bold challenge to this "Superpower" is perhaps unique at present, not yet recognized or appreciated by the outside world, but very well understood by the imperial centres in Moscow or Belgrad. That is why they have resorted to such ruthless methods in combating any manifestation of national feelings, aspirations and activities in our countries. From the viewpoint of the imperial centre it is self-understood, as they realize very well how dangerous it is



ABN President Addressing Public Rally

to have to deal with the internal opposing forces, acting openly or clandestinely practically everywhere — in a village, at the local school, in factories, at the universities, in the scientific establishments, in cultural centres, even within the armed forces and, perhaps, even within the almighty Party or governmental departments. It is not so easy to combat such an enemy, and that is why this internal front is so vulnerable to the Russian imperialists and to their stooges in other Communist countries.

Our strength lies in our peoples, in their will to fight for their rights, in their belief of what is right for them, in their cultural heritage and national consciousness and aspirations. Because of a long and glorious fight for national independent states in the past, and, in many cases, because a still fresh remembrance of the independent life in their national states, it is comparatively easy, at the time of national revival everywhere in the world, to organize these national forces in our countries. "These forces — writes a persecuted Ukrainian intellectual — are unfathomable and inexhaustible, no technique of political surveillance can keep up with them or control them. And this is not simply an ethnographic force. Everywhere the national consciousness of Ukrainians keeps growing and growing... Growing numbers of our youth embark on a moral and spiritual search, feeling that they have been deceived in some way, that something sacred has been concealed from them. By thousands of different paths this youth comes to an intuition of Ukraine". The above quotation can be easily applied to any other subjugated nation.

The second factor of our strength is the righteousness of our aims which have the moral support of all mankind. Our fight is just and moral as it is being conducted for universal values and principles. Therefore only a brutal force can substitute any decent arguments, and only it can eventually de-

lay for some time the final victory and triumph of our national ideals in our countries. Throughout the history of mankind the will of people ultimately triumphed over the forces of reaction. Not less important in our common fight are our common aims which are identical. There are no major issues that would divide us, and those minor ones, if any, can be easily settled at a conference table. Therefore our common front against our common enemy stems out from mutual trust and feeling of a true friendship.

In our strategy we take into account the fact that numerically the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union alone are in a majority. Thus every second soldier, scientist, technologist etc. is a son or daughter of one of our nations. Even the policy of mixing our populations with intent to russify them, can be used to our advantage. This makes it much easier to disseminate the liberation ideas throughout the whole empire, and to infiltrate with our people the most vulnerable places. Even concentration camps and other places of detention are being used for strengthening ties of friendship among the prominent personalities of different nations, and, as it is the case at the moment — for worldwide information and propagation of our ideals.

But the most important factor in our struggle for attainment of our final goal is the existence of the organized national liberation movements, and their coordinating centre — the ABN; both in our countries and in the free world, some with long experience of all kinds of liberation warfare and diplomatic activity. With a clear political and social programme for our free and sovereign states, with their own strategy for the national liberation revolutions the national liberation movements constitute the rallying basis for their subject nations, a source of hope and inspiration. This also is the most dangerous challenge for Russian imperialism and Communism, its Achilles heel.

W. Oleskiw

Jensen Henning (Denmark)

Danish Opinion On Helsinki Failure

EFC / ABN Conferences, Munich, November 1975

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I will hereby put forward a short statement:

1) I fully agree with those — who say — that in the worst case the Helsinki Declaration is an expression of the western powers' quite shameful sell-out of vital western and democratic principles about the enslaved peoples' right to self-determination — a total unnecessary appeasement towards the Kremlin Communist slave masters, and at the same time a shameful attack against 100 millions of people under Communist dictatorship, a dictatorship pressed upon them by means of bayonets against the free will of the people, a dictatorship which deprives them of all human and political rights.

At best the Helsinki Declaration is totally unnecessary.

The free world leaders should never have signed that piece of paper.

The Western leaders cannot fully have understood or realized what the Kremlin Communist slave masters in reality mean by using words as 'détente' or 'peaceful co-existence'.

2) In saying, that the Helsinki Declaration is at best totally unnecessary, I draw your attention to two main reasons, why.

First, I can't see any reason why the free world countries in a written and formal document should confirm the dividing of Germany or the enslaved nations' incorporation into the Soviet dictatorship of nations.

Already on the occasion of the uprising in Soviet-Germany in 1953, the Hungarian uprising in 1956, in Czecho-Slovakia 1968, etc. etc. the split western world under the leadership of the United States proved, that they had not the courage to intervene in one way or another.

A shameful fact and a monument of the Free World's — especially USA's — misfired policy, a policy based upon the lack of a planned, long-ranged and coordinated strategy towards Communist dictatorship and aggression.

But there was no reason in Helsinki to give that 'free gift' to the Communists, and n o b o d y, except the enslaved people themselves have the right to decide t h e i r future. It was an illegal act.

We — free people in the West and patriots within the enslaved nations — must now more then ever find each other in a fruitful cooperation with one main purpose: to subvert and overthrow the Communist Slave Empire of Nations f r o m w i t h i n.

We must — if we proceed further along this road — find each other and cooperate towards this aim, much more and much harder than ever before. We must create new anti-Communist organizations, we must blow

a fresh air into the old organizations, and we must learn to coordinate our forces and cooperate with a view to the common goal — even if different shades divide us.

The other reason why the Helsinki Declaration is totally unnecessary is, that the Soviet Union has already signed a number of international conventions, which also ought to secure human and other rights for the enslaved people. For instance the UN's Declaration on Human Rights, the Int. Convention on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by Soviet Russia in 1973. etc.

Everybody inside and outside this room knows very well, that the Soviet Union never — never — has obeyed or fulfilled these declarations as well as all other declarations or agreements — pieces of paper — they have signed in the past 50 years.

The Declaration in Helsinki only repeats a number of these human and other rights, which the Soviet Union has already a dozen of times promised — by its signature — to respect, but as everybody knows, for Communists declarations have only been a 'piece of paper'.

3) There is therefore no reason to believe that the Soviet empire will this time respect its own signature on the Helsinki Declaration. If the Communists start to obey those principles of human and political rights — for the first time in history — the Communist slave empire would cease to exist. Without the use of slave methods, violence and secret police, the Soviet slave empire would go into pieces — and really free nations, based upon the free will of free people, would be born.

Let us therefore demand that the Soviets must live up to the principles they have endorsed in Helsinki.

I think of the following clause:

"... the participating states will respect human rights and the fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" which further states that the participating states "will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human being and are essential for his free and full development". (I, A, art. VII).

I also wish to draw your attention to the two following sections of the Helsinki Declaration, art. VII:

"Within this framework the participating states will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience."

"The participating states on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the rights of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual

enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere."

4) Let us demand and repeat — again and again — that the Soviet slave masters must respect those principles.

We do have the Helsinki paper. Let us use this document against the Communists.

Let us use the declaration demanding freedom and self-determination for the enslaved people: Respect for human and political rights.

And let us — every day with every occasion — shout a cry of demand, that the Communists must obey.

Let us take this single part of the declaration — the most important part for us in our fight, and let this part become an important and a sharp tool in our hands against the Communists.

Thank you for your attention.

Z. Kohut (Australia's Ukrainian Poet)

AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON

*And quiet flows the Don . . .
Not only the Don,
Whole countries,
Whole nations!
Which you call,
In ignorance,
Just 'Russia' —
They quietly exist.
In fear, in hope,
In hopeless waiting.
Uzbeks,
And Georgians,
Ukrainians,
And all the others . . .
Nations with their customs,
Their own history,
And languages,
And hate . . .
But you, light-heartedly,
In indolence and smugness,
Deny them even right of difference!
You call that land
Of cursed and damned oppression,
Just 'Russia' . . .
You don't call it,
Even in jest,
A 'Union of Rightless, —
Mocked Republics' . . .
As if we all were dead,
Already dead,
And never had existed . . .
But what is it to you?*

*You feel so just and noble!
So slightly bored,
And, really, quite content —
That quiet flows the Don . . .
Excuse my small intrusion!
I hope your last martini
Was just right. . . .*

Translated
by R. M. Morrison. Melbourne, The Hawthorn Press, 1973.)

GREETINGS BY EFC HONORARY PRESIDENT

3, November, 1975

Dear Friends,

I am very sorry indeed that I will not be able to participate at the conference in Munich. My doctor advised me to abstain from it in view of my health. It is a great disappointment for me, because I would have liked very much to meet you and other friends, but I ask you to give my best greetings and wishes to the EFC and ABN Conference. I will follow you in my thoughts.

With the best wishes for both of you and your untiring work for all suppressed people and kind regards also from my wife.

Ever Yours, Ole Bjorn Kraft

Ukrainian Cause Supported In British Parliament

Mr. William Whitlock (Nottingham, North): I hope that the right hon. Member for Brighton, Pavillon (Mr. Amery) will forgive me if I do not deal with all his comments, although the burden of my remarks is about one matter which he raised briefly.

At the outset of the debate my right hon. Friend the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that we were no longer a top nation in a military and economic sense. That is a hard fact with which none of us can disagree. But, like my right hon. Friend, I believe that out of our experience of being at the centre of events for so long, we still have a great deal to offer the world. We can still exercise an influence around the world out of all proportion to our size and numbers. I want that experience and that influence to be brought to bear on the situation which has followed the Helsinki Conference.

At the opening of that Conference on 30th July, my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister said that the real test of the success of the Conference would be not the undertakings signed but the progress in fulfilling them. In the House on 5th August he said that the Final Act:

"... is not of course a peace treaty, nor is it any other kind of legally binding agreement. It is rather a set of political undertakings which will at the very least provide a yardstick against which future behaviour can be measured and judged... This conference represented no more than a beginning."

It is the beginning in which I am interested. The Prime Minister went on to say:

"The actual undertakings must be the subject of continuous monitoring and, finally, the test of Belgrade." — *Official Report*, 5th August 1975, Vol. 896. c. 231-4.)

— the test in two years' time at Belgrade when the representatives of the various countries who signed the Final Act come together to assess the results and to recommend action for the future.

At the opening of the Conference my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister said that détente meant little if it was not reflected in the daily lives of our people, and there is surely no man or woman in the length and breadth of this country who would not share the hope that the Helsinki Conference will lead to increased adherence to the principles of respect for human rights and human freedoms, including the freedoms of thought, conscience, religion and belief.

But perhaps no section of the community of this country hopes more strongly that the Conference will lead to worthwhile changes than do the Ukrainians who live in various parts of this country. I am sure that any hon. Member who has Ukrainians living in his constituency will agree that they are excellent citizens, people who are completely integrated with the communities in which they live, but who steadfastly, determinedly and in a way which is wholly admirable, maintain their own culture. Proudly, they teach their children the history of the Ukraine — its history and its language. In spite of the crushing of the Hungarian uprising and in spite of what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968, they continue to cherish the belief that the Ukraine will one day be an independent and separate State.

These constituents of mine have read the Final Act of Helsinki in perhaps a more detailed way than other British citizens. They have seen that the Final Act contains four sentences which are at the heart of the undertakings reached at Helsinki. I shall not read out those four sentences, but they are headed:

"Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief."

Having read that document, and particularly those four sentences, the Ukrainians wonder and hope. They hope that the undertakings which have been signed are really meant, but they wonder whether it is just another scrap of paper which will make no difference. Of course, they are only too aware of the constant violation of human rights in the Ukraine, in spite of the fact that those rights are guaranteed in the constitution of the USSR, in the constitution of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine and, of course, by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

There is then no absence of constitutions, undertakings or declarations supposedly guaranteeing human rights in the USSR. Yet, for many years, the Russians have tried to stamp out the aspirations of the Ukrainians to maintain their own culture and their own national identity, and have refused to allow them to exercise those human rights about which the Russians will, at any time, sign a document.

In spite of the fact that Article 17 of the constitution of the USSR states that

"The right freely to secede from the USSR is reserved to every union republic",

any man or woman who openly advocates the secession of the Ukraine is subjected to the most inhuman treatment — as though he or she had no rights at all. For the last two or three years particularly, large numbers of Ukrainians who have committed no crime against either the State or society have been tried in an entirely unconstitutional way, made political prisoners and thrown into prisons where conditions are far worse than those which apply to criminal offenders. They have been forced to do work for which in many cases they are not physically equipped. They have been transported thousands of miles from their homes.

They have been subjected to physical and mental suffering, divested of every aspect of human dignity, and denied elementary rights in every possible way.

These people are not murderers, thieves, hooligans or swindlers. They have been sentenced only for convictions and beliefs which the Russian constitution says that they may hold. In the Ukraine anyone who persistently attempts to claim his rights is certain to be declared psychologically abnormal and shut up in a mental institution where attempts will be made to destroy him as a sane human being. What is called "ideological subversion" is uncovered in poetry, in writings, in music, in paintings, and even in private correspondence, and those found guilty are thrown behind bars or locked up in mental hospitals. So much for all the guarantees, constitutions, undertakings and declarations.

Among the many who are treated in this way are courageous men such as Valentyn Moroz, Leonid Plyushch and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Women also are made political prisoners and subjected to the same violation of human rights — women such as Iryna Senyk, Stefania Shabatura, Oksana Popowytch and many others.

Every effort is made in the Ukraine to teach the Ukrainian people "unanimously to approve" Russification and to accept that their culture and religion must be stamped out. But for every one of the many people who are in political prisons and mental institutions, there are thousands more who think as they do, who have not yet lost the capacity for independent thought, but, because of the savage consequences, dare not express their views in public.

Our ability to render practical assistance to these unfortunate people is limited by the fact that we lack any formal standing to intercede with the Soviet Government on behalf of Soviet citizens. But we must consider ourselves free, especially after the Hel-

sinki Conference, to bring to the attention of the Soviet Government the strength of feeling in this country, in this House and outside, about certain Soviet domestic policies which are in contravention not only of the spirit and letter of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and now of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The continuous monitoring mentioned by the Prime Minister must surely lead to approaches to the Russians about this matter. I hope that my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary will not miss a single opportunity to convey to his opposite numbers in the Russian Government our abhorrence of the situation in the Ukraine and our

hope to see evidence shortly of progress towards adherence to the principles of the undertakings signed at Helsinki.

The early release of Ukrainian political prisoners would be an earnest of Russian intention to live up to those matters to which they so far paid lip service alone. Let us see the undertakings at Helsinki reflected in the lives of the people of the Ukraine. Then — who knows? — the moving Ukrainian anthem, which I heard in Nottingham last night, which spoke of freedom and liberty and of the history of a proud people, will perhaps in the not too distant future be heard in the Ukraine itself.

TELEGRAMMES TO ABN - EFC CONFERENCES

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

I regret that because of my state of health I am not able to attend the conference. I wish you full success for the conference and you and like to convey my greetings to our colleagues.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. P. Kazemi
Teheran 15, Iran

*

With sincere regret I am unable to be with you I wish the conference overwhelming success. Let us all hope that in the not too distant future the ABN will convince the western world that Russian imperialism stands for the destruction of all the peoples who do not comply with Marxist ideology. Let us hope and pray that the Ukrainian nation as well as other nations enslaved within the Russian cast iron fists will one day be free and that all of us will live to see that happen.

Stefan Terlezki
from Conservative Party of Great Britain

*

Support and solidarity with sincere greetings and best wishes for successful conferences are conveyed to you

on behalf of the organization of Ukrainian Liberation Front in Chicago, Illinois, USA.

Dmytro Bahriy
Chairman

*

To the Conference of European Freedom Council and ABN,
very best wishes for successful deliberations LVU, ABN Canada

W. Bezchlibnyk

*

Captive nations committee of Bolton, England, on behalf of Bolton Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians wishes you successful conference and supports your fight for the freedom of our nations.

B. Holowathy
Chairman

*

On behalf of the branch "Cardinal Stepinac" we wish you great success in your fight for freedom and sovereignty for all oppressed peoples.

Secretary:
Dragutin Devčić

President:

— —

La defensa del Hogar Croata

The Hopes Of Millions Placed On Us

Message from Dr. Carlo Barbieri Filho, Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League to ABN and European Freedom Council Conferences.

It is a pleasure and an honor for this Chairmanship of the World Anti-Communist League to address itself to the organizers and participants of the European Freedom Council and Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Conference.

At this difficult moment when the false détente has culminated with the Helsinki Conference, where face to face, authorities of the free and enslaved world met to accept the invasion of Eastern Europe and the so-called satellite countries and the enslavement of the nations within the Soviet Union, our efforts have to be strengthened in order to avoid further treasons.

At this difficult moment, this meeting turns out to be especially important. Helsinki has been a victory for Communism and, if we do not enforce those points which refer to the compromises accepted by the Soviet Union, the fate of the Western World will be definitely sealed.

Free circulation of men and ideas. This important point included in the so-called Basket Three of the Helsinki Document, constitutes the only positive position, if to be implemented by the Soviet Union. But, how can one talk with the Communists about free circulation of men and ideas, if their ideology, by principle, is based on the enslavement of its people by an almighty State? How can one speak of freedom when the prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals are full of people condemned only because of their ideas? How can one speak of free circulation when millions of people have been forced to emigrate from their national homelands dominated by the Soviet Union, to have their nationalities destroyed?

The only possible way to obtain freedom for the enslaved peoples and na-

tions is by force and not through concessions, disguised as détente or peaceful coexistence. We must remember that concessions made by the West, are steps towards victory for the Communists.

The Chairmanship of WACL hopes and prays that this meeting will be dominated by a spirit of unity based on common ideals; that from its discussions, means and ways will become apparent how to combat in these difficult times.

Remember that the hopes of millions of enslaved people are placed on us. It is us, in the West, who must provide aid for the liberation from Communism, and the restoration of national independence. It is also us, in the West, who will be responsible if they are completely submitted.

Carlo Barbieri Filho

4, November, 1975

My Dear Friends in ABN and EFC,

Please accept my warmest greetings on the occasion of your joint Conference in Munich and my deep regret that I cannot be with you. The continued betrayal of the peoples subjugated by Russian Bolshevism, underwritten by blinkered representatives of the free world in the monstrous and infamous Helsinki sellout, makes your leadership of all anti-Communists even more vital than ever. It is therefore my sincere hope that in your deliberations and discussions you will be able to give to all the anti-Communist forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain, the kind of inspiration and guidance that many are now seeking.

Yours most sincerely,

John Graham
720 Halifax Road
Todmorden

Political Prisoner's Letter

An Open Letter to the President of the United States of America G. Ford

Mr. President,

I dare to think that the dialogue between West and East, which has somewhat widened in scope in recent years and received the name of détente, is the business not only of the leaders of states and parties but, first and foremost, of the people themselves.

However, while various strata of the citizens of the US can voice their evaluation of your efforts through numerous institutions in a democratic society (Congress, the press, public opinion polls, etc), the citizens of the USSR are completely deprived of such an opportunity for the prevailing social order in their country excludes the possibility of any internal dialogue under the threat of criminal prosecution and permits its citizens only to be silent or to "approve unanimously" the actions of self-appointed Party leaders. Yet the right to an independent evaluation of ideas and actions and to oppose is an inalienable human right affirmed by the present stage of the development of mankind and promulgated in international legal acts (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN). Even in societies that are more regimented than the present-day Soviet one no progress has been made towards a complete levelling of human personality and a standardization of thought, and opposition has not been eliminated for any significant length of time. There also exists an opposition in the USSR.

One of the indications of existence are the periodic repressive actions of the political police (KGB) and the existence of political prisoners in the state.

Citizens of the USSR know that even moderate criticism of the actions of the leading summit of the CPSU or of the sole ideology admitted in the state entails unavoidable persecution and possibly even imprisonment. It is clear, therefore, that for every one of us, political prisoners repressed for voicing opposition, there stand hundreds and thousands of people who think like we do and who have not lost their capacity for independent thought, but dare not express their views in public.

The leadership of the CPSU and the press that is fully subordinated to it react sensitively to everything that is said in the US on the question of détente, popularizing attitudes advantageous to themselves and combating the opposite point of view.

I think that you also, Mr. President, could take into account the opinion of the political opposition in the USSR, which is represented in the first place by political prisoners. I have the boldness to assert that

the thoughts expressed below are not only my personal ones but reflect the attitude to the problem of a wide circle of Soviet political prisoners of various nationalities.

In the first place, we still do not have a clear idea of what is after all meant by the often repeated phrase "international détente". If one does not see détente as a short-term campaign to meet the situation of the moment and as being of a tactical or even prestigious nature, but considers it a long-term action holding out the prospect of bringing relief to the whole of mankind, then it is clear that détente cannot in any way be reduced only to a certain restraint in the arms race or to an extension of trade. It is obvious that a firm international détente and the impossibility of a return to a policy of active confrontation can be secured not so much by military disarmament as by the demilitarization of the mind. Reality, however, shows that the Soviet leaders, especially Mr. Brezhnev, understand the matter differently.

Do you know, Mr. President, that the proclamation of the policy of international détente has been directly linked by the leaders of the CPSU to the suppression of any critical thought within the country? The Central Committee of the CPSU has put forward a thesis about an intensification in the ideological struggle against ideological subversion by world imperialism under the conditions of détente, very similar to Stalin's old thesis about the intensification of the class struggle in the USSR the nearer Communism approached. This thesis provided the theoretical grounds for the mass repressions of the 1930s-40s. Now too, practice does not lag behind theory. Beginning with 1972, a wave of political arrests and harsh sentences at unconstitutional trials (mostly *in camera*), the biggest one of the post-Stalin period, swept over a number of the Republics of the USSR (Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, the Baltic Republics). Extra-judicial persecutions have occurred on an even larger scale. In order to strengthen the role of the Army and the political police, for the first time in recent decades the ministers of defence and of the KGB have been introduced into the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU which has *de facto* become the supreme agency of state power in our country.

You, Mr. President, sign inter-state treaties not with the leader of the state but with the leader of the ruling party.

The campaign of repressions of 1972-73 in Ukraine was particularly massive and brutal. Scores of people were thrown behind bars or locked up in mental hospitals of the closed (prison) type. During this campaign traces of „ideological subversion“ were uncovered in poets' verses and in painters' pictures, in literary studies and in publicistic articles, even in intimate correspondence and in writers' working drafts. If something si-

milar were taking place in the US, in order to get your compatriots to learn "to unanimously approve" the actions of the authorities half of them would have to be put into prison and the other half turned into prison wardens.

KGB investigators do not even conceal from us, the prisoners of recent years, that they have set themselves the task of completely eradicating within several years all opposition which, so they say, obstructs the implementation of the policy of détente by openly discussing various sensitive problems of the USSR before the whole world. The punitive agencies are especially angered by attempts to raise the nationalities problem. Therefore, however paradoxical it may sound, we, the prisoners of 1972 and the subsequent years, consider ourselves to be the victims of the policy of détente, and so far one of its physically most tangible results.

It is for this reason that we, the political prisoners of the USSR, consider the US Congress Amendment to the Trade Bill to be particularly important and timely, although, if the Soviet press is to be believed, your attitude, Mr. President, to this amendment was negative. Soviet propaganda, sharply criticising the Congress Amendment which stipulated that the assuring of the freedom for citizens to leave the USSR be a condition of granting to the Soviet Union the most favoured nation status in trade and credits, calls this condition interference in the internal affairs of the USSR. We find such an interpretation of the law to be illogical.

The amendment does not raise the question of a change in the regime existing in the USSR or in its compulsory ideology. The question at issue is only the implementation of one of the axioms of democracy clearly expressed in Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. If, having ratified these documents for propaganda purposes, the leaders of the USSR at the same time do not wish to observe them, does not the same fate await the unsupported and loud declarations accepted in the course of the détente campaign? It is also clear that, when the critically thinking portion of Soviet citizens is given an alternative to the Mordovian and Perm camps and psychiatric hospitals, viz. a possibility of leaving for abroad, this without radically changing the existing regime in the USSR, may nevertheless bring about some humanization of it. This in turn, may become a prelude to a real, not paper, détente.

We, Soviet political prisoners, support the stand of the US Congress as being one that may have a positive influence on our own harsh fate of being potentially life-long prisoners of the system. On 1 March this year I personally wrote to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR renouncing my Soviet citizenship and petitioning them to let me go outside the boundaries of the USSR. Similar, but thus far unsuccessful re-

quests have been sent to Soviet institutions by Soviet citizens of other nationalities.

One would like to think, Mr. President, that, being genuinely concerned about the outcome of the process of international détente, you will, during your meeting with Mr. Brezhnev or through other channels, draw the Soviet leader's attention to the question of the freedom of citizens to leave the USSR and stress the impossibility of a lasting and firm international détente while the policy, adopted in the USSR, of suppressing all critical thought is maintained.

With respect,

Vyacheslav Chornovil
Ukrainian journalist, political prisoner

An Appeal to the Pope from Rev. Romaniuk

In the summer of 1975, the imprisoned Ukrainian Orthodox priest Vasyl Romaniuk, sent an appeal from captivity to Pope Paul VI, imploring the Holy Father to plead for the Ukrainian women and other victims, convicted during the Soviet Russian repressions against Ukrainian intellectuals in recent years.

"To His Holiness Paul VI, Pope of Rome, the Vatican.

From the repressed Ukrainian Orthodox priest Vasyl Romaniuk.

Your Holiness,

The violation of basic human rights in the USSR has assumed such great proportions in recent years that people are sent for long terms to concentration camps or psychiatric clinics for even the slightest displays of dissidence. In 1972 around 800 people were repressed in Ukraine alone; some of them received long sentences and are kept in concentration camps in Mordovia and the Ural region, while others were dismissed from their jobs, expelled from educational establishments or evicted from their apartments. A large proportion of those under repression are woman, some of which have received long sentences. Furthermore, the Soviet Themis* has paid no attention whatsoever to the fact that there are sick women and mothers of very young children in their number. The Soviet government pays a considerable amount of lip service to the ideas of peace and friendship between nations, and condemn the "Chilean Junta" in every way possible, while at home it savagely suppresses dissidence.

I regard it as my duty to ask Your Holiness to take note of this inhuman attitude adopted towards repressed women. Some twenty or

* Themis — goddess of law and justice in Greek mythology.

thirty women, under repression for their beliefs, are currently detained in a Mordovian concentration camp. There are Ukainian women amongst them whom I know about personally: Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, the poetess; Iryna Senyk, the poetess; Nina Strokata-Karavanska, the doctor and biologist; Stefania Shabatura, the artist; Nadia Svitlychna, the teacher and philologist, and Oksana Popovych. The only "crime" of these women, as is the case with all those under repression, lies in the fact that they do not think in the way the "powers that be" would like them to.

I beseech Your Holiness to demand that the Soviet government puts an end to this violation of human rights, releases all those who are under repression and allows those who wish, to leave this terrible country. I must also mention that the women named above refused to work during International Womens Year as a sign of protest against the tyranny and lawlessness perpetrated against them, and have consequently been starved for a period lasting almost half a year in prison cells and in solitary confinement, and threatened with re-trial.

It has come to my knowledge that certain members of the Catholic and Protestant clergy have received a so-called "Lenin prize for promoting peace between nations", and therefore taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to remind them that if they believe in the good intentions of the Soviet government, then they should try to influence it to stop the suppression of basic human freedoms and religious convictions, since only then will their high-flown statements about peace and friendship make any real sense. If the Soviet government refuses to comply with these demands then the obvious conclusion is that it has no desire for peace whatsoever, but is merely deluding worldwide public opinion, since without justice there can be no peace. In this case, those church members who received the above award ought to decline it.

A country where all justice has been quashed, where propagation of rampant atheism over the years has inculcated brutality into people, is incapable of peaceful relations and cooperation with other nations. I, for example, have written almost four hundred letters of complaint and appeals concerning the tyrannical and lawless acts committed against me. However, my pleas were in vain. They were met with cold inhuman response in all quarters; "You were convicted with good reason", I was told and, furthermore, there are people who have written thousands of such complaints and received no reply. This is a typical example of progressive Soviet cannibalism.

The Soviet Union is the fiercest opponent of Christianity (especially of Catholicism) and national and religious rites and traditions. A KGB official told me during my interrogation that, "the Church in the Soviet Union should cease to be active and go into decline. Consequently, we

regard those members of the clergy as undesirable, who painstakingly attempt to force their convictions upon the faithful, and we will fight against them". For the last three years I have been writing to every court for permission to receive a Bible. However, they informed me that I will not receive one: "We will not allow you to spread religious propaganda in this country". This is how freedom of conscience is manifest in the Soviet Union.

Your Holiness, it is impossible to enumerate all the facts concerning the suppression of human rights in the Soviet Union in this short appeal. In any case, it is not necessary to do so, since there are numerous documents in the West bearing witness to the awful crimes committed against peace and humanity by this government. My friends and I, therefore, hope that the Holy See will help in the formation of an international committee to investigate the violation of human rights in the Soviet Union. We also ask that we may be allowed to meet representatives of other nations, and that they might be made fully aware of all that is taking place in this country. I ought to remind Your Holiness that dissidents are not only sent to concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals, but some are even murdered. In 1970 Alla Horská, the artist, was murdered in Kyiv; this year an Orthodox priest was murdered in the Lviv oblast, and quite recently Volodymyr Osadchyj, brother of Mykhaylo Osadchyj, the Ukrainian writer currently under repression, was murdered in the town of Sumy. This list is not by any means complete. Even I was threatened with physical violence, and also a term in a psychiatric hospital, before my arrest. The governor of the Vladimir prison imparted the following 'wisdom' to me; "I'll tell you something; you anti-Soviets, should be sent to psychiatric hospitals, because you're abnormal. Can't you see what powers we possess, our tanks and our rockets. Nixon himself will be visiting us soon and soon America will be kneeling at our feet. Meanwhile, you've taken it upon yourselves to criticise the Soviet government. Normal people would certainly not get involved in this business."

Your Holiness, we appeal to the Vatican in great expectation. We appeal to all Christendom and everyone of goodwill, in this Holy Year, to raise their voice in protest against all the injustices mentioned in this appeal.

I, for my part, announce that on the 1st August 1975, I shall begin a hunger strike in protest against the cruelty and barbarity perpetrated against the dissidents, and against the refusal of the authorities to allow me to possess a Bible.

Father Vasyl Romaniuk."

V. Stus in Defence of V. Chornovil

The repressed Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Stus, now in a Mordovian concentration camp, has forwarded a declaration to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in defence of Vyacheslav Chornovil:

"The Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil recently suffered a very unpleasant experience. On the fifth day of the hunger strike which he began on 6th February 1975 while in solitary confinement in the Lviv headquarters of the KGB, some MVD*) officials entered his cell together with a KGB*) escort and announced that he was about to be transferred, in spite of his illness. Spent by hunger, Chornovil refused to make the journey, citing relevant legislation in his defence. His escorts then seized, handcuffed and gagged him, and after dragging him half-naked along the prison corridors and badly bruising his face, threw him into the cage of a prison van, where he fell unconscious. On regaining consciousness Chornovil asked for some clothing, but his pleas were only met with jeers. He was kept in this state for several hours in the cold cage. Then, after being taken to the railway station, he was escorted bare-foot through the snow, wearing only his underclothes, to a prisoners' waggon. Only then was he thrown some clothing.

This type of physical punishment is now becoming commonplace.

Without fear of exaggeration, I declare that this kind of treatment is only one step away from murder.

No other democratic movement of any other nation in the USSR, in fact, suffers from such widespread cruelty. These traditions stemming from the time of Stalin and Beria are stronger in Ukraine than anywhere else in the Soviet Union.

I demand that the tyranny of the KGB be ended and those responsible brought to justice.

3rd March, 1975."

(At the beginning of 1975 Chornovil was transferred from a Mordovian concentration camp to Lviv where an attempt was made to break his resistance and force him to recant. This attempt failed, and the above passage is a description of the beginning of his return journey to Mordovia.)

*) MVD — Ministry of Internal Affairs.

*) KGB — Committee of State Security.

Short Biographies of the People Mentioned

STUS Vasyl, born 1938, poet and literary critic, arrested in January, 1972 for "the distribution of false ideas which are a menace to the Soviet Nation and Social order". Sentenced in September, 1972 to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. At present serving his sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

CHORNOVIL Vyacheslav Maksymovych, born 1. 1. 1938, journalist. First arrested in 1966 and sentenced to 3 months 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. At present serving his sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

ROMANIUK Vasyl, born 1922 in the town of Chernivtsi Orthodox parish priest in the town of Kosmach, Ivano-Frankivsk province. First arrested in 1944 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. His father died of starvation and his brother was murdered. Re-arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. Serving his sentence in Mordovia.

SENYK Irena Mykhaylivna, born 1925. She is a renowned poetess. First arrested in 1946 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps. Released in 1957 because of illness. Arrested for the second time in the summer of 1972 and sentenced in December, 1972, in Ivano-Frankivsk, to 6 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine. Irena Senyk is at present serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

STASIV-KALYNETS Irena Onuphriyivna, born 1940, poetess. Arrested in

January 1972 and sentenced in July 1972, in Lviv, to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. Her husband, Ihor Kalynets, is also serving a long sentence of imprisonment, leaving their young daughter an orphan. Irena Kalynets is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

STROKATA - KARAVANSKA Nina Antonivna, born 31st January, 1927, in Odessa. She is a doctor and biologist. Arrested on the 18th December, 1971. Tried in Odessa between the 4th and 19th May, 1972. Sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. Her husband, Sviatoslav Karavanskyj, is also serving a long prison sentence. Nina Strokata is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

SHABATURA Stephania Mykhaylivna, born 1940, a painter and specialist of tapestry. Arrested in January, 1972, in Lviv and sentenced in early August, 1972, to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. She is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

POPOVYCH Oksana, born 1928 in Ivano-Frankivsk. She is a self-taught historian. First arrested in 1944 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in a concentration camp, where she became an invalid. Arrested again in 1974 and sentenced to 8 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

SVITLYCHNA Nadia Oleksiyivna, born 1942, teacher and philologist. Arrested on the 19th May, 1972, and sentenced late in March, 1973, in Kyiv, to 4 years imprisonment. Her four year old son was taken to a state orphanage because her husband, Danylo Shumuk, is also serving a long prison sentence. Nadia Svitlychna is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

OSADCHYJ Mykhaylo Hryhorovych born 22. 3. 1936, post 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 imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. Serving sent-

ence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

HORSKA Alla Oleksandrivna, born 18. 9. 1929, an artist. On the 28th November, 1970, in the town of Vasykiv, near Kyiv, she was found murdered. The murder was committed by the KGB.

Cubans Seeking Honest Support

In the name of my people, who are still fighting and do not abandon the idea to recover Cuba's freedom, I bring an SOS. In the name of liberty and justice I come to seek world-wide support for our cause and for our fight in continuing to resist against our enemies surrounding us. We are resisting the Government of the USA, sending coast guards to the Caribbean waters to watch and capture Cuban freedom-fighters who try to return to their native land.

I come here at the beginning of a new era seeking an honest support from the anti-Communist world represented by you and challenging Marxist imperialism. In the name of my people I ask Europe to answer our questions and to supply us with forces and men.

I ask their governments and their leaders to listen to our cry for help and to find ways of understanding, to pull our forces together in order to save our country from being smashed by the Bolshevik boot.

We know that the destruction of Communism in Cuba will bring hard times to Moscow.

We, the Cuban people are willing to sacrifice our lives for our country. We are getting rid of the idea that the US government was our friend. Time and acts have shown that they are on the opposite side. That is why our people trust that this conference will find some form of aid.

You will decide the future of my country and its destiny, and safeguard mankind.
Mr. Gil, Cuba



WACL Delegation With President Barbieri Filho Depositing Wreath At S. Bandeira Grave.

Anna Romanyshyn, M. A.

Soviet Russian Imperialism in Turkestan

Part IV

In broad terms the Basmachi struggle can be divided into two phases, with 1920 identified as the turning point in the life of the movement.

Once the Kokand government fell and the struggle for the idea of autonomy was forced out from the streets of Kokand to the surrounding countryside, the movement became a "sheer spontaneous struggle of the masses against 'Soviet colonizers'"⁴⁹⁾ This gave rise to much disunity and localism, for each of the leaders of the detachments, the so-called "Kurbashi", set before himself his own aim and programme, without much political foresight. Mustafa Chokaev — the Head of the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan in Kokand — outlined the fundamental flaws of the first phase of the Basmachi struggle which carried the unfortunate seeds of military failure:

"If this Soviet power continued to exist in Turkestan, it was because the leaders of the Basmaji movement recognized it themselves as a state power with, however, an unsuitable programme for the Muslims; and the Basmaji leaders, in fact, did not at the time demand the expulsion of the Soviet Government but negotiated with the very same Government, demanding the change of its "programme" into one more acceptable to the Muslims; that was all. It was sufficient for the Bolsheviks to promise the introduction of Shariat courts and to proclaim freedom of trade for the Muslims, for some of the Basmaji leaders to think that the aim of their struggle had been attained, and, if they did not finally lay down their arms, they at least stopped fighting for the time being. Had they had a precisely drawn-

up programme for their Turkestan national state, the defeat of the Bolsheviks, who have already retreated from the Leninite ideology, might not have been very difficult."⁵⁰⁾

Although the ranks of the Basmachis were formed by representatives of all segments of Muslim society — peasants, unemployed agricultural workers, town dwellers deprived of a livelihood through the prohibition of private trade, Muslim priesthood and members of the traditional society — the front on the outside did not yet reach the level of a national-political one. Chokaev bitterly admitted that at that time "the highest political summit to which we Turkestanians could attain in 1917, and also 'with a bag of oxygen', was autonomism."⁵¹⁾ The obvious result was a general anarchistic anti-Russian warfare for immediate needs of the local **Kurbashi** which postponed the general aim of the struggle and failed to establish the unity of front. One of the few Kurbashi who proved to be an irreconcilable anti-Bolshevik and opponent of the Soviet regime and a consistently loyal adherent of Muslim government for Turkestan from the outset was Skir-Muhamed.

It is only in the course of time when nationally conscious elements (either from those who rallied around the Kokand government, or from nationally minded Bokharans and Khivans) joined forces with the Basmachis that a clearly defined political aim began to appear. The scope of this gradual transformation of the Basmachi movement can be deduced from rather serious Russian concessions in Turkestan in the early 1920's: reintroduction of Sha-

⁴⁹⁾ Chokaev, *ibid.*, p. 280.

⁵⁰⁾ *ibid.*, p. 282.

⁵¹⁾ *ibid.*, p. 282.

riat courts: the restoration to the Muslim priesthood of the Vakufs; and the relaxing of pressure on the countryside.⁵²⁾

The year 1920, however, marked a turning point in the political evolution of the Basmachi movement, and ushered in the second phase of the struggle. That year the native independent principalities of Khiva and Bokhara were sovietized under the auspices of Red Army guns,⁵³⁾ in April and September, respectively. This automatically caused the spread of Basmachism into the territory of the captive Khanates, and the nationally politically minded elements of those areas, sympathizing until now with the Basmachis from afar, as with a movement embodying the open struggle against Russian colonialism, began now to take a keener interest in it. Again, Chokaev — as one of the key political figures in the national life of Turkestan in those years — provides first hand information about this, watershed in the development of the national consciousness of the Turkestani:

Thus secret conferences were held in Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara whose object was to bring about a political rally around the Basmachi to provide the fighting men with political guidance, to direct this spontaneous movement into a definite political form. "Autonomism" — admits Chokaev, the organizer of Kokand autonomy — was no longer of any use. It indicated a link with the Russian state; it was a label to be discarded. There was only one way open — that of **national independence**. No other banner could have ensured success in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. **Without dictation** or contradiction

from any quarter whatsoever this programme was accepted as the only possible basis of the national struggle.⁵⁴⁾

The next obvious step was the procurement of material to help to carry on the struggle. The representatives of the United Committee for the National Liberation of Central Asia in the persons of Sadridin-Khan, Kerimov, and others made an appeal to the English Consul at Kuldja in 1921 asking for the support of the British Government. This move failed to produce any results however, because the Turkestani envoy was prevented from carrying out his mission when he fell into Russian hands in the town of Auliye-Ata.

The final decisive step in the national revival took place in the same year at a congress of the representatives of the rebel regions — Fergana, Samarkand, Bukhara — in which members of the United Committee for the National Liberation of Central Asia also participated. At this Congress it was decided to proclaim Turkestan an independent state,⁵⁵⁾ and the Basmachi chieftains — at least in principle — appeared to have been ready to subordinate their local aims to national needs.* The first rallying cries that rang out were "Turkestan for the natives", and "Turkestan without oppressors".⁵⁶⁾

Olaf Caroe laments the tragedy of the Turkestani people who in those crucial years — notwithstanding the cause — did not succeed in producing a leader like Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1482-1530), big enough to be a

⁵⁴⁾ Chokaev, p. 284.

⁵⁵⁾ Chokaev, p. 283-4.

* One of the Basmachi leaders was Ibrahim Lakai who maintained resistance in the mountains for many years after the politicians had fallen or left the country, against all the forces the Russians could master.

⁵⁶⁾ S. B. Ginsburg, "Basmachestvo v Fergane" (Basmachism in Fergana), *Novyj Vostok*, Nos. 10-11 (1925), pp. 185-86. Cited by Park, p. 40-1.

⁵²⁾ G. Skalov, "Opyt klasovogo naseleenia v usloviakh Turkestana" (The Experience of class stratification in Turkestan conditions), *Zhizn Natsionalnostei*, No. 2 (1923), pp. 34-41.

⁵³⁾ Park, pp. 42-49.

scholar, poet, founder of states and man at arms, all rolled into one, who could blend all national forces "in a flood strong enough to sweep all before it".⁵⁷⁾ However, if the Turkestani themselves failed in this respect, there was a man from outside — Enver Pasha, the former Turkish Minister of War — who was nearly successful in filling the role of the much needed modern Babur. Indeed, his short-lived career in Turkestan (October 1921 to August 1922) seems to have infused the national aspirations of the Turkestani with a much needed idealism and symbolism far more important for the future of the Turkestani cause than his immediate and not-insignificant military feats against the Russians. (Enver captured Dushanbe in early 1922, for instance.) Enver Pasha had achieved, if only momentarily, the impossible. He managed to unite the politicians and the intelligentsia with the fighting men, the Basmachis by infusing the new ideas and the old with a common enthusiasm — a feat no other leader could accomplish.

Caroe writes that among the tribesmen, support for Enver came from the recognition that he stood for the ancient idea of Turk chivalry, and the intellectuals believed in him because he also proved himself an innovator.⁵⁸⁾ He knew how to raise himself well above the petty logic of politics and personal ambitions of many a **Kurbashi**. Togan⁵⁹⁾ gives an account of Enver sitting cross-legged, and making the decision of his life as a **mujahit**,⁶⁰⁾ with tears in his eyes, feeling he was in the cradle of the Turkish race. The next morning he rode off with twenty-four companions saying:

⁵⁷⁾ Caroe, p. 121.

⁵⁸⁾ *ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵⁹⁾ Prof. Zeki Velidi Togan, a scholar and historian was a prominent figure in the national upheaval of Bashkiria and Turkestan.

⁶⁰⁾ Islamic equivalent of a crusader.

If we succeed we shall be **ghazis** (victors for the faith); otherwise we fall **shahits** (martyrs) on the battle-field. We must fight for Turkestan. Did we fear death ordained by fate, and choose the life of a dog, we should merit the curse of our ancestor and our descendants. But if we can bear to die for freedom, we shall have ensured the freedom and happiness of those who follow us.⁶¹⁾

And he certainly lived up to his words. In April 1922, a Russian peace delegation arrived to meet Enver to negotiate a truce.⁶²⁾ But his reply was uncompromising: "Peace is only acceptable after the withdrawal of Russian troops from Turkestan. The freedom fighters, whose commander I am, have sworn to fight for the independence and freedom until their last breath."⁶³⁾ On May 15, he sent an ultimatum demanding that all Russian forces and all Soviet institutions should be removed from Turkestan, Khiva and Bukhara, within fifteen days of the receipt of the ultimatum.⁶⁴⁾ A little less than three months later, Enver died in action, becoming thus a **shahit** for Turkestan. Twenty thousand tribesmen gathered to Enver's funeral, and he was acclaimed as the hero of an epic. Togan wrote about him:

He had little knowledge of the geography or the statistics of Turkestan. In Bismarck's words, politics is the art of the possible. Yet by his death Enver redeemed all; he has become a legend and a memory, even among the

⁶¹⁾ Zeki Velidi Togan, *Bugunku Turkili* (Turkestan Today), (Istanbul, 1942-7), pp. 437 et sequ. Cited by Caroe, p. 124.

⁶²⁾ Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1956), Ch. III. Also cited in "The Basmachis. The Central Asian resistance movement, 1918-1924". *Central Asian Review*, VII-VIII (1959-60), p. 245.

⁶³⁾ Togan, ch. 5, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴⁾ Togan, *op. cit.*, cited by Caroe, p. 126.

very men who would have fought against him in his time. All who knew him acclaimed him a great man, a pure man, a man beyond the common measure . . .

Enver was before his time, yet his death sowed a seed. I said to him at Bukhara: „we are not ready for it yet“, Enver replied: “And it will be some time before you are ready for it.” And he was right. Many years have gone by since we first laid the charge that is to explode when Russia’s internal and external situation becomes difficult . . . If Enver Pasha had taken no part in developments in Turkestan, the rising (Basmachi) would have faded without memory, he gave it a new form, a new significance. His rallying battle cries were “The Unification of all the Moslems” and “The creation of a great Central Asiatic Moslem State”.⁶⁵⁾

However, the Basmachi rebellious spirit did not die with Enver. On the contrary, his death supplied just the impulse needed to bring the various elements of resistance together and the revolt smoldered with varied intensity for the next three decades, in one form or another. Although it was officially stated that the revolt had ended in 1924, the list of uprisings that took place on or after that date in various regions of Turkestan is impressive:

1923 - 25: In the area between the cities of Samarkand and Shahrizabts under the command of Hamrakul Bek and Davron Bek.

1925 - 27: In Quiva under the command of Omar Ali Lashkarbashi; in Altariq-Kreis under Quarabai Lashkarbashi; in Isfara under Turdi Bek; etc., Zeki Velidi Togan listed for this period at least fifteen major uprisings (Togan, p. 470).

⁶⁵⁾ D. Soloveichik, “Revolutsionnaia Bukhara” (Revolutionary Bukhara), *Novyj Vostok*, no. 2 (1922) p. 283. Cited by Park, p. 51.

1928 - 29: Revolts in the entire Fergana district involving the cities of Osh and Aulija Ata, under Nasirkhan Tora (**Yas Turkistan — Young Turkestan**, Paris — Berlin, 1934, no. 57, pp. 15-21).

In 1929-32 when the Russians attempted to force collectivization upon the reluctant peasantry, the latter joined once more the national resistance embodied in the idea of Basmachi. In relation to this resistance, a Soviet writer reported the following situation existing in various parts of Turkestan:

In Uzbekistan: “the **kulak-bey** elements, supported in every way by bourgeois-nationalists, the reactionary clergy and other anti-Soviet elements, put up a stubborn resistance to the Socialist onslaught, and did not hesitate to use any means and methods of struggle . . . In some areas, the **kulaks** and **beys** organized several actions which were accompanied by the murder of active officials . . . In 1930, 333 terrorist acts were registered . . . In connection with mass collectivization, certain **Basmachi** gangs renewed their activity . . . In 1930, in Uzbekistan, **sixteen** bands were active.⁶⁶⁾

In Kirghizia, in the frontier regions of the Issyk-kul, Tyan-Shan and Osh **okrugs** the **beys** and **manapes** formed **bands** which attacked Kolkhozes.⁶⁷⁾

In Turkmenistan, in certain areas near the deserts, the **Basmachi movement**, which had almost been liquidated in the preceding years, intensified again. A tense political situation developed in the Republic.⁶⁸⁾

(To be continued)

⁶⁶⁾ V. P. Danilov (ed.) *Ocherki Kolektivizatsii Selskogo Khoziaistva v Soiuznykh Respublikakh* (outline history of the collectivization of agriculture in the Union Republics (Moscow, 1963).

⁶⁷⁾ *ibid.*, p. 408.

⁶⁸⁾ Danilov, pp. 480-1.

EFC PRESS STATEMENT

The European Freedom Council, meeting in Munich from 14th - 16th November 1975, reflected growing disillusionment with the results of the recent Helsinki Conference.

Dissatisfaction and hostility were expressed in renewed demands for the dismantlement of the Soviet Russian colonial empire.

Détente was seen as a snare and a delusion as well as an instrument for Russian Communist expansionism supported by increased trade and aid from Western capitalism.

The Conference recognized the dangers of allowing the free world to become dependent on Communist markets to solve its own internal economic problems.

Members of the 27 national organizations resolved to increase their activities for the defence of the free world, and recognized that Soviet Russian interference lies at the root of world fear, disorder and conflict.

The Conference re-elected as President Mr. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, former Minister of Trade and former Secretary General of the Italian Socialist Party, and elected as Vice-President Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko, Former Prime Minister of Ukraine. Mr. Donald Martin of the British League for European Freedom was elected Chairman.

Greetings To EFC and ABN Conferences

20th October, 1975.

Dear Mr. Stetsko,

I fully agree with the aims of the Conference and I am very pleased, on behalf of our Central Delegation, to convey to you and the Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, as well as to the preparatory committee's members, our best greetings and wishes for a maximum success, which you fully deserve. Your untiring driving force behind the campaign for the liberation of our captive peoples is a boost for their morale and an inspiration for all of us to follow suit.

Yours sincerely, Dr. C. I. Untaru
President

*

28th October, 1975

Dear Mr. President,
Honourable Delegates and
Representatives,

On behalf of the Council and of all the members of this Association we have a great honour to convey you

our sincere greetings and best wishes for a successful Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council.

We hope the Conference will unmask the menace of present Russian policy for West Europe and the tendency of this policy to dominate in Europe, and will raise the voice in defence of all nations subjugated by the Russian imperialism, for their freedom and independence.

With all good wishes for a successful Conference, we remain,
Yours respectfully,

For and on behalf of the Association
of Ukrainian Former Combatants
in Great Britain;

T. I. Kudlyk, B. Sc. Dr. S. M. Fostun
Chairman General Secretary

*

Dear Mr. Chairman,

In the name of the United Byelorussian Workers in Great Britain we send

our sincere greetings to the European Freedom Council and Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations Conference and wish you and the participants much success in our united struggle for freedom, the right to self-determination of all nations, and genuine independence denied to them by the Russian Communist colonial oppressors contrary to the international obligations, and even contrary to their own Constitution.

Yours faithfully,

B. Suraway
Chairman

United Christian Byelorussian
Workers in Great Britain

*

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your kind invitation to the Conference to be held November 14 to 16 in Munich which has a worthwhile goal.

We are living in an age where some men prostitute the basic concept of justice and are willing to sacrifice other men hoping to survive in the face of terror and aggression. The 1975 Helsinki agreement confirms the moral bankruptcy and shortsighted policies of the men in power in the so-called "Western Democracies". History has proven how foolish this kind of wishful thinking is and we will only know how dangerous it is when the present will become history — provided we are still alive to comment on it.

I wish that the ABN and European Freedom Council Conference will be a great success and I regret that I cannot attend it in person. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Ante Tonis Kint

*

7th November, 1975.

Mr. Chairman,

Please convey my kind regards and best wishes to all participants at this Conference of the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Munich.

The task of this Conference is a hard one, because it has not only to identify latest Communist strategy, but also has to contrive an approach to the leaders and policy-makers of the Free World, in order that they will become more realistic in their dealings with the Communist imperialism, since up to now hardly any senior political figure in the West has been prepared to identify himself with the cause of justice or freedom of the peoples of Eastern Europe.

May God give you strength and guide you all in your deliberations and your conclusions.

Sincerely yours,

Capt. J. Bunchuk
Byelorussian Liberation Front
Headquarters for Great Britain

*

October 29, 1975

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend the Conference of the European Freedom Council and Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, to be held in Munich, Germany, on 14 - 16 November, 1975. I regret that I will not be able to attend.

I do hope you will have a very productive meeting, and I wish you much success in your efforts.

Best regards, sincerely,

John M. Fischer
President
American Security Council

*

New York, November 7, 1975.

To the Presidium of the EFC-ABN
Conference
Munich, Germany

Upon the convocation of the EFC-ABN Conference to be held in Munich, Germany on November 14-16, 1975, in the name of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the USA we would like to

warmly greet all the delegates and participants taking part in this monumental event. Recognizing the relentless determination with which both the EFC and the ABN defend the rights of the subjugated nations and peoples within the USSR, we wish you the best of luck and the highest measure of success so that our common goal and struggle may finally reach its pinnacle point of fruition with the formation of a sovereign and independent Ukrainian State as well as with the irrevocable realization of independence for all subjugated nations. Be well assured that the hearts and souls of all nationally-conscious Ukrainians are with you. Our hopes and aspirations are most-assuredly in unison.

Respectfully yours,

A. Sokolyk
Ukrainian Liberation Front in the USA

*

Whatever you read from Sweden, please remember that a small powerful minority have got hold of many posts in massmedia and are spreading their poisonous propaganda more and more openly. This applies especially to many TV-programs and to our biggest daily, the DAGENS NYHETER. However, there are many, many of us who try to oppose the totalitarian tools. We arrange demonstrations, we print posters, we write wherever we can — but as long as TV is barred — the fight is uneven. Still, we do not feel pessimistic because we know that our strongest allies are behind the iron curtain, those courageous fighters for human dignity and the great mass who abhor their oppressors.

Our mission wishes you every success and that our great conference may unite the democratic forces.

Yours very truly,

Curt Bergström, M. A.
chairman
Missionen Martyrernas Röst

New York, 6 November 1975

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

This letter serves to express my best wishes for a successful conference to deal in defense of our freedom against aggressive Communist hostile forces and forces that have converted many millions of once free people into slaves and by occupation exploit the natural resources to build up stronger and stronger forces to further the Kremlin Empire.

May a good and cooperative spirit help to build a successful basis for organizations and units to defend the interests of our nations having for so many years suffered under the Kremlin iron heel.

Freedom fight will be successful one day.

With best wishes

Elmar Lipping
Lt. Col.
The Defense League of Estonia

*

Dear Madams, Sirs and fellow students who are attending the conference:

I hope that many young people will attend this conference. One, they will gain much from what the panelists have to say, and two, they will familiarize themselves with the problems that exist, and better understand what exactly are their responsibilities in the future. I have previously attended such conferences and returned to the United States with many ideas and desires to be as active as possible in informing the free world of our fate, and the truth about what is really happening behind the Iron Curtain, in various prison-labor camps and non-Russian countries.

Since this past September I have been president of the Ukrainian Student Organization of Michnowsky TUSM in the US and chairman (woman) of the TUSM world executive

board. We are trying our best to confront the Soviets on many fronts. Academically in our Universities we confront the visiting scientists and technologists who are here to steal American technology. We also follow closely what groups come to the USA from the USSR during this period of détente to "help in peaceful coexistence". We inform the American public and the Free World of what détente really is, and the dangers of dealing with the USSR. The Moscow Symphony and a Soviet basketball team will be in New York shortly. We are going to greet these groups appropriately!

If you have any suggestions, or advice to give our students please keep us in mind during your conference, and write and tell us what you feel we, who have grown up in the Free World, but want the end of Russian imperialism, should do. Please send us suggestions on how you can help us, or we can help you. All will be welcome I am only sorry that I cannot be in Europe to share these ideas verbally.

If you, the members from other countries besides Ukraine, have similar student organizations, please have them contact us, so that we may work together in fighting against Russian Soviet imperialism.

Again I wish you all the best at this conference. I hope that you come up with new, constructive plans of action which are feasible to undertake by your membership. Greetings to all!

Sincerely,

Halyna Klymuk
TUSM EXECUTIVE BOARD

*

Dock Sud, 4 November 1975

We are fighting against Communism and against Russian and Serbian imperialism.

We are convinced that all oppressed

nations will soon be free and independent.

Croatian Guardians of South America
Ondelj Ljubo Jelavić Marko
Secretary President
La defensa del Hogar Croata

*

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed please find three copies of my short survey "Human Rights and the Soviet Union", which you may use as documentation in your deliberations or publish in "ABN Correspondence".

With the best wishes for success of your conferences, I am sincerely yours

The Government of the Republic
of Estonia
Minister of Foreign Affairs

*

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Parish Committee of the Byelorussian Greek Orthodox Church of St. Euphrosynia in London, I am expressing our solidarity in your fight for freedom, self-determination and independence of all nations enslaved by the Russian Communist dictators.

Wishing you and all delegates at the Conferences much success.

Sincerely yours,

For and on behalf of the Parish Committee,
S. Dziejko
Byelorussian Greek Orthodox Church of
St. Euphrosynia in London

*

The Estonian Information Centre sends you by air mail an issue of "Nachrichten aus dem Baltikum" for distribution at the Conference.

Wishing the Conference and you personally much success I remain,
Yours

Adelaida Lemberg
Estonian Information Centre

Save Asia — Consolidate Anti-Communist Front

Joint Communique of the 21st APACL Conference TOKYO, December 10, 1975

In this complicated situation of the world today, with the Asian-Pacific region exposed to particularly serious military and united front threats from the Communists, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League — a regional organization of the World Anti-Communist League — held its enlarged 21st Conference in Tokyo, Japan, on December 8-10, 1975. Present for active discussion were strong delegations from 18 national and organizational member units in countries throughout the Far East, the Middle East and Oceania, leaders of WACL Council and other WACL regional organizations, and observers. The size and resolve, surpassing those of past APACL Conferences, fully reflect that despite the rampancy of appeasers and power-hungry Communists, the APACL Movement is ever more vigorously continuing its growth and the Asians are ever more strongly determined to safeguard their common security.

After a thorough examination of the present international situation in general and that of Asia in particular, the conferences are now firmly convinced that the fundamental confrontation between the Communist forces and the freedom forces remains strong despite all the talks about détente and that the Communist goal of world communization and human enslavement also has not been affected by attempts at détente. This proves that the policy of détente has failed, that anti-Communist sentiments have been aroused further, and that very obviously the future will see stronger struggles of the enslaved peoples to win freedom and stepped-up efforts of those who are free to check the spread of Communism.

Viewing the world in perspective, the Conference is also convinced that:

— The attempts of free nations to replace confrontation with negotiation

and bring about pluralistic checks and balances in place of the bipolar opposition are wishful thinking and contribute only to aggravation of the international turmoil.

— The Russian and Chinese Communists, by turning the United Nations into an outpost for their international united front operations, e. g. for passing two Korean Resolutions, have created further "great unrest on earth", cracked America's prestige, weakened Washington's free world leadership, and stripped the UN of its power and function.

— Soviet Russia staged the European Security Conference and came out as its sole beneficiary. What the free nations did amount to acknowledging the results of Russian aggression as unchangably established facts. The captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain were thus dealt heavy blows in their quest of freedom and independence.

— Due to Moscow's continuous violation of agreements to restrict nuclear weapons development, the UN - Russian Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have once again bogged down.

— The race for expansion in Latin America and Africa has been accelerated by the Russian and Chinese Communists. Clashes between the freedom forces and Communist forces in these two regions are now increasingly virulent and complicated.

However, the APACL Conference is certain that the above-mentioned developments have spurred freedom-loving peoples and nations to heighten vigilance and exercise greater resistance. The US has repeatedly emphasized the need to back peace up with strength, demanded that freedom be the prerequisite of détente, and issued serious warnings to Communist regimes. The US at the same time has cut its finan-

cial contribution to the United Nations and is planning sanction against supporters of Communists in the UN Chile has taken revolutionary steps for freedom and justice and overthrown the Marxist Allende government. Portugal has done likewise with the Pro-Communist administration. These and the struggles for freedom being waged behind the Iron Curtain — the rise of intellectuals in the Soviet Union are represented by the cases of Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, Valentyn Moroz, Viacheslav Chornovil and Andrei Sakharov, and the pressures for liberalization going on in Rumania and other captive nations of Eastern Europe, for example — unmistakably show that the Communists are in a dilemma of internal unrest and external pressure.

With regard to Asia, the Conference is aware that the Red bloc scramble for bigger shares of the region is increasingly intense, now that the Indochina peninsula has fallen into the hands of Communist aggressors. The Communists of Vietnam, elated because of their new gains, are attempting to annex Cambodia and Laos and are instigating the Laotian Communists to attack Thailand. The Communists of North Korea apparently are provoking and preparing for another aggressive war, thus adding tension to the Northeast Asian situation day by day. Wielding their respective united front weapons — "five principles of peaceful co-existence" and "collective Asian security" — the Chinese and Russian Reds are vying with each other for division, isolation and individual conquest of free Asian nations. The Eastern Timor was threatened by the so-called "Timor People's Democratic Republic". This indicates that Communist influence is fast spreading into Oceania. The Russians are busy sowing seeds of discord in the Middle East in their all-out attempt to thwart the US effort to safeguard peace in the area. Because of these developments, the whole Asian-Pacific region is increasingly turbulent and restive.

Confronted by this deplorable situation with great impending dangers, the free Asian-Pacific nations have gained new understanding about and higher vigilance against the alternative Communist use of united front tactics and aggressive military moves. To check Communism from spreading like wild-fire, many free nations have adopted countermeasures, as follows: The United States has time and again reiterated its determination to abide by its treaty obligations and defense commitments for its Asian allies, declared that it would never withdraw American troops from the Republic of Korea, and made it known that nuclear weapons would be used if necessary to protect ROK security. The Republic of Korea has been heroically continuing their anti-Communist endeavors, while the Governments of Indonesia, Singapore, Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand also have been stepping up actions to rid themselves of indigous Communist insurgency and guard against Red infiltration and subversion. The Republic of China, ever more firmly anti-Communist, has greatly strengthened its war preparedness. While all these new measures have contributed to the enhancement of free Asia's defense capability, it also should be noted that the internal power struggle of the Chinese Communists is getting more and more fierce because the days of both Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai are now numbered and because the whole Chinese mainland is in a greater than ever confusion with the working masses and intellectuals rising everywhere for anti-tyranny actions. The future of Asia is thus growingly advantageous to the cause of anti-Communism.

In view of the above-mentioned Asian and global situation and knowing how directly and deeply Asia's security can be affected by America's Asian policy, the 21st APACL Conference under the theme "Save Asia — Consolidate the Anti-Communist Front!" has, after careful deliberation, unanimously resolved to appeal to all the free Asian

nations and peoples to join hands with other Freedom forces of the world for continuous joint endeavors to make the following points known to and acted upon by all:

1. President Ford recently visited the Chinese mainland in disregard of the prevailing feelings of freedom-loving Chinese and other Asians. We are strongly opposed to power politics and secret diplomacy between Washington and Moscow on the one hand and Washington and the Chinese Communist regime on the other hand, particularly when steps taken through such maneuvers may prove detrimental to the rights and interests of the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and/or any other free nation.

2. The US being a Pacific nation and the very free world leader, our hopes are ardent that Washington will unequivocally understand the Communist design to subvert the US and communize the world, abandon the dangerous policy of détente and, "normalization of relations" with Russian and with Chinese Communists, and instead vigorously lead the free camp towards a decisive anti-Communist victory. We furthermore request the United States to free itself of any apprehension about Communist-originated nuclear blackmail, see to it that strength is constantly enhanced for the assurance of lasting genuine freedom, attach due importance to the necessity of a Western Pacific island chain of defense for America's own security, speedily formulate a new Asian strategy, and work toward an early establishment of the said defense chain.

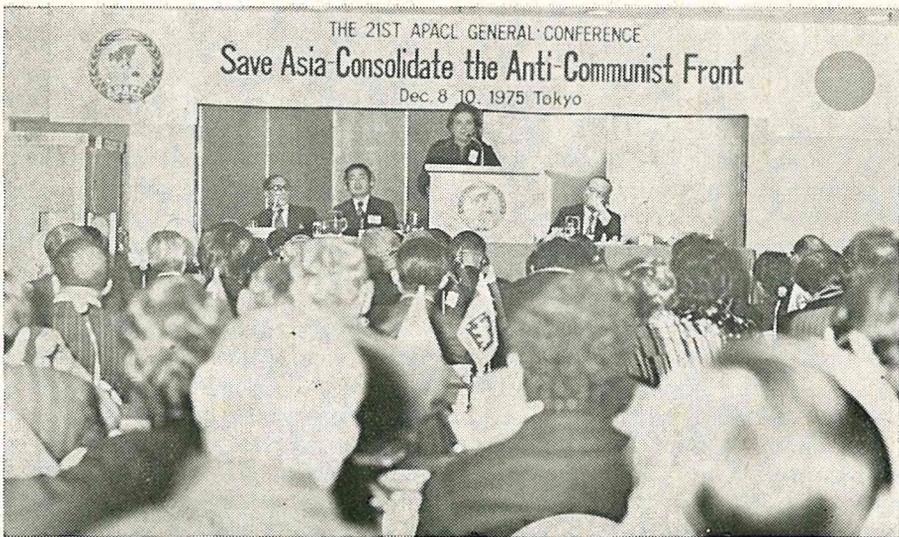
3. Following the fall of Indochina, the strategic belt stretching from North-east Asia down through the Taiwan Straits has really become the center of gravity for Asian anti-Communism. The three major nations of this belt are the Republic of Korea that stands on North-east Asia's anti-Communist forefront, Japan that constitutes free Asia's major economic strength, and the Republic of

China that keeps guard on the Taiwan Straits. While the importance of these three nations to the rest of free Asia cannot be overemphasized, it should be noted that America's defense is inseparably related to free Asian security. We, therefore, urge the United States of America to act as a coordinator for the pooling of US, Japanese, South Korean and free Chinese strength for better preservation and enhancement of free Asian security.

4. Following the Indochinese debacle, vast areas in Southeast Asia have been turned into an arena of race for hegemony by the Russian and Chinese Communists. There is little doubt that the Communist offensive on the hot war und united front battlefields will intensify with each passing day. We therefore support Indonesia's firm stand against the ties with Chinese Communists, Singapore's determination to refrain from establishment of ties with the Red Chinese regime, Jaharta's refusal to recognize the East Timor Communist regime that has unilaterally assumed independence, the joint punitive actions taken by Indonesia and Malaysia against the local Communists, and the efforts of the Philippines and Thailand to purge themselves of Communist rebel organizations. We earnestly hope that these nations will, instead of acting separately, take active joint steps against Communist attempts at aggression and subversion.

5. The nations in the Middle East, with their vast rich natural resources, can definitely affect the entire world situation with every major move. We sincerely hope that the free Middle Eastern nations will cooperate closely with free nations elsewhere for better friendly relations and greater prosperity in peace, guarding closely against attempts of the international Communists to sow seeds of discord toward their goal of "division and conquest".

6. Oceania being the rear guard of the Asian-Pacific region and both Australia and New Zealand being peace



ウクライナの代表スラバ・ステッコ女史の演説をきく APACL代表参加者たち (8日、帝国ホテル) **世界日報**

and freedom-loving nations, we feel very much encouraged to note the steps of the new government of New Zealand and the development of the political situation in Australia. We earnestly hope that the governments and peoples of the two countries will understand unequivocally the "third world" scheme of the Communists; take positive steps to guard against infiltration, consolidate the ANZUS organization, and strive on jointly with the rest of free Asia and the free world for the building of a constantly better tomorrow.

7. Aware of the furling waves of gallant freedom-fighters behind the Iron Curtain and the growing campaigns of captive nations in quest of independence, we call upon all the free world governments and peoples to provide positive support to the anti-tyranny struggle of the intellectuals and working masses on the Chinese mainland, the opposition in North Korea to Kim Il Sung's belligerent dictatorial attempt to expand a monolithic structure around his thinking, the anti-Communist national recovery endeavors of the peoples of the three newly captive Indochinese countries, Vietnam, Cambodia

(Khmer) and Laos, and the national liberation movements behind the Russian Iron Curtain. To urge and appeal to all freedom-loving peoples and free world governments to render all possible assistance to the liberation movements for freedom and national independence for their respective countries. To urge steps to bring about a great unity of freedom forces behind and outside the Iron Curtain for the bringing down of all Red regims one after another. We the Asians should act without delay to tear down the Asian Iron Curtain, and see to it that the European and Cuban Iron Curtains also are destroyed.

The Conference has noted once again the "world revolution" strategy of Lenin calling for the taking of "a shortcut to Paris by way of Peiping and Calcutta". This and the "people's war" strategy of the Chinese Communists, calling for the "encircling of the cities of the world with the rural areas of the world", make us see clearly that Asia is in the center of global troubles and the Red Chinese regime is the fountainhead of Asian scourges. Because we are convinced that the world cannot expect

freedom or peace unless Asia is free and peaceful, we seriously emphasize that Asia must be saved if the world as a whole is to be saved, and that salvation of Asia means salvation of the world. It is believed that following this successful 21st Conference, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League will ever more effectively rouse forces of freedom and consolidate the anti-Communist front for the salvation of Asia and the world.

The Conference has decided to hold the next APACL Conference in Seoul, Republic of Korea, in May 1976, thereby bringing the APACL Movement to the first line of anti-Communist endeavors for a full play of the League's combat readiness.

Delegates to this 21st APACL Conference in Tokyo represent the follow-

ing 18 member units: Australia, Hongkong, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Japan, Kachinland, Macao, New Zealand, Republic of China, Republic of Korea, Philippines, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam. The observers are from these 11 countries and organizations: ABN, South Yemen, ACA, North Yemen, WBSC, CAL, SEPES, FEMACO.

The Conference expresses its highest respect to the members of the South Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian Delegations for their resolute determination to strive on for the APACL goal. All the foreign participants are highly appreciative of the Japanese support for the APACL Movement and the Japan Chapter's thorough conference arrangement and warmest hospitality.

Leonid Plyushch is Free

(Mrs. Tetiana Plyushch thanks Ukrainians and asks them to continue actions in defense of Political Prisoners.)

In spite of all the steps taken by Russian chauvinists to conceal Plyushch's arrival at Vienna a large group of Ukrainians came to welcome Leonid Plyushch, his wife Tetiana Zhitnikov and their two sons Lesyk (10 years) and Dmytro (16 years) at the railway station Marcheg near the Austrian frontier. Approximately 70 persons, among them Ukrainians from Europe, French and Jews, who attended the extraordinary Press Conference in Vienna (Prof. Leonid Ivanovych Plyushch himself was unable to attend since he had been administered high doses of haliperidol and insulin by the peace-loving Bolsheviks) were deeply moved.

Therefore Plyushch's wife answered and commented on the questions asked during the Press Conference. The hint passed on from the other side of the Iron Curtain was not to cease but to continue actions in defence of political prisoners and fighters for the liberation of Ukraine. All patriots admire the uncompromising attitude of Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevich and others. All persons that are still free and helping the arrested and persecuted people (Khodorovych, Velykanova, Moroz especially, Svitlychny, Plakhtoniuk were mentioned among others) must be given support.

Professor Leonid Plyushch and his family immediately obtained a visa for France and are going to settle down in Paris where Plyushch will first of all undergo medical treatment to recover from the consequences of the Bolshhevik tortures.

Austrian, French and British psychiatrists on examining Prof. L. Plyushch immediately after his arrival ascertained that he had never suffered from a mental illness, but had simply been subjected to terrorist psychiatric "curing" aiming at breaking his willpower.

Leonid Plyushch was extremely fatigued as a result of these barbaric „psychiatric“ tortures.



ABN - EFC Conference, Munich November, 1975



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Ijamsville, Md. 21754



DET FRIA UKRAINA

Redaktion och ansvarig utgivare:

Jur kand Bertil Häggman, S:ta Gertruds väg 92, 593 00 Västervik.

L'EST EUROPEEN

Les abonnements sont à souscrire à L'Est Européen,
Boîte Postale 351 - Paris 9^e - C.C.P. : La Source 30 754 04.



RESISTENCIA y LIBERACION

A B N - BOLETIN DE NOTICIAS DE LOS PAISES OPRIMIDOS POR EL IMPERIALISMO
MOSCOVITA SOVIETICO

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.

„MILLI TURKISTAN“ — P. O. B. 2112, 4 Düsseldorf (Germany)

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.*