

for this
was I born

over 5 million political prisoners in the USSR today



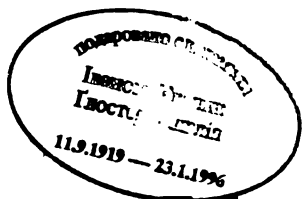
We must remember that Fascism did not start with Babi Yar and does not end with it. Fascism begins with disrespect of the individual and ends with the destruction of the individual, with the destruction of peoples - - but not necessarily with the same type of destruction as in Babi Yar . . .

Ivan DZYUBA
from a speech at
Babi Yar

Cover Photo: Inmates of Buchenwald, 1945
Photo by Margaret Bourke-White; Time Inc.



Once every two seconds a new life is given to the world and is cast into the moving stream which is the force of history. Sooner or later, as all human beings have done since the beginning of time, each individual begins his search for the faith by which to live. In his quest for that faith, each turns to something higher than himself - - - a body of ideals which promises to give meaning to his life.



for this was I born

THE HUMAN CONDITIONS IN USSR SLAVE LABOR CAMPS

Photographs, Testimonies, Poems, Readings
Petitions, Letters and other Documents

Compiled and Edited by
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INTRODUCTION

There are moments in History when the conscience of humanity must awaken, when apathy and indifference to the plight of our fellow human beings ceases to be justified, when collective responsibility for the fate of men and women of other races and nationalities demands a personal commitment from each and every one of us.

Homo Sapiens has now entered the Space Age. He is conquering the vastness of the universe beyond his planet. Along with scientific progress one would expect him to have progressed equally in freedom, justice and the respect for the sacredness of human life.

It is indeed a reflection of the absurd and the incomprehensible, that our civilized humanity should tolerate and offer international immunity to a regime, where millions of men are treated as animals; where over five million beings have been harnessed for decades into a state of slavery unequalled by the worst periods in the lives of American Negro slaves; where intellectuals are hounded and persecuted for their ideas like homicidal criminals. All historical precedents appear pale by comparison.

This publication is a collection of the writings and pleas of only a few inmates of Soviet concentration camps that re-echo the plight of millions. Let them symbolize the inhumanity of the oppressors, the scope of their repressions and the pleas of the oppressed.

The testimonies are from men who have found strength to survive the terror of Russian slave labor camps because they lived with the hope to testify some day before the entire world. They have sworn on the graves of millions of victims of Soviet Russian tyranny, that so long as they possess the breath of life they will testify before all men at all times that agonizing

truth and incredible reality, which men in freedom do not want to hear, which men in chains can only shout in silence.

Let this publication be a flame of hope to these men, since the wall of indifference is beginning to crack and the dams of tyranny cannot hold any longer the growing forces of resistance and dissent.

Humanity must awaken to the distressed condition of these men before it is too late. Auschwitz, Treblinka and Dachau - - symbols of human atrocities, have not been eliminated. They flourish today as never before in the USSR. Fascism and Nazism is not dead. It is still alive in the vast expanses of Eastern Europe and Siberia. It lives in the hearts, the minds and the laws of those who wear the diplomatic masks of humanity, yet safeguard a system that has been equalled only by Hitler.

On February 1, 1973, the United States Senator, Edward J. Gurney, chairman of the Senate Hearings on USSR labor camps, pointed out that the continuous existence of Russian concentration camps "is totally repugnant, repulsive, barbaric and unacceptable" to Western democratic societies. He expressed his concern about the current false beliefs and suggestions that the Soviets are becoming more like Western democracies, that the Russian attitudes are changing, maturing and that they want to be part of the rest of the world.

"There was a time," says Senator Gurney, "when the word Siberia had no other meaning around the world, than one vast prison camp for political prisoners of the Russian Communists. But in recent years, most of that has been forgotten. World War II and the horror of the concentration camps of Hitler's Third Reich diverted our attention and focused it upon the crimes of the Nazis perpetrated on their political opposition and especially upon the German Jews. We forgot and over-

looked that Hitler merely stole a page from the Communist way of life and that while concentration camps were eliminated in Germany by World War II and many of the Nazis' concentration camp people were tried and convicted for their crimes against humanity, the same brutal barbaric treatment of Soviet citizens and concentration camp imprisonment continues to flourish today."

Those whose voices of protest are printed in the second part of this publication appeal to you, the reader, to your conscience. Commit yourself! Protest! Demand their release! Demand their open trials! Demand your government's intervention! Protest the double standard policies of governments which condemn one tyranny yet tolerate another.

Yuri R. Shymko



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Part one

they speak

HEIRS OF HITLER'S AND STALIN'S WORK

In July 1971, I had occasion
to visit Potma
while escorting Nina Krasnova,
the wife of Anatoli Altman,
who had been sentenced in prison
during the first Leningrad trial.
A narrow gauge railroad,
on both sides of which
like so many boils
lie scattered the terrible labor camps
of Mordovia.
This railroad runs deep into the forest
from the main junction.
Potma is a fearful place
which readily evokes
Nazi concentration camps - -
barbed-wire fences,
watch towers,
dogs set in pursuit of people.
These camps are the worthy heirs
of Hitler's and Stalin's work.

*Alexander Krimgold
Israel, 1973
US Senate Hearings
February 1, 1973*





TESTIMONY OF AVRAHAM SHIFRIN

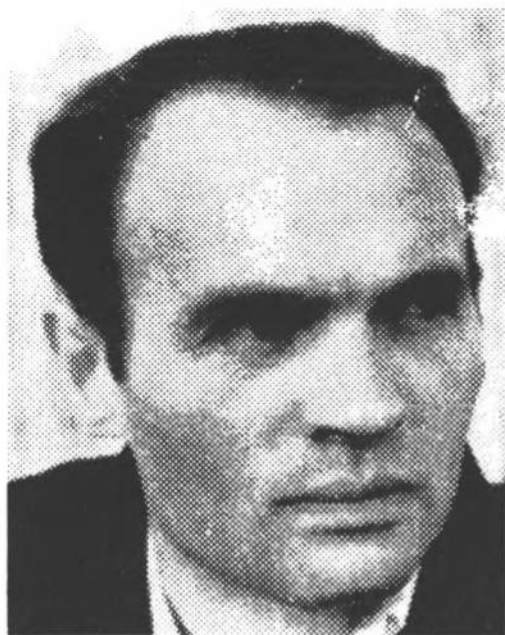
The sad fact is that here are millions of political prisoners in the concentration camps and prisons of the Soviet Union today; that the camps, far from having disappeared number into the thousands; and that the conditions are just as bestial as they were in the days of Stalin.

Thousands and thousands of men and women languish in concentration camps because of their faith in God. This is a situation, says Shifrin, that should be of profound concern, first, on moral and humanitarian grounds. But beyond this, the existence of this massive concentration camp system poses a serious danger to the security of the Free World.

To the extent that the men in the Kremlin are able to repress all dissident opinion and all restraining voices, they are freer to engage in subversion and blackmail and expansion abroad. Shifrin feels it to be his moral duty to tell about the new wave of arrests in the Soviet Union, about starvation in concentration camps and prisons, about the mortal danger to sick prisoners.

*US Senate Hearings
on USSR Labor Camps
February 1, 1973*





Anatoly Marchenko was born in 1938 in the small western Siberian town of Barabinsk, where both his parents were railway workers, and illiterate. He was working as a foreman on a drilling site in 1960 when a fight broke out between two groups of workers in the hostel in which they lived. The police indiscriminately arrested the innocent and the guilty and Marchenko was sent to a prison camp near Karaganda, from which he escaped and made his way down to Ashkhabad with the intention of crossing the Iranian frontier. He was arrested at Ashkhabad and sentenced to six years' imprisonment for the 'treason' of wanting to leave the country. After his release he wrote his book "My Testimony". The KGB, the Soviet secret police, learned of its existence and 'then began to bait him like a hare, following on his heels for months on end', as Larissa Daniel (Yuli Daniel's wife) wrote in an open letter in Marchenko's defence. He was arrested on July 29, 1968 after having written an open letter protesting against the pressures being put on Czechoslovakia by the Soviet government, and sentenced to a year in a prison camp on a trumped-up charge of infringing the internal passport regulations. Marchenko was due for release in July 1969, but then charged, at Perm Prison in the Urals, with 'defamation of the Soviet political system' while he had been in prison camp, the evidence being provided by other prisoners. How such trials are arranged, and the 'evidence' procured, is also described vividly in his book.

MY TESTIMONY

by ANATOLY MARCHENKO

Soviet Prison Camps Today

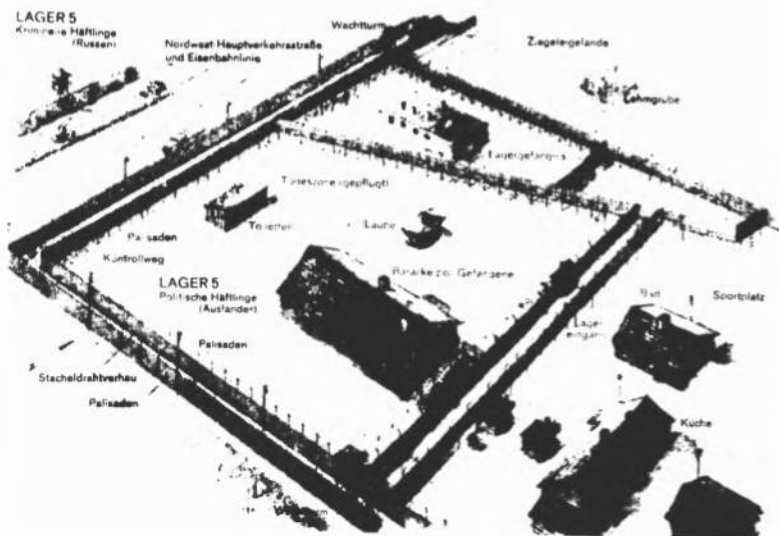
When I was in the Vladimir prison, I was often seized by despair. I was ready to jump at my jailers, my only purpose being to perish - - just as other prisoners before my eyes had committed suicide. Only one thing stopped me and gave me the strength to live: the hope that when I get out I would give my testimony and tell all that I had witnessed.

In the last few years, various literary and documentary works have shed light on the political prison camps of the Stalin era. This is all to the good. Yet these works, referring only to the past, may create the impression that nothing like it is - - or can be - - happening today. This is not so. How many forgotten people are still prisoners! How many new victims are coming into the camps! In fact, the camps today, if less numerous, are just as horrible as in Stalin's time.

Arrested October 29, 1960

Released November 2, 1966

Rearrested July 29, 1968



The Infamous Mordovian Camps

I came to Potma, in the infamous Mordovian camps about 300 miles southeast of Moscow. In this region one sees more soldiers, officers and secret police than local people; more dogs than in the sheep-raising regions of the Caucasus. The statistics here are curiously out of balance. There are vastly more men than women, for instance, and there is a remarkable diversity of national groups. Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, members of many other nationalities have been coming to this camp complex for years and decades. From all corners of the Soviet Union, children of today's prisoners gather to be near their parents. Fathers and older brothers of many of the people now serving sentences, having themselves been prisoners, lie buried in this soil.

Men kept in spetz (special regimen camps) for years are reduced to a condition of complete animalism. They forget what self-respect, honor and morality mean. In every cell are one or more informers ready to squeal on other prisoners in order to gain a bit of extra food or some small privilege for themselves. Others, more desperate, hang themselves. Or they cut their veins under the blankets at night. Or they mutilate themselves.

Anatoly MARCHENKO

EXPOSE ALL THOSE THINGS

Well, my only suggestion is to expose all those things because I know things which I have just told you from my own personal experience.

Even some of my personal friends did not believe me and said it could not have happened;

it's impossible; it's beyond human imagination.

Fortunately I am not the only one.

There are others who have been with me and who are free today.

Therefore they can confirm those things . . .

I think these things should be exposed to the free world and left to the judgment of the people.

The Russians are still very sensible about Western opinion or the opinion of the free world and the more it is exposed and the more this is brought to light, the better chance we stand that this thing will eventually diminish, or perhaps even disappear,

I am quite certain because I have sensed those things.

They are concerned with the opinion of the free world.

*interview in
ABN Correspondence
June, 1969*

*Alexander DINCES
from IN RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS*





THE CAMP POPULATION TODAY

While there is a lot of information available,
it is nowhere near as voluminous
as the massive body of information
about the Soviet concentration camp system
under Stalin
which was compiled after World War II.
The range of estimates is,
for this reason, somewhat broader.
On the basis of all the information
which he has accumulated,
Shifrin is convinced
that there are at least several million prisoners
in the camps today
and that the real figure may surpass
the 5 million mark.

*US Senate Hearings
February 1, 1973*



PRISONERS

“ I had two cell-mates:
an old Ukrainian nationalist who spent 16 years in prison,
and a criminal who slew his children
and cut off his ears . . .
Every minute and during the sleepless nights,
the Ukrainian orated about the independence of Ukraine . . .
They beat the Ukrainian every day.
Simply, they tied him up
and kicked him in the stomach.
Sometimes, they put the inmates
in a special soundproof isolator
and beat them incessantly.
I knew a few people who died afterwards . . .”

Vladimir Bukovsky
February 11, 1972.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN

While the Tayshet prisoners were standing there, surrounded by armed guards, the camp gates across from them swung open - - and out came 200 - 250 women carrying little children in their arms, surrounded by soldiers with rifles and dogs. The camp guards immediately realized that they had made a mistake in permitting the women and children to be seen by the 2,000 prisoners from Tayshet. They began to herd the women back through the gate, using their rifle butts liberally. The women were crying, the children were crying, soldiers were cursing, and the dogs were barking.

Unable to contain their indignation at the treatment of the women and children, many of the Tayshet prisoners shouted their protest to the guards, calling them "Fascists! " The guards shouted back at the prisoners - - - then fired their weapons in the air and shouted to the prisoners to lie down.

At this very moment the camp loud speaker came on with "the glorious news that the Soviet astronaut Gagarin is now in orbit in his rocket! "

Avraham Shifrin
US Senate Hearings
February 1, 1973







INVALIDS

The invalids are confined in a special zone.
There are very few cases that a man
came as an invalid when he was arrested.
Most of them became invalids
while being in the camps,
as a result of course of advanced age,
or not necessarily older people.
There were some young people,
who became invalids for instance,
with chronic tuberculosis,
or with chronic heart diseases, etc.

Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS



THE ABUSE OF WOMEN

It was in Prison No. 410. It was Sunday.
The women were being escorted through the gate
from the women's prison
to the washroom to take showers.
A group of Nuns pleaded to be permitted
to take their showers the following day
because they did not want to violate their Sabbath
or interrupt their prayer meeting.
In reply, the guards pulled their clothes
from the Nuns (in freezing weather)
and dragged them, naked,
by their heels through the snow
to the washroom.
Shifrin and other prisoners
were able to see all this
because they were in the exercise court
at the time, cutting logs.
The KGB officer responsible for this atrocity
was "Hitler's" Deputy, Buriak.

*US Senate Hearings
February 1, 1973*









RELIGIOUS PRISONERS

They come of course under the status of political prisoners.

They are separated from general or criminal prisoners.

They are regarded as provocateurs,

charged with sympathizing with the capitalist system, or conducting harmful anti-Soviet propaganda

by means of various religious channels.

Surprisingly in recent years

the number of so-called religious prisoners,

prisoners of conscience, is still going up . . .

The majority of them are Jehova's Witnesses

and Baptists, but they come from various religions like

Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic Church,

which is the Ukrainian Church,

and a number of Moslems.

Alexander DINCES

from IN THE RUSSIAN

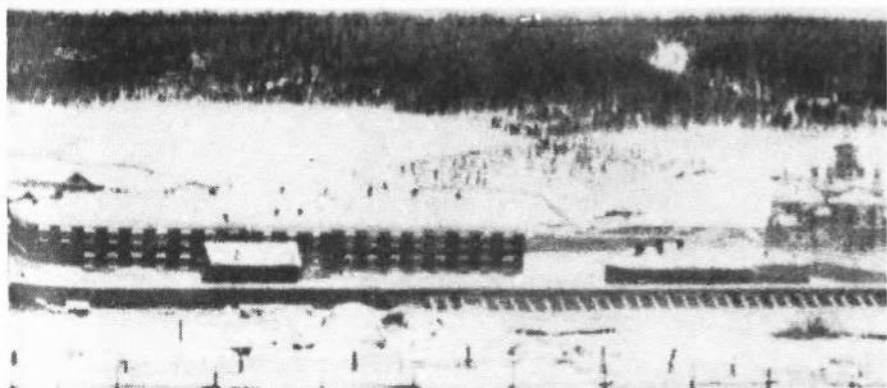
CONCENTRATION CAMPS

JOSEPH CARDINAL SLIPYJ

The Ukrainian Catholic Church's
sole surviving prelate
Released from Slave Labor Camp
February 9, 1963
Now residing in Rome

AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD

28 Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitans, Bishops and Archbishops as well as 10 Ukrainian Catholic Bishops were all declared executed, perished or missing in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps. Not included are approximately 6 thousand priests, nuns and monks whose fate is unknown to the present day. The 9 million Ukrainian Catholic Church has been declared “illegal” since 1945.





“FELCHERS”

We didn't have doctors over there.
We had what the Russians called a “felcher”
which is a qualified male nurse with
certain medical experience and
unless someone is very, very sick indeed,
he will be sent to the prison hospital but
in most cases they view the prisoner as a sort
of a faker who is just trying to skip work
and they don't pay very much attention
to a man who is complaining of a stomach ache
or other physical disabilities.

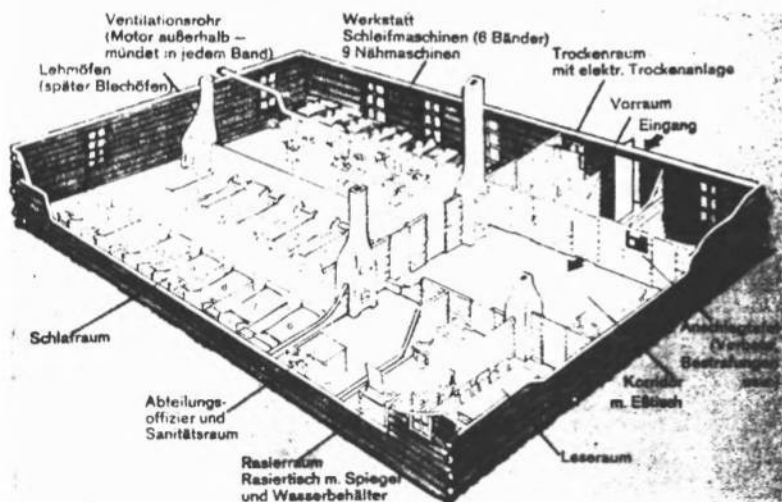
Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS

I RECALL DR. HORBOVI VERY VIVIDLY

There were hundreds of Ukrainians with whom
I came into contact.
I recall Dr. Horbovyi very vividly.
His case is rather a classical one.
In spite of the Soviet allegation
that there are no longer secret trials
and everyone is entitled to an investigation,
a trial and a sentence,
he is the only person to my recollection
who is held without a trial, and without being sentenced,
for the last 21 years . . .
Of course after 21 years his health
is very deteriorated . . .
The Russians have promised to release him
provided he appears before the Kyiv broadcasting system
and will reject his political convictions
and of course approve the “liberation” of Ukraine
through the Russian troops.
He is a person of great principles and I know him
very well, personally.
I don’t think he will ever agree to do such things.
Shortly before my release from the camp
he told me that he has no hopes to be released
or to be a free person again . . .
He is over 70, nearly 72 today, I think.
He is a very sick man besides, half blind.
It is a very tragic case
and yet very little has been done to improve his health.
This is a very shocking thing;
it is a slow and agonizing death.

Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS

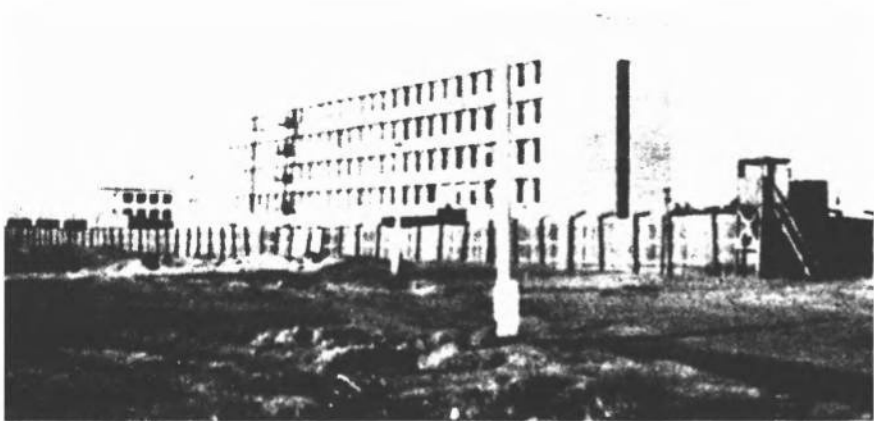




FOREIGNERS IMPRISONED

While we are on the subject of foreigners imprisoned
in the Soviet Union
it would be worth while to mention
that the highest bulk of prisoners
was composed of Chinese and Koreans.
The Chinese prisoners
have experienced a very brutal treatment
from the Soviet administration
because of the ever growing conflict between
Moscow and Peking.
They were subjected to all sorts of humiliations,
discriminations, mental torture, even brutalities
which I have witnessed.

Alexander DINCES







PROCEDURES WITH DEAD PRISONERS

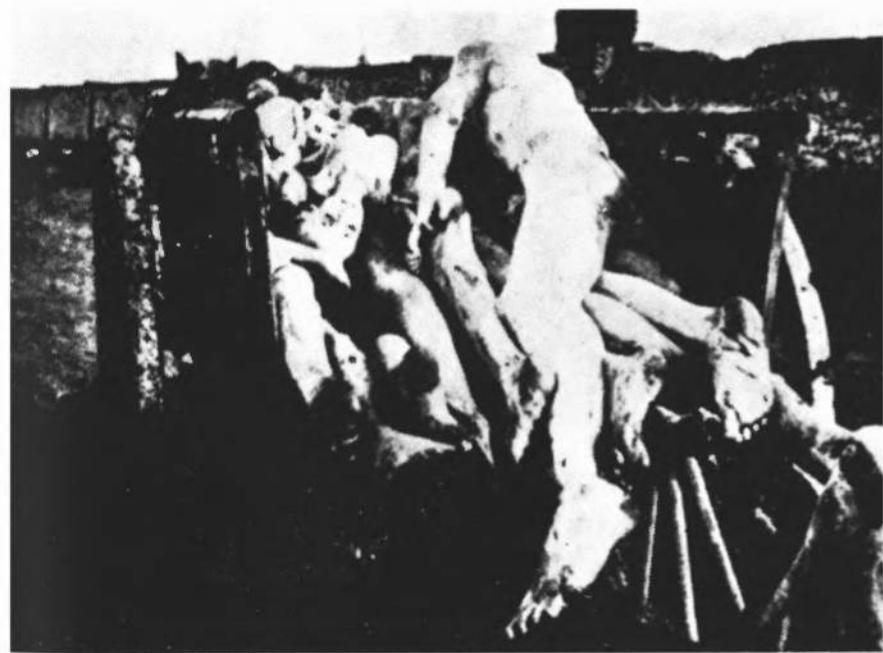
We had to put these corpses near the gate. Then came a soldier with a big hammer on a big handle. He crushed the skulls of the corpses to see maybe, if these naked corpses in forty degrees below zero were still alive. Another soldier put a red-hot iron into each corpse to see if it were alive so that it would not escape.

When this procedure is finished the corpses are put on sleds like firewood and are taken away to the nearby forest. Since you cannot make a grave in permafrost we put them in a standing position or lay them in the snow.

The next day these corpses would disappear for they would be eaten in the night by wild beasts, bears, black foxes, and sables. The concentration camp guards were always putting traps in this “cemetery” to catch these black foxes and sables. Thousands of them were sold to other countries as expensive Russian furs. I have seen them myself here in the beautiful shops of New York, Washington, London and Paris.

Avraham Shifrin
US Senate Hearings
February 1, 1973







FED BY FORCE

I have also seen cases where
a prisoner had simply sewn
his own mouth after
announcing a hunger-strike.
He refused to be fed by force,
since there is a rule that
after 3 days
they feed you by force
if you insist on holding
the hunger-strike.

Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS



June 26th, 1941. In the hospital of Panevėžys three surgeons were murdered because they had operated on an injured Lithuanian whom the Bolsheviks claimed to be a partisan. A nurse, Mrs. Kaneviciene, was murdered too. Here is the body of Dr. med. Anatasius Gudonis and his widow.

Labour camp at Pravieniskiai where on June 26th, 1941 the Bolsheviks killed the inmates and supervising staff as well.



The farmer Rauckis from sub. district Joniškėlis (Lithuania, near Biržai) one of the victims of Bolshevik cruelties. He was found perfectly stripped in the wood of Astrava. The Bolsheviks had wrought rude torture on him and then driven a nail into his head. In the small Astrava wood, 6 persons were found in the bog, all murdered by the Bolsheviks.

BIZARRE BEHAVIOUR

In helpless protest many a prisoner was driven to bizarre behaviour. Some cut their stomachs open; others filled their eyes with ground glass; a few at times pulverized sugar (if they had any) and inhaled it until abscesses formed on their lungs.

Another common practice was to swallow strange objects. If the doctors in the prison hospital had made a museum of the things pulled out of our insides, it would have been an amazing collection - - spoons, tooth-brushes, pieces of wire.

In one cell at Vladimir some prisoners obtained a knife blade and collected some paper. Then each cut off a piece of his own flesh, some from their abdomen, others from a leg. They threw the pieces into a dish, made a small fire with the paper, and began to cook the flesh. When the wardens noticed what was happening and rushed into the cell, the prisoners grabbed the half-raw "stew" meat, burning their hands in the process, and tried to cram it into their mouths.

If the men involved were abnormal, what were they doing in prison? If they were normal, then what must be said of the conditions that drive normal men to such actions?

Anatoly MARCHENKO
from MY TESTIMONY

USE POISON TO BREAK PRISONERS

“ . . . Having failed to break us morally, the KGB organs are trying to transform us biologically from intellectuals into primitives.”

“Last year Lukyanenko was taken to Vladimir Prison on March 3, and kept there until September.

In this prison poisonous substances were added to his food. He was given to know that prolonged injection of these toxic substances causes the human organism to deteriorate. Poison is also added to the food in the camp . . .

The symptoms of poisoning are as follows:

slight pressure in the temples

is felt 10 - 15 minutes after eating;

this eventually develops into an unbearable headache.

Concentration becomes difficult,

even for something like writing a letter home . . .

Last year the situation was the same as this year.

The symptoms were somewhat different:

10 - 15 minutes after eating

one experienced a mild intoxication,

followed by severe pain

in the center of the head,

trembling of the hands,

inability to concentrate . . .”

*Mykhailo Horyn,
Ivan Kandyba and
Lev Lukyanenko,
June, 1969.*

*Submitted to the
U.N. Commission
on Human Rights by
Amnesty International of London*

"I will not permit consideration of race, religion, nationality, party politics or social standing to intervene between my duty and my patient and I will not use my knowledge contrary to the laws of humanity."

— Geneva Convention of World Medical Society.

MDs protest Soviets' mind-death camps

By PETER WORTHINGTON
Telegram Staff Reporter

Canadian psychiatrists have become the first medical men in the world to publicly protest the Soviet Union's practice of using mental institutions as prisons for dissenters.

Calling such actions "medical crimes" and comparing them to those of the Nazis, the Canadian Psychiatric Association (CPA) is issuing a strong appeal for world medical bodies and doctors to join the protest.

CPA formally condemns the misuse of mental hospitals where sane people who disagree with aspects of Sovietism have been incarcerated, subjected to drug experimentation, tortured and on occasion killed.

Canadian psychiatrists argue that the World Health Organization, Canadian Medical Association, the World Psychiatric Association and other international bodies investigate ways of taking action against the Soviet practice.

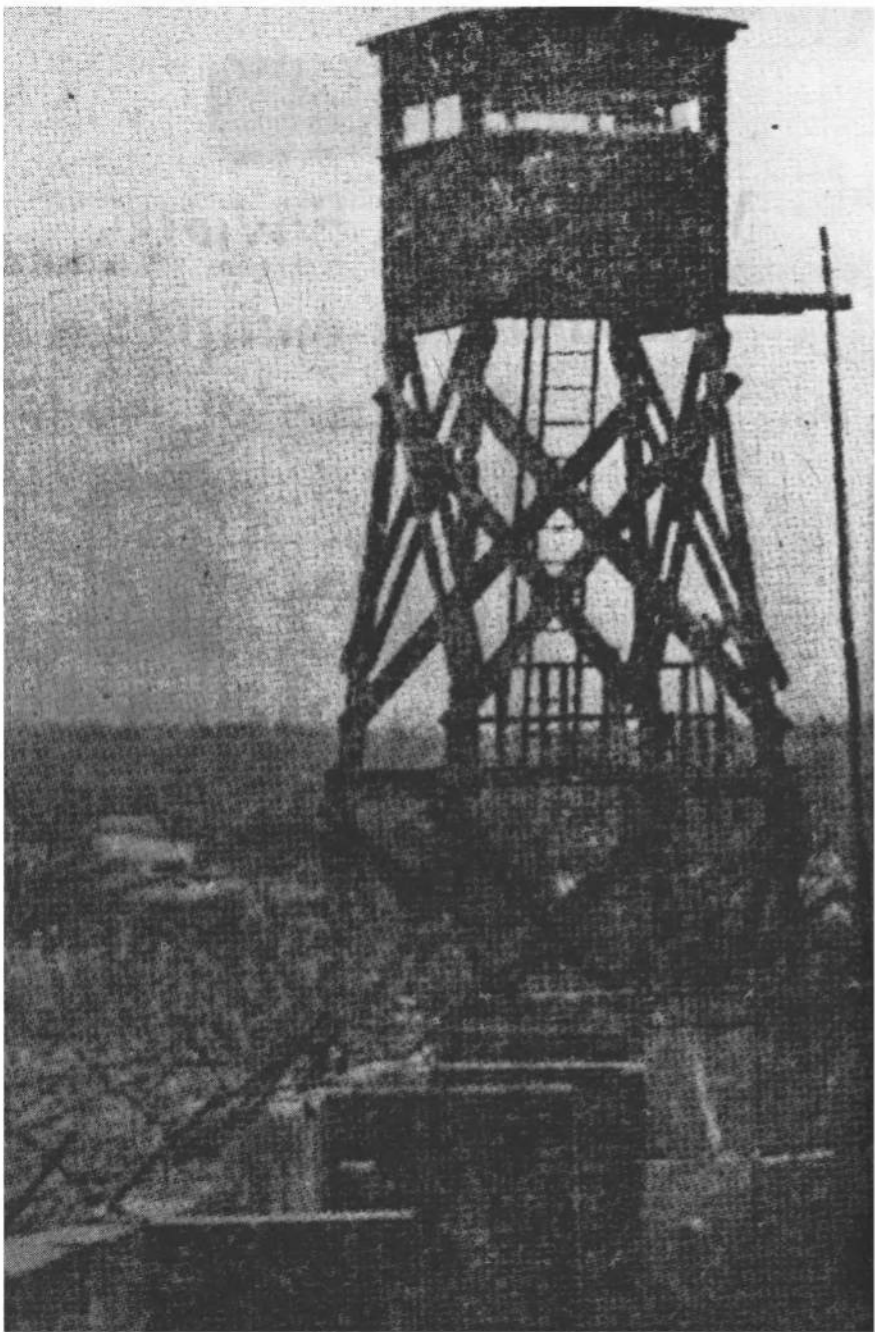
The impetus for the CPA's demand comes from the executive body of the Psychiatric Section of the British Columbia Medical Association.

D. Norman Hurt, chairman of the B.C. psychiatric section, draws a parallel between the Soviets sending normal people to mental hospitals and the Nazis, who practiced experimental surgery and killed the "socially undesirable."

Death and dying take many forms, he writes. "The Nazis killed corporeally after torture. The Russians are killing the delicate and individualistic mind structures of their mental prisoners. This crime is no less evil than actual death."



'Think of the artists, the poets, the writers it takes to make this stuff







A BOUQUET FROM OUR GARDEN

One day representatives of a Baltic republic visited us, and we were promised a concert after the usual lecture. Quite a large number of us turned out. At the close of the talk a young prisoner from the Baltic area suddenly stood up and went to the speaker's platform, carrying a tightly wrapped bouquet.

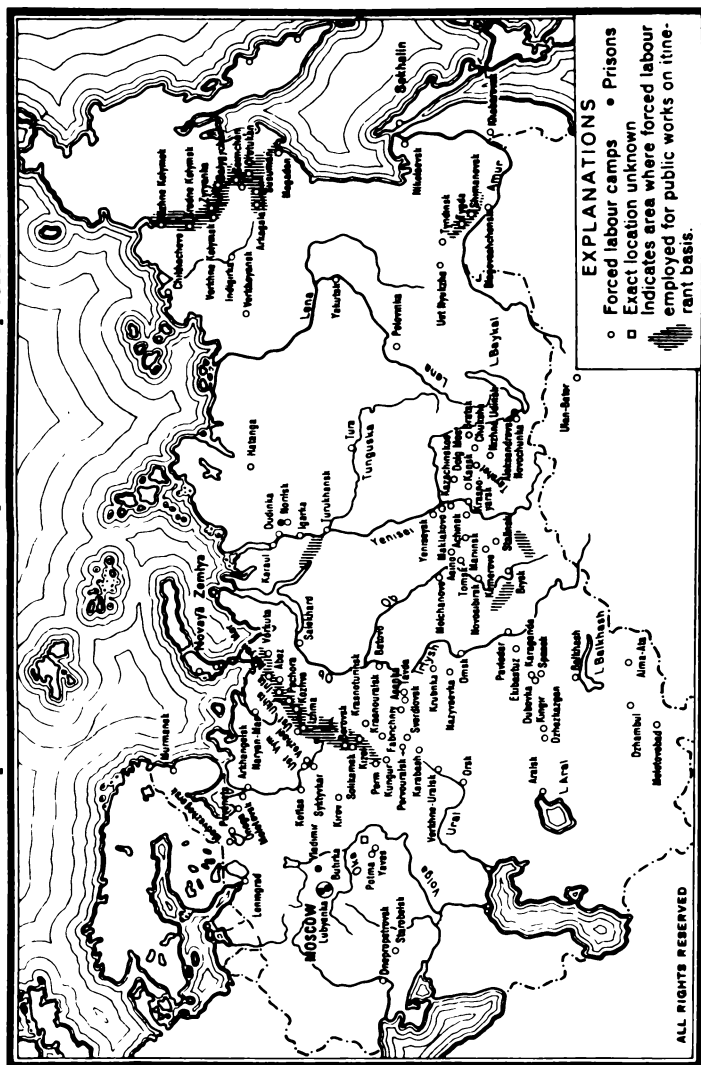
"In the name of our countrymen," the prisoner began, "allow me to present you with the garden flowers that grow here, so far away from our native land."

But when the speaker began to remove the wrappings, we saw that it was a bouquet of barbed wire! At first the crowd was stunned. Then the storm broke out. Never before or since have I heard such wild applause.

Anatoly MARCHENKO
from MY TESTIMONY



Documented map of forced labor camps for Baltic deportees in U.S.S.R.



Source: Ådöls Silde, The Profits of Slavery, Stockholm 1958

KOREAN PRISONERS

Now the Koreans have lived under Japanese rule until 1945 and when the Sakhalin Islands became Soviet at the end of the Second World War, these Koreans, hundreds of thousands, became stateless people in the Soviet Union since they lost their Japanese or Korean citizenship. They flatly refused to go to North Korea and wanted to join their families in South Korea. They were told by the Soviet officials, each individual case, that they would have to file applications with the Foreign Ministry of the USSR and after the applications were processed they would be sent to South Korea. Of course this was a trick: they were accused of sympathizing with the South Korean government, with imperialism, capitalists and as a result of this they have received very severe and very odd sentences ranging from 8 to 15 years.

Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS

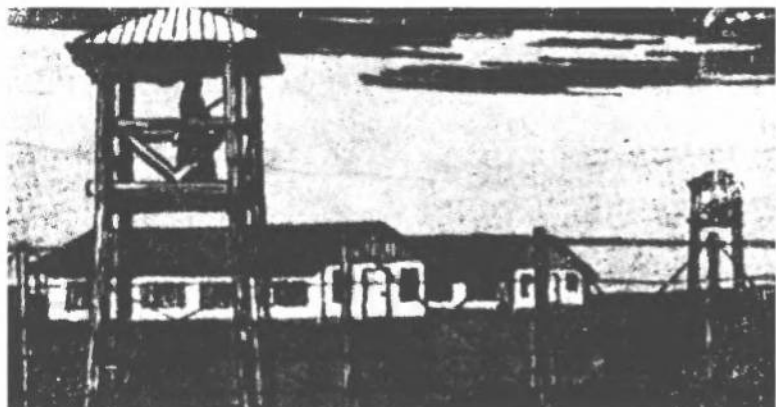




FOUR TYPES OF REGIMES

These prisons and camps have the same purpose as in Stalin's times . . .
They have undergone a sort of an internal reconstruction in certain ways.
But the existence of the Soviet concentration camps today cannot be denied because they are still there and basically nothing has changed.
Perhaps there are slightly better hygienic facilities in recent years, and the introduction of four types of regimes - general, forced, severe and special.
All political prisoners are automatically confined in the "severe" zones.

Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS

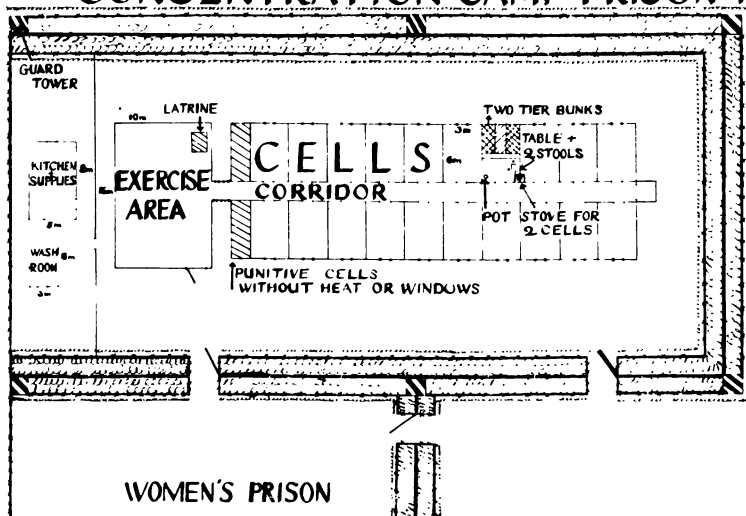


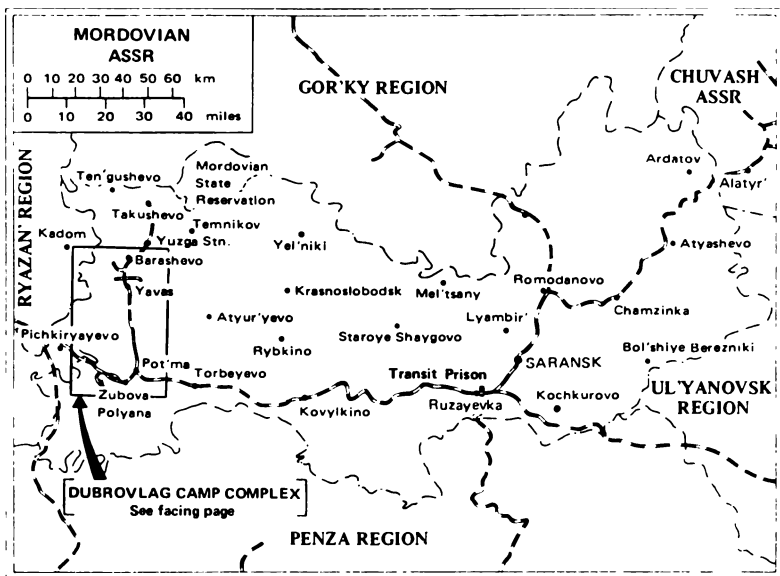
CHINESE PRISONERS

The Chinese prisoners were actually a legal mystery.
The majority of them were Chinese
who have lived for a number of years in the Soviet Union.
They asked to be repatriated not to Red China
but to Formosa, Hong Kong, Macao.
They were told that their applications for exit visas
will be reviewed in due time and eventually
they will be allowed to go back,
but instead they all landed
behind barbed wires
or iron bars.

Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS

CONCENTRATION CAMP PRISON 410





Dubrovlag has existed since 1929. The camp railway, from Pot'ma (on the main Moscow-Ryazan'-Ruzayevka line) northwards, was built in the 1930s. By 1938 it stopped 5 km short of Takushevo and had one branch line NW of Lesozavod. In the post-war decade two other branches were added and the line to Takushevo was completed. (The section N of Barashevo is outside the camp area.)

In early 1969 there were 16 camps left in Dubrovlag; of these, 12 were termed 'lagotdeleniye', and four smaller ones were called 'lagpunkt', viz. No. 3 Central Hospital (300 patients and 80 staff), No. 3 ('production'), 5F ('5 lagpunkt', some 230 male foreigners, including eight 'politicals') and 17a. Camp No. 2 contains within its area the Central Investigation Prison. The KGB Administration and the Dubrovlag Administration are both in Yavas itself. A KGB special prison often used for the 're-education' of Dubrovlag prisoners is in Saransk.

In early 1969, most political prisoners (viz. those sentenced under articles on 'especially dangerous crimes against the state'; cf. p.1, fn. 6 above), some 1,300 men, were held in Camp No. 11 (No. 7 was the largest political camp until early 1966); in No. 10 (special - i.e. the most severe - regime), there were some 225 men; No. 17a, deep in the forest, is a punitive camp, although formally the 225 men, political and some religious prisoners, held there were subject only to the usual severe regime; some 20-30 women were held in No. 6 (the bulk of its women inmates were non-political). Non-political prisoners, as well as political ones sentenced under articles other than those mentioned above, and religious prisoners, totalling about 8,500 men and 3,500 women, comprised the rest of the Dubrovlag population. In summer 1969, Camp No. 11 was disbanded, and the inmates distributed among Nos. 3 (to which women political prisoners have also now been moved), 17 and 19.

The components of the full camp addresses are: Мордовская АССР (Mordovian ASSR); ст. (station); often пос. (settlement) (which may be termed п/о, post office); учреждение (establishment) (formerly called п/я, P.O. Box) ЖХ (ЖН) 385, with the camp number after a stroke. (The addressee's name then follows.) Thus, the addresses of Camps No. 6 and 19 are: Мордовская АССР, ст. Пот'ма, пос. Лесной, учреждение ЖХ 385/6 and 385/19 respectively; Nos. 5, 5F and 10 have ст. Леплей, but the first two share the number, 385/5; No. 3, ст. Барашево; Nos. 17 and 17a, ст. Пот'ма, пос. Озерный. The address of Vladimir prison is Владимир-областной, учреждение ОД/1, СТ 2.

DUBROVLAG COMPLEX

of Correctional Labour Colonies
in the Mordovian ASSR

Scale 1: 352,000



Camp No.

F

Camp for foreigners

C.I.P. Central Investigation Prison

— railways

— major roads

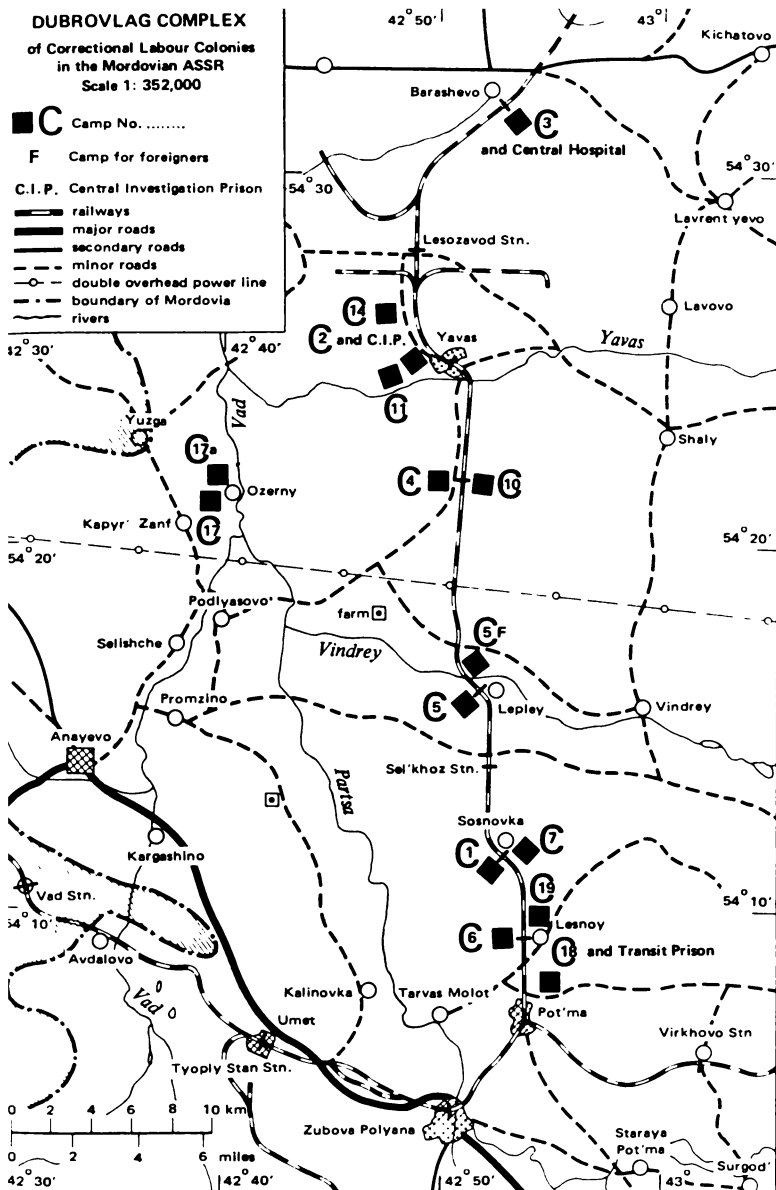
— secondary roads

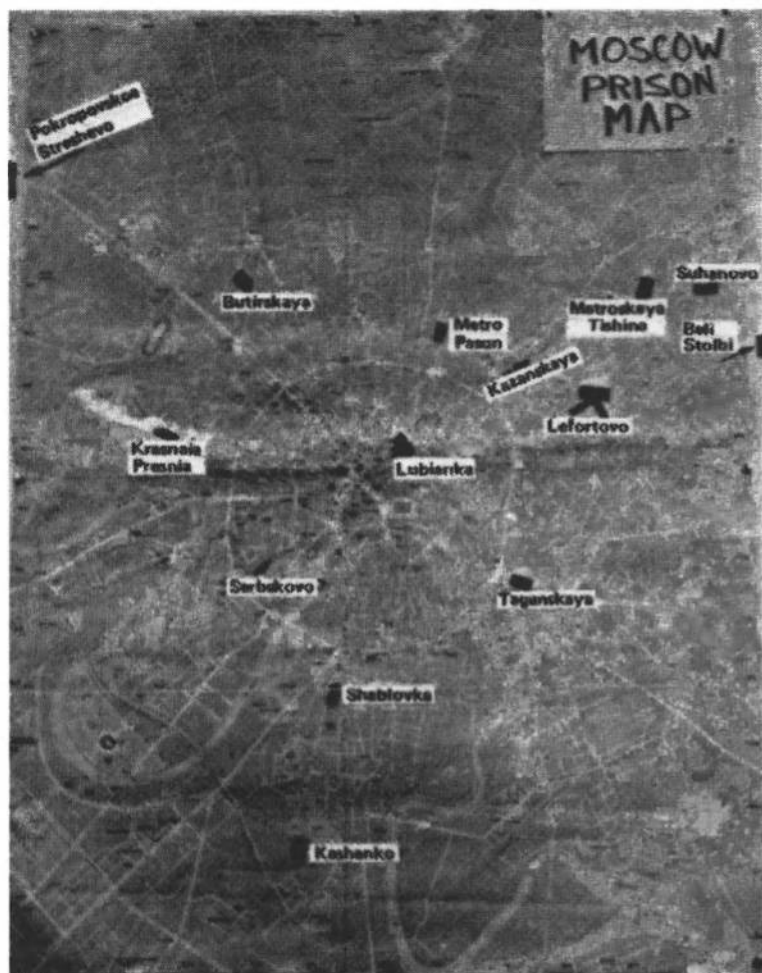
— minor roads

— double overhead power line

- - - boundary of Mordovia

— rivers





Prepared by Avraham Shifrin - - The map at left shows 14 of the major prisons in the Moscow area. The population of these prisons is heavily political. The largest of them, Lubyanka, Butirskaia and Lefortovo, are reputed to have 10,000 or more prisoners each. The Serbskogo institution is the best known of the psychiatric prisons, and through it have passed most of the well known intellectual dissidents who have fraudulently been confirmed as insane by the KGB psychiatrists.

*From U.S. Senate Hearings
Committee on the Judiciary
February 1 and 2, 1973*

TRUSTY PRISONERS

In Stalin's days the self-crowned kings,
the underworld clans, were absolute rulers
in the camps.

It was in my time that this transformation took place
with the establishment of a sort of camp militia
which is known as a section of internal order.

This is like the "capo" system
which existed in Hitler's camps.

Trusty prisoners were given unlimited power
over other prisoners.

They do have the same thing in
Soviet concentration camps.

In fact officially they were told that their
main function is to keep order inside the prison camps,
but actually they are informers;

they create disunity;

they minimize the terror of criminals.

This is only one major change in the camps.

Alexander DINCES



A SILENT UNDERSTANDING

The Russians, even as prisoners,
are considered more desirable and it seems to me
that the administration of the prisons has more confidence
in the Russian prisoners than in the non-Russians.
The Russians are given better jobs
in the prison camps;
people in charge of the working brigades,
working groups, are in most cases Russian,
of course,
with a few exceptions.
There is a silent understanding between the administration
and the Russians in the prison camp.

Alexander DINCES
from IN THE RUSSIAN
CONCENTRATION CAMPS



Part two

**more deafening
than thunder**



“PROPHET” MOSAIC

**“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.”**

TARAS SHEVCHENKO

Stained-glass window mosaic
in the Main Hall, University of
Kiev. Destroyed by the State.
One of its artists, P. Zalyvakha,
was sentenced to 5 years of
hard-labor. The other, Alla Horska,
was murdered by the KGB.

**ALLA
HORSKA**

Murdered by the KGB,
November 28, 1970
in Wasylikiw (near Kiev)



SIMPLY FOR READING A BOOK

But, is it possible
in our Soviet country,
a country in which the basic law - -
the Constitution - -
guarantees citizens freedom of conscience,
word, print, meetings and so on,
to throw people behind bars
simply for reading a book,
even if it is of a foreign ideology?
The truth does not require
the protection of censorship.

*Alla HORSKA
December 16, 1965*

IN MEMORY OF ALLA HORSKA

Burst into spring, my soul, and do not wail.
A frost of white Ukraine's bright sun is palling.
Go, seek the guelder rose's shadow fallen
on the black waters - - seek the red shadow's trail.

where there are few of us. A cluster small.
Only for prayers and hopes expressed in sighing.
We all are doomed to an untimely dying.
For crimson blood is sharp as any gall,

it stings as if within our veins forever
in a grey whirlwind of lamenting, twist
clusters of pain which fall in the abyss,
and, in undying woe, tumble together.

Vasyl STUS
December 3, 1970

THE FIRST DAY

Valentyn MOROZ

The first day in prison
is an eternity filled with pain.
Everything - - sounds, smells, dimensions, words - -
everything is filled with pain.
The first day in prison
is a man without skin.
Every memory is a scalding drop,
every thought a hot coal.
The first day is a plant
with its roots hanging in the air,
unable to attach themselves
to anything in the emptiness.
And this is the greatest suffering,
for the nature of roots
is to take root.
The time will come
when new roots will grow
from the woundtips
and will attach themselves to new soil
and absorb new juices
in order to feed the human "I want"
that is eternally hungry.
The axe of time strikes the crystal gate and suddenly
you are outside and free again.
You have your freedom, drunk, confused and - -
again without skin . . .
Afterwards there will be reminiscences, stories,
always facts, facts, facts:
funny, disgusting and touching.
But prison is not facts.
Prison is a man without skin on the first day.
But you cannot describe it . . .
Yet, after all, one day, you will describe it.
That will be - - later . . . later . . .
But today is - - the first day . . .

Ivano-Frankivsk, KGB Prison June 1, 1970



INTERNATIONALISM

When an “internationalist” complains
that some “national” does not run into his embraces,
“fences himself off,”
“clings” to his separateness,
“conserves” his culture and language, - -
we must know: his “internationalism” - -
is an “internationalism” of a Russian
Great-Power chauvinist.
His love - - is an appetite to appropriate and to swallow.

Ivan DZYUBA
from INTERNATIONALISM
OR RUSSIFICATION?

THE STONE WINDMILL

dedicated to Valentyn Moroz

Whenever I recollect
Thine image

it seems to me that
Thou hast emerged
from a dark aperture
of flame

and always canst Thou
return again
back to Thine own home

though the scrap of Thy country
lying under
Thy feet is called
only a prison cell

and to overcome space
is to gnaw at stone

and to overcome time
is but to tilt against
fossilized, petrified
stony windmills.

Ibor KALYNETS
(1970)

TRAITORS OF THE FATHERLAND

Ukraine is our Fatherland,
and if we have betrayed her
then why are we kept outside Ukraine
and are not trained and retrained by the Ukrainian people?
Is it perhaps because
the Soviet Ukraine is not Ukraine;
and the rights which have been given
to the citizens of Soviet Ukraine
according to her Constitution
are not real rights
and there is no possibility of their practical application,
and if someone dares to use such a right,
as for example the right of Ukrainian SSR's
secession from the USSR,
then such an intention will come out of his side,
for labels such as traitor of the Fatherland
are pinned on him for long-long years.

But perhaps
we are not traitors of the Fatherland at all?

I.O. KANDYBA

Yavas, 1967. Mordovian ASSR.

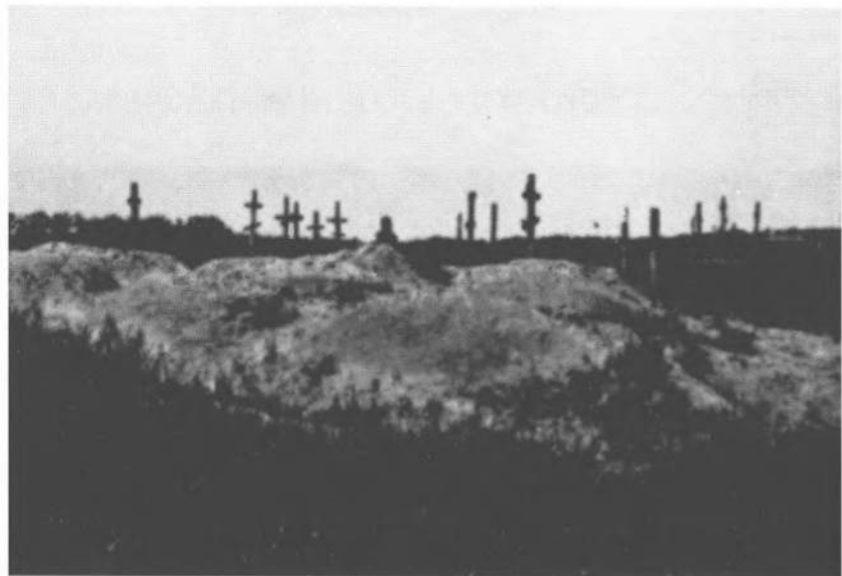


CATHEDRAL OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION

Does man matter still in this stream of life?
Does he weigh at least to such an extent
that he is able to stop before an abyss
by the efforts of his own reason and will?
In order to remain a man,
he must weigh at least that much . . .
But for this he needs the greatest efforts
of mind and spirit.
He must be reborn - - -
in order to understand that it is on him,
personally on him that everything depends.
Today, as never before in history,
everyone has to be a human being in mankind,
in order to feel its pains and anxieties with every nerve.
Today in particular everyone has to feel oneself
an organic part of a great cathedral of human civilization,
with all his being, to be a firm stone in this cathedral,
in order to hold it selflessly on himself.
For though this structure may be imperfect,
unfinished and already obsolescent in some respects,
it is the only temple of the human spirit
and we have to try to complete it,
and not to build on a new spot.

Yevhen SVERSTIUK
from THE CATHEDRAL
IN SCAFFOLDING





SILENCE MORE DEAFENING THAN THUNDER

I shall be tried behind closed doors;
but your secret trial will 'boomerang'
regardless of whether I am heard, or whether
I remain silent, isolated from the world
in a cell of Vladimir prison.
There is a silence more deafening than thunder
and it cannot be muffled,
even should you destroy me.
Liquidation is an easy answer,
but have you ever considered the truth
that the dead often count more than the living?
The dead become a symbol - -
they are the substance that nourishes
the will and strength of noble men

*Valentyn MOROZ
Ivano-Frankivsk, 1970
from INSTEAD OF A
LAST WORD*



NOBLE IMPULSES

What are you, impulses, ecstatic, elating?
Why do you stir heart and soul, and why rouse them?
Why perplex youth's alarm of existence?
Why spread your myths in the trackless distance?
Why do you rouse from its bed old age wary?
Why force quiet people into rebel daring?
Why teach the strong the defence of the feeble?
Why whisper anger and scorn for things evil?
Why do you call to the unploughed field even
Those who are safe now in some happy haven?
Why? Noble impulses, what means this craving?
For with you no warriors at the grave tremble,
The forces of even the weakest are trebled,
With you in the black hour, the uttermost limit,
It is easier to face the last, most-dread minute . . .
So, while I live, be with me, and stay me!

Svyatoslav KARAVANSKY
Vladimir prison, 1970

OUTLIVE ALL HATRED

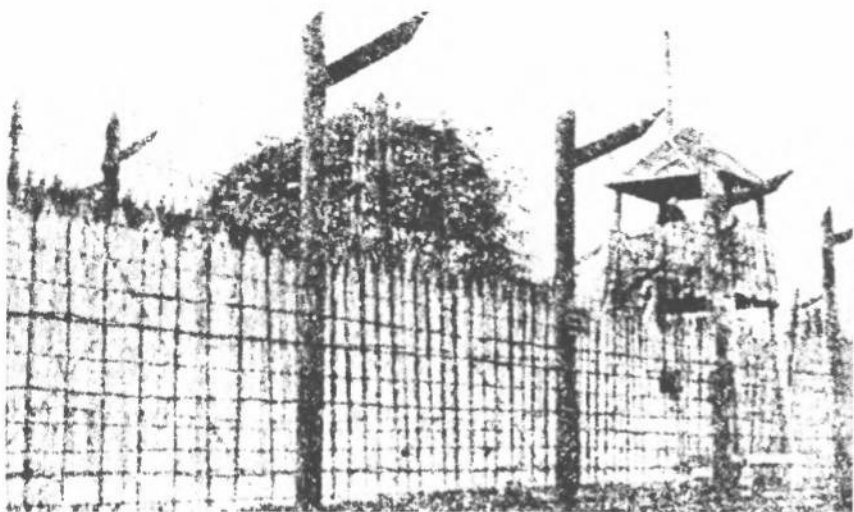
We Ukrainians in our community should struggle
against all manifestations of anti-Semitism
or disrespect for Jews,
all misunderstanding of the Jewish problem.

You Jews in your community should combat
those who do not respect Ukrainians,
Ukrainian culture, or the Ukrainian language,
who unjustly see a potential anti-Semite in every Ukrainian.

We should outlive all hatred
toward any human beings,
overcome all misunderstandings and with all our lives
bring about true brotherhood.

Ivan DZYUBA
from a speech
at Babi Yar





YOU HAVE ONLY ADDED FUEL

You wanted to extinguish the fire,
but you have only added fuel to its flames.
Nothing could have revitalized
Ukrainian community life as effectively
as your repressions.
Nothing could have drawn
as much public attention
to the Ukrainian reawakening
as did your trials.
You wanted to hide people
in the forest of Mordovia.
But instead
you placed them on a stage for the
whole world to see.

Valentyn MOROZ

from

*INSTEAD OF A
LAST WORD*



TO ROT BEHIND BARS IS NOT EASY

There will be a trial . . .
Very well, we will fight.
We need someone, especially now,
to provide an example of courage and determination.
You have already managed to
obtain a 'retraction'
and have dismissed others from their jobs,
while some have withdrawn
from the movement.
It remains, then,
for someone to erase the demoralizing
impact of these events.
It appears that I will be the one . . .
This is a heavy burden.
To rot behind bars is not easy.
Yet to have no respect for oneself,
is even more difficult!

And so we will fight!

Valentyn MOROZ
Ivano-Frankivsk, 1970
from INSTEAD OF A
LAST WORD

THE INJURED TRUTH

Various trials are taking place in our time.
We are not afraid to try bandits, sadists, murderers
in open-door trials . . .
Why we even let some of them go on bail . . .
But why, on what basis
was Valentyn Moroz tried behind closed doors?
Is it not because the injured truth
would suddenly stand beside the defendant?
Valentyn Moroz did not break any established laws.
But as a person,
he has the human right to think.
You are not the keepers of all human fate
and wear no black robes.
But in your hands today
is the fate of a human being,
and your own as well,
for History does not know how to forget.
And so that your ancestors
will not run away from your name,
burning with shame,
let the biblical wisdom be fulfilled:
“Judge not and ye shall not be judged”.

Iryna STASIV-KALYNETS
Ihor KALYNETS
City of Lviv
November 29, 1970.



A BOOMERANG

You tried to stone any glimmer of life
which appeared on the Ukrainian horizon.
But invariably
each stone turned out to be
a boomerang
which veered back to strike . . .
YOU! Why is it that these repressions
no longer produce the usual results?
Why has a tried and tested weapon back-fired?
The times have changed - there is your answer! . . .
You took a poker to scatter the coal,
but you succeeded only in stoking the flames.
Such is the extent of your effectiveness -
for our society has entered
a stage of development when
repressions produce results
diametrically opposed to your intentions.

Valentyn MOROZ
Ivano-Frankivsk, 1970
from INSTEAD OF A
LAST WORD

THE GROWING DECREPITUDE

The regime regards itself
as the acme of perfection and so
deliberately does not want to change its ways
either of its own free will or,
still less, by making concessions
to anyone or anything.
The current process of
“the widening of the area of freedom”
would be more correctly described
as one of the growing decrepitude of the regime.
To put it simply, the regime is getting old
and cannot now suppress
everybody and everything
with the same vigour as before . . .
If we consider the current “liberalization”
not as the regeneration
but as the growing decrepitude of the regime,
then the logical result will be its death,
after which anarchy will follow.

Andrei Amalrik

*CAN THE SOVIET UNION
SURVIVE THE YEAR 1984?*

Wasyl Symonenko

1935 - 1963

Poet-fighter on Ukrainian soil



*"Ukraine, you are my prayer,
My eternal desperation.*

*For your holy name I am ready
To pour forth my last drop of blood "*

W. Symonenko

TERROR

Granite obelisks crawled medusas,
Crawled until their strength failed, weary-worn,
In the cemetery of slain illusions
There is no room for new graves any more.

Milliards of faiths in the black earth are buried,
Milliards of joys are scattered without trace,
The soul burns, angry reason flames, while merry
Hate in the wind roars with a laughter crazed.

If only all deluded folk saw clearly,
If all the slaughtered ones might live again,
The heavens, grey from curses, then would surely
Burst apart from blasphemy and shame.

Think, lackeys! Tremble, murderers, in confusion,
Life was not cobbled to your last, for sure.
D'you hear? The cemetery of illusions
Has no more room for new graves any more.

For now the nation is one wound completely,
And now the earth with blood is satiate,
And for each henchman and each tyrant, meetly,
The noose of a guerrilla surely waits. . . .

Vasyl SYMONENKO

*(Selected from his prohibited works-
1960-63)*

PARADISE LOST

Mass education, mass medicine - -
that is nice.

But along with them came mass culture.
Instead of paradise promised by the Utopians
came deculturization, alienation, dehumanization
the loss of roots.

There is an English bank,
but there is no English folklore.
In a human being the technical function
is being developed to the excess
at the expense of the spiritual one - -
and this for some reason is called progress.

V. MOROZ
from THE CHRONICLE OF
RESISTANCE





WE LIVE IN HOPE

Once again history searches for the spiritual heritage
of our Don Quixotes among the muddy sediments
of the heritage of slaves.

Irrespective of our will,
we are joined as a link into the life of our planet
covered with a nervous system of atomic mines
and political volcanoes that are roaring ready to explode.
The world crisis of spiritual life
in view of the invasion of scientific and technical means
capable of changing physically
and even blowing up our planet - - -
is the greatest problem.

Today, the lack of wisdom,
great respect and love of man,
great responsibility for the heritage of ancestors
and the fate of the descendants
is felt as the greatest wounds of mankind.

A wound in which deadly infection can set in.
Its most terrible bearer is the semi-educated corporal
who knows the phraseology of culture and civilization.
But he is ignorant of that condensed spiritual force,
which stands behind words.

At the international trial of fascist experimenters
we learned the least lesson: the punishment of the bankrupts.
But we have not condemned and exterminated their principle
which is still being cultivated.

Nevertheless we live in the hope
that mankind will continue to purify itself spiritually and
and grow.

There is no other path before it.

Yevhen SVERSTIUK
from THE CATHEDRAL
IN SCAFFOLDING

KNOWLEDGE BECOMES FAITH

What gave the strength to the illiterate Christian
with his naive preachings
to overcome the Roman philosopher
burdened with the load of Greek and pre-Greek wisdom?

The philosopher knew more than the Christian preacher.
The essential difference
is not what one knows
and what the other one does not know.
The essence of the matter
consists in the degree of emotionality
with which a person looks at this or that truth.
One man simply knows it.
Another lives by it.
For one man this truth is simply information, knowledge.
For another - - it is a revelation without which
life loses all meaning.
Knowledge becomes faith.
And only then a man begins to live.

V. MOROZ

Excerpt from

AMIDST THE SNOWS



Mykhailo Soroka

**ETERNAL GLORY
TO AN UNBROKEN MARTYR**

His smuggled letter painfully
reached the West on June 15, 1971.
He died on June 16,
the following day,
in camp No. 17 in Mordovia.
Of the 60 years of his life,
30 years were spent
in Russian concentration camps,
8 years in Polish prisons.
Throughout these years
he refused to renounce his ideal - -
a Sovereign Ukrainian State,
in exchange for freedom.
There was no funeral.
There were no wreaths.
He lies buried somewhere
in a camp cemetery in Mordovia.
His wife, Katryna,
is now in camp No. 6.
Will her fate be different?
This, perhaps,
only we can decide.



AGAIN AND AGAIN

Again and again
there will be a need
to throw behind bars
those who persistently do not wish to call black white.
There will be a need for trampling
on the conscience of people
instead of leaning on people
with a developed sense of honour and conscience.
There will be a need to undercut the roots
of the tree on which new branches should be grown,
of which we are in such a shortage
after the devastating hurricanes.
Because later on there will be a need
after all to rehabilitate people
and admit the truth
for which they have sacrificed their youth.
History always brings up everything into clear waters . . .

V. CHORNOVIL



I AM ANXIOUSLY WAITING . . .

For four long years I waited with our small son for my husband and his father to come back from imprisonment, the grounds for which still seem questionable to many people. And we were able to spend only nine months together. If one takes into account the article of the Criminal Code under which Valentyn is charged, long years of separation await us again, and prolonged physical and mental tortures wait for Valentyn.

Is this all really necessary for building the most just and the most humane society in the world?

In view of the fact that statements in defence of my husband have been addressed to various official bodies and may be unknown to you, I have decided to collect at least a part of them and to send them to you.

Again and again I appeal to your objectivity, justice and humaneness.

*Raisa MOROZ
wife and mother*

*8th October, 1970
Ivano-Frankivsk
from an open letter to
Chairman of the KGB at
the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR
comrade Fedorchuk.*



**YURI
SHUKHEVYCH**

Born 1933. Son of Commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Roman Shukhevych. Sentenced in 1948 at the age of 15 to 10 years of imprisonment. On the day of his release, August 21, 1958, Shukhevych was rearrested and shortly thereafter sentenced to a second 10 year term. Released on August 21, 1968 and denied the right to return to Ukraine for five years, Shukhevych was living with his wife and two small children in Nalchik, Kabardinian ASSR, at the time of his third arrest in the early months of 1972. (Photo taken prior to most recent arrest.)

A LETTER FROM AVRAAM SHIFRIN

People! You who live in cozy apartments, who eat three meals a day. You who don't know the terrors of arrest and the distress for those who are left behind - family and children. You who express your indignation about the persecution of Manolis Glesos and Angela Davis

I want to shout to your faces: where is your conscience?

Once again arrests are being conducted in the USSR, once again people are being thrown into jails, and yet you remain silent. Your governments want "friendly relations" with criminals who tyrannize over their own people. 'We do not get involved in internal affairs.' How convenient! Let them oppress and murder the Czechs, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Jews and dozens of other nations - your conscience sleeps. Yet, all the Glesoses and Davises can shout and you hear them - the press and TV are at their beck and call

Whereas in the USSR my friend, Yuriy Shukhevych has just been arrested and he can't shout - they've sealed his lips

I sat with Yuriy in the same concentration camp, and he had been there for 20 years. And now he has been arrested again. Again the persecution of his family - again his children without bread

The sole "crime" of the Ukrainian, Yuriy Shukhevych, consists in the fact that he is the son of General Shukhevych, who courageously fought against the enslavement of the Ukrainians. The sole "crime" of Yuriy consists in the fact that he loves his country - and in Ukraine one cannot be a Ukrainian. And so, after 20 years of prison, Yura is once again in jail.

He is silent. You won't hear him. But I, a Jew, who is proud of being a nationalist, appeal to you, citizens of the free world. Help Yuriy Shukhevych. Demand that the Soviet authorities let him go.

Jerusalem
May 18, 1972

Avraam Shifrin

Russian-born Avraam Shifrin settled in Israel in 1970. From 1952 to 1962 he was an inmate of Soviet concentration camps.

Привет вам, наши братья
и сестры, в День Независимости!

שלום ילדכם אהובתינו
ואהבתנו ביום העצמאות.

Это праздник для еврейского
народа в Израиле и диаспоре,
и также для нас, находящихся
в лагере здесь, в Советском
Союзе.

זה חג לדם יהודי
בארץ ובארצות תפוצה
ואם לנו היושבים במחנה
רכוז פה בברית המועצות.

У нас не было возможности
изучать наш язык в школе,
и вы простите нам ошибки
в иврите.

על אף היו לנו אפשרויות
ללמוד את השפה הבתית סביב
ותסלחו לנו שגיאות בעברית.

Мы не жили в своем доме,
и вы простите нам, что мы
не боролись, как герои.

לא חיינו בביתנו ותסלחו
לנו שלא לחמנו כגיבורים.

Но не смогли отнять у
нас еврейскую душу и
нашу надежду.

אבל לא יכלו לקחת
ממנו נפש היהודי ותקלתו.

Теперь у нашего народа
есть государство, поэтому
мы верим, что встретимся
на нашей земле, и если не
в будущем году, то скоро.

דכסיו ישי מדינה
לעמנו, דל כן מאמינים
אלו שניפגש בארצנו
ואם לא לפני הבהא

1972 год

אז במהרה . תשל"ה

Валерий / Владимир Могилевский / באה מאה ילד
Григорий / Григорий Зернов / ב' ג' ר' נאסל
Залман / Вульф Залмансон / באה כ' זלמנסון
Залман / Израил Залмансон / ישרא' זלמנסון
Лев / Шимон Ловий / מ' זלמן לוי
Френк / Соломон Фрейндлих / שלמה פ' רונקר
Сусан / Яков Сусленский / יעקב סוסלנסקי
| Иосиф Менделевич | יוסף מנדלביץ'
| Гипель Шур | ה' ע' שור

LETTER SMUGGLED OUT IN 1972 FROM A
POTMA SLAVE LABOR CAMP. MORDOVIAN ASSR

LETTER FROM PRISON – TRANSLATION

Greetings to you, our brothers and sisters, on Independence Day! This is a holiday for the Jewish People in Israel and in the Diaspora, and also for us, who find ourselves in this camp here in the Soviet Union.

We have not had the opportunity to learn our own language in our schools, and you will therefore excuse our errors in Hebrew.

We have not lived in our own home and you will forgive us that we have not struggled like heroes.

They have not, however, succeeded in taking away from us the Jewish spirit and our hope.

Our people now has its own government, and we therefore believe that we will meet one another in our own land, if not in the next year, then soon.

Vladimir Mogilever
David Chernoglaz
Volf Zalmanson
Israel Zalmanson
Shimon Levit
Solomon Dreisner
Jacov Suslensky
Yosef Mendelevich
Hilel Shor

Potma, 1972

DEFENSE OF JEWISH MINORITY

“ . . . First of all I wish to draw your attention to discrimination against the Jewish population for the attitude toward the Jews is the litmus paper that shows the degree of international consciousness of a given society. The closing of Jewish cultural institutions, of newspapers, schools, theatres, publishing houses; the execution of Jewish cultural leaders: the discriminatory practice in the admission of Jews to the higher and secondary institutions of learning - - all these are phenomena which blossomed forth luxuriantly during the time of the Stalin personality cult. It seems that the condemnation of the cult should also have put an end to these discriminatory phenomena. Unfortunately, this has not happened . . . ”

Svyatoslav Y. Karavansky

*From the “Petition”
to the Chairman of the Council of
Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet
of the USSR*

AN APPEAL

On January 19, 1967 I was arrested. The sixth year of my imprisonment has now begun I am still ill and am suffering from duodenal ulceration. I am able to eat only a fraction of the food in the camp, being daily exposed to malnutrition. Due to the rules of strict regime, I am deprived of any possibility to receive the food I need from my parents and relatives.

Suffering from nightly excruciating pains, I am never able to get enough sleep for more than five years now. At the same time I must perform the obligatory hours of work. Every day was a torture, a continuous struggle with pains. My health is continuously deteriorating. My ulcerous affliction has become aggravated by hepatic lesion, intestinal and heart diseases, and so on.

Five years I was tormented in prisons. I endured this in silence. During the remaining two years I am to be gradually exterminated and I can no longer keep quiet, for not only my health but my very life is now endangered.

In addressing this statement to the International Red Cross and the Human Rights Committee I would like through these international organizations to address my request to the international community to draw the attention of the pertinent state and legal authorities in the USSR to the insufferableness of my position.

Yuri Galanskov
Mordovian ASSR
February, 1972

(Y. Galanskov died in the Camps in November, 1972)

from US Senate Hearings, February 2, 1973



Alexei Dobrovolsky



Alexander Ginsburg



Yury Galanskov

These three young men aged 29, 31, 28 were tried in Moscow, January 8, 1968, for co-operating in underground publications.

Photo Before Arrest
1967

Photo From Labor Camp



YURI GALANSKOV



“FRIENDSHIP”

I believe that a rapprochement with the USSR
will only have any meaning to the USA
when serious moves towards democracy
occur in the USSR . . .

Apart from individual benefits,
such a “friendship”, taken overall,
based as it would be
on hypocrisy and fear,
would bring the USA nothing
but fresh difficulties such as resulted
from the collaboration of Roosevelt and Stalin.

Andrei Amalrik

CAN THE SOVIET UNION

SURVIVE THE YEAR 1984?

AMERICANIZATION EQUALS RUSSIFICATION

A curiosity, but a very symbolic one:

America is a chaotic mingling
of fragments of all cultures.

America is the deculturalization of all elements
which fall into that pot.

Russia, so unlike America in everything else,
shakes hands with it in this respect.

Russia, is also eclectic.

As in America, so in Russia,
a person without roots not only is not considered
not to be full valued, but to the contrary:
boasts of his non-traditionalism,
“his broadness of views”.

An individual who is tied to specific traditions
is considered “backward” here and there.

The sooner an Italian emigrant becomes Americanized
in America (i.e. forgets his native language and
Italian traditions) - - the greater chance he has
of being included in the “full valued”.

The same is true here:

if you want to show that you are “progressive”
forget your origin immediately,

be a “universal man” (which practically means - - Russian)

V. MOROZ

*from THE CHRONICLE OF
RESISTANCE*



Part three

the broken silence

I JOIN IN PROTEST

I join in protest against the tyranny
and injustice being perpetrated by the USSR
against the people of the Ukraine,
the Baltic States and other nations
behind the Iron Curtain.

The wrongs that are being committed,
including the infamous sham trials
of dissident literary intellectuals
must be revealed in all its stark injustice.

The arbitrary arrests, the secret trials, the deportations,
the denials of freedom of opinion
and freedom of thought
and of conscience and of religion,
the denials of peaceful assembly and of association,
cannot be condoned.

The Rt. Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker
Former Prime Minister of Canada

*Speech to the Canadian League
for the Liberation of Ukraine
Sunday, June 25, 1972.*



UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

February 22, 1972

Professor Lev E. Dobriansky
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
302 West 13th Street
New York, New York 10014

Dear Professor Dobriansky:

I do appreciate the appeal which you and your colleagues have sent to me. I think the United States Government has clearly shown its disapproval of the persecution going on in the Ukraine. We have considered the activities of the Soviet Government, including the current wave of arrests, contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the Soviet constitution. Unfortunately, the Soviet Government rejects any attempt at official intervention.

Focussing world attention on this situation seems particularly appropriate both through the United Nations and private efforts as well. We have seen that the Soviet authorities do exhibit some sensitivity to unfavorable publicity abroad. For our part, members of the United States Delegation have frequently raised this issue and we shall continue to make our position clear as appropriate occasions arise. I should like to recall Mrs. Rita Hauser's statement in March of 1970 when voicing her concern for the condition and the rights of the people in the Ukraine, she demanded that the Soviet Union "take all necessary steps to ensure a flourishing life for its minorities."

We do indeed support the just attempts of the Ukrainian people to secure their legitimate rights. Please be assured that we will continue to do so.

Very truly yours,


George Bush

We must raise our voices in defence of those
in the Ukraine who dare speak out.
We cannot tolerate a turn of events in the Ukraine
and elsewhere that remind us of Stalinist solutions.
Prison and labor camps, absurd trials and sentences,
will not eradicate the national unity and feeling
the Ukrainians express now.

The current Soviet leaders lived through the Stalinist era,
have even officially condemned it,
but still we must remind them of the grave injustices
that were done in the name
of protecting the state.

We cannot stand by silent and let a new terror
be unleashed when the situation calls for adjustment
and realistic meeting of issues involving
fundamental questions of personal liberty
and national identity.
We must ask that the Soviet Union
live up to its constitutional principles
and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
that it subscribes to,
and end the repression
that is a wound to all men.

Henry Helstoski
Congress of the
United States
May 3, 1973

from the Congressional Record
May 3, 1973

REVEAL THE TRUTH

Believing in the sacredness of the human personality,
Canada, the United States and other western countries
uphold as a basic principle of democracy
the right to choose the Government
by which they shall be governed.
We believe in the right of the individual
to a fair and just trial,
and a sterling example of that belief
is the recent trial of Angela Davis in California.
You and I believe in the right to reveal the truth
of what is taking place in the USSR
against Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians
behind the Iron Curtain.
We believe in the right to protest
against injustice and tyranny.
You believe that your Governments
should bring the wrongs of the USSR
to the attention for action of the United Nations.

John G. Diefenbaker
Chairman of International
Human Rights Defense Committee



*from a letter to
Mr. O. Romanyshyn
President, World Conference
of Ukrainian Students*

I appreciate your expression of support for those of us in the U.S. Congress sponsoring the measure to withhold trade treaty status from nations with exorbitant exit fees. I do believe that the jeopardy in which Ukrainian intellectuals have been placed also deserves our close attention.

I assure you that I shall do everything I can to see that we in the Congress support what must be an unrelenting effort to end, for all times and in all places, the persecution of peoples whose only transgression is a yearning for freedom and dignity. I hope to hear of your progress and pray that our goals are achieved.

Adlai E. Stevenson III
United States Senate
July 20, 1973

DEMOCRATIZATION

The “democratization” as some Western observers refer to the change in Soviet practice,
is more apparent than it is real.

Although some forms of dissent
are not suppressed as automatically,
ruthlessly and completely as in the Stalin era,
this is more a reflection of the degree
to which the Kremlin has consolidated its power
than anything else.

Dissent that reaches a point
where it is construed as a threat to them
is not tolerated.

Paul T. HELLYER
former Canadian
Minister of Defence

from his book
AGENDA



U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT CONDEMNS PERSECUTION IN UKRAINE

“The arrests of dissident figures appear directed against advocates of Ukrainian cultural equality . . . The U.S. Government condemns these arrests as violations of the fundamental human rights assured under the ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ and the Soviet Constitution itself . . .

“I can assure you and all members of your organization that efforts of the Ukrainian people and other Soviet minority groups to secure basic human rights have our support . . .

Our U.N. Delegation has frequently raised the subject of persecution . . . in the Soviet Union, and on March 17, 1970, Mrs. Rita Hauser, U.S. Delegate to the Human Rights Commission, demanded that the Soviet Union ‘take all necessary steps to ensure a flourishing life for its many minorities.’ She voiced concern for the condition and basic rights of the Ukrainian people . . .”

John Richardson, Jr.
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs

*from letter to Dr. Lev. E. Dobriansky,
President of Ukrainian Congress
Committee of America,
March, 1972.*



DOUBLE-TONGUED HYPOCRISY

Canada, the United States
and all western nations
should speak out in the United Nations
against the wrongs being committed by the USSR.
The double-tongued hypocrisy of the USSR
in condemning other nations for colonialism,
and at the same time denying
nations under its dominations
the right to self-determination,
should be constantly condemned.
The United Nations should have brought before it
the denials of freedom of religion and of speech
and of justice under the law in the Ukraine
and in other captive nations,
which are becoming more and more
a studied course of action by the Kremlin
towards captive peoples.
Why should not Russian colonialism
maintained by brute force
receive the attention of the United Nations
to the same extent
as the United Nations has taken a stand
on injustice in other parts of the world?

John G. Diefenbaker

THE FREE WORLD CANNOT ALLOW THIS REPRESSION

“ . . . I have received a number of letters from Ukrainian Americans quoting dispatches from Reuters and the AP detailing the repression visited upon certain intellectuals in Ukraine . . . The people of the free world cannot allow this repression of the basic freedoms of speech and thought to continue. It is the duty of each of us to voice our strongest condemnation of these infringements of basic human rights. I agree with the objective of the Ukrainian American protesters which is to arouse public opinion so that the U.N. Commission on Human Rights will investigate the conditions in Ukraine - - what protesters describe as ‘systematic destruction of the Ukrainian cultural heritage and the policy of forced Russification.’ I hope that all Members of Congress will add their voices to those of the Ukrainian Americans who are protesting the trampling of human rights in Ukraine.”

*Gerald R. Ford
Member of Congress
United States of America
February 29, 1972.*

FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

The Soviet laud their written constitution
as the most democratic in the world,
and point out with pride that the USSR
is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
Yet the secret police are at work.
Arrests are made of writers
who have dared to point out
that what is being done is contrary
to the Constitution and to the United Nations Declaration.
I repeat that the right to quote the Constitution
in support of fundamental freedoms
has become a crime
for which the penalty is years of imprisonment,
and in some cases banishment to Siberia.

John G. Diefenbaker

A bill, H. Con. Res. 46 has been introduced in the House which calls for immediate investigation by the U.N. of the denial of basic human rights to Ukrainian citizens. Such a resolution is not unlike those introduced condemning Soviet persecutions of Jews. I well understand and can appreciate your deep concern with this grave matter.

Patricia Schroeder
Congress of the
United States
June 15, 1973

*from a letter to
World Conference of
Ukrainian Students*





As you probably know, I have cosponsored the Jackson Amendment to the President's Trade Bill. This amendment would deny the Soviet Union most-favored-nation status until it allowed its citizens freedom to emigrate -- regardless of nationality or religion.

There is certainly no doubt that Ukrainians have been treated very badly, especially recently. I am hopeful that passage of this legislation will go a long way toward improving the lot of oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union.

Alan Cranston
United States Senate
July 20, 1973

*from a letter to
World Conference of
Ukrainian Students*

I have supported legislation designed to limit United States trade with any country which limits the freedom of emigration, and share your concern for the Ukrainian citizens imprisoned without cause.

Any action which limits the freedom of the individual is culpable and our government's dealings with those limiting countries should be carefully considered before continuing.

William Lehman
Congress of the
United States
June 22, 1973

*from a letter to
World Conference of
Ukrainian Students*

BROADEN THE DISCUSSION

“ . . . The point is that real,
alleged or suspected violations
of human rights
in this country come quickly to public attention
through the mass media.

Unfortunately that is not the case in the Soviet Union . . .

We would welcome constructive discussion
or suggestions about how to approach
or solve them.

And perhaps we could broaden the discussion
to include the situation of Soviet Jewry,
religious freedom in Lithuania,
trials in the Ukraine
or the use of confinement to mental institutions
without due process of law . . .”

*William E. Schaufele, Jr.
Representative in the Economic and
Social Council, Commission on
Human Rights
April 6, 1972.*



TYRANNICAL DISREGARD OF HUMAN RIGHTS

“I strongly urge the Administration
to use every means at its disposal,
including our U.N. delegation,
to arouse public opinion throughout the world
against the tyrannical disregard of human rights
and human dignity by the Soviet Government.
Let us demand
that the Soviet Government
release these political prisoners immediately,
and that the Soviet Government refrain
from such activity in the future.”

Robert Taft, Jr.
U.S. Senator
March 17, 1972

A NEW ORDER

It is ironic that paralleling this most welcome moderation
on the part of practicing Christians
a new religion should be born to resurrect,
perpetuate and intensify
the religious oppression of ages past.
Communism, described by some
as the wave of the future,
has been the spiritual fountainhead of terror,
oppression, coercion and intolerance.
The crimes perpetrated
and being perpetrated by this new religion
make the historical precedents appear pale by comparison.
Its bloody purges represent a new order
of magnitude in mass murder.
It is the State Church of Russia and its Imperialistic Empire,
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Paul T. HELLYER
former Canadian
Minister of Defence

from his book
AGENDA



PROCLAMATION

Each year Canadians pay homage to those who gave their lives in two World Wars. Canadians of Ukrainian descent have contributed many thousands from among their numbers to the list of those who died in defence of those freedoms which form the very substance of our way of life.

We honour our dead. We respect their gift of life. The ideals for which these Canadians fought are universal strivings of all mankind. Conscience dictates that those ideals of peace, liberty and justice be upheld, whenever and where ever they are violated; and nowhere are these ideals disregarded to the extent that they are in the Soviet Union, where over 200,000 men and women have been incarcerated for their protest against the repressions by a system that negates all the strivings of civilized humanity.

Let us remember not only those who died, but also those who today endure the most inhumane conditions on over 100 Soviet hard labour camps because they tried to defend those very same ideals.

REMEMBRANCE DAY TRIBUTE — NATHAN PHILLIPS SQUARE
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 3:00 PM



“Man’s inhumanity to man
makes countless thousands mourn.”

The words of Robert Burns
ring with deep solemnness
as we remember those who suffered so tragically
at the hands of their fellow men,
as we mourn again those who died in two world wars,
defending the cause of freedom and justice.
We are reminded to remain forever vigilant
against the forces of hate and oppression,
against erosion of our democratic traditions,
against threats to the liberty and dignity
of individuals in our society.

P.E. Trudeau
Prime Minister of Canada
Ottawa K1A OA2
November 8, 1972.

*from a greeting to
Members of the Ukrainian Canadian
Committee at their Remembrance
Day ceremony in Toronto, Canada.*

**PETITION
TO
THE CANADIAN SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

Sir,

In projecting Canadian foreign policy for the 70's, the Canadian Government has stressed, among other objectives, it's intention to promote social justice and the observance of Human Rights in the international arena. The acceptance of this obligation, however, cannot be subject to the dictates of political and economic expediency, but must be consistent.

Our stand in reconciling Canada's economic needs with the responsibility of promoting the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is evident in our dealings with such countries as South Africa. Yet a principled stand appears to be faltering with respect to other states. In establishing closer ties with the Soviet Union, we cannot adopt a double standard. Where is our emphasis on "Social justice" when confronted by the consistent violation of Human Rights by Soviet authorities?

Of particular concern to many Canadians is the most recent wave of mass arrests and closed trials that have taken place in the USSR since January of this year. Under the cover of an exemplary constitution, Soviet authorities have embarked on a campaign of repression in Ukraine and the Baltic States, incarcerating hundreds for demanding their basic Human and National Rights. Such policies - loathsome relics from the times of Stalin, are perhaps best exemplified by the continuing persecution of YURIJ SHUKHEVYCH (see reverse).

I strongly urge the Government to undertake a study of this aspect of Soviet policy and adopt a positive and principled role in raising this issue before the international community. I urge the Government to use all available channels at it's disposal to ensure the observation of Human Rights by the USSR and to raise the plight of individual prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union on a humanitarian basis.

.....
Signature

.....
Address

“I have received a considerable number of petitions from members of the Canadian Ukrainian community about the case of Yuriy Shukhevych. It had been my intention to reply individually to the many cards bringing this issue to my attention. However at the present time these cards number some 2,000 and with this volume it is impractical for me to reply individually.

As I am anxious to respond to such widespread concern it seemed appropriate to address my reply to you in your capacity as President, Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Perhaps through you I can acknowledge the many requests urging the Canadian Government to use all available channels at its disposal to ensure the observation of human rights by the U.S.S.R.

I can give the assurance that every opportunity is taken, publicly and privately, to support the principle that there are limits to the exercise of state sovereignty and that the individual has certain rights, including those of life and freedom, liberty and personal security, fair and prompt justice, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and the right to leave any country including one's own.

The Canadian Government shares your concern about violations of human rights wherever they occur and the Soviet authorities are well aware of Canada's point of view.”

Mitchell Sharp
The Secretary of State for External Affairs
Government of Canada
Ottawa K1A OC2
January 19, 1973.

*from a letter to Dr. P.A. Kondra,
President, Ukrainian Canadian Committee.*

PROTEST

What should be done?
Protest, protest, protest!
Reveal the facts
so that the world will know
what is taking place.
Speak out
against the continuous disregard
of self-determination
of the peoples of the Ukraine,
the Baltic States,
and other captive nations
a right which is inherent
in the United Nations Charter,
to which the USSR is a signatory.

John G. Diefenbaker

WE SHOULD BE CONFIDENT

The world has now entered the space age.
Man has made tremendous progress
in his endeavor for freedom,
scientific creation and the harnessing of nature.
We should be confident
that we can do equally well
in countering aggression
and eliminating the slave labor systems.
We can no longer tolerate
the idea of men being treated as animals
and driven around as slaves
in a never ending state of toil
and persecusion.
Therefore, the ultimate goal of our fight
must be the tearing down
of the Iron Curtain
and the complete liberation
of the enslaved peoples.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang
Honorary Chairman
World Anti-Communist League



AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

JUNE 28, 1973
NEW YORK, USA

“We the undersigned call upon you, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to recognize the injustices being carried out by your Party’s leadership and to join us in demanding that the Soviet government release all political prisoners presently being held in the USSR and Czechoslovakia.”

Signed by:

Joan Baez
Philip Berrigan
Heinrich Boll
Naom Chomsky
Ramsey Clark
Harvey Cox
Erich Fromm
Nat Hentoff
Julius Jacobson
Anton Liebm
Robert Jay Lifyon

Norman Mailer
David McReynolds
Gunnar Mydral
Paul O’Dwyer
Margaret Papandreou
Alan Paton
Jiri Pelikan
Meyer Shapiro
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
Ivan Svitak
Alexander Yesenin Volpin

PETITION

ON THE OCCASION OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT AMERICAN DISSENTERS DEMAND AMNESTY FOR DISSENTERS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

NEW YORK TIMES
JUNE 24, 1973

We the undersigned are all American dissenters. We have actively demonstrated our opposition to American involvement in the monstrous war in Indochina. We have made no less clear our opposition to prevailing laws, customs and political policies which oppress racial minorities, the poor and women.

As American dissenters our primary commitments are to the causes and movements for economic and social justice in our own country. However, as American dissenters we cannot be indifferent to the fate of dissenters in Communist countries. To resist the inroads on civil liberties in the United States but to remain silent about the suppression of liberties in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, to protest U.S. policies in Indochina but to acquiesce in the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia would not only be immoral but would quite properly call into question the sincerity of our commitments at home. As American dissenters we do have a stake in the state of freedom in the Communist world.

It is in this spirit, just as we support amnesty for American war resisters, that we support the right to dissent in Communist countries and demand amnesty for those mentioned below and the thousands of others whose names do not appear.

Imprisoned for Demanding National and Political Rights in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Vyacheslav Chornovil, journalist, sentenced February 1973 to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years exile. *Ivan Dzyuba*, literary critic, sentenced February 1973 to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years exile. *Ihor Kalynets*, poet, sentenced November 1972 to 9 years imprisonment and 3 years exile. *Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets*, poet, sentenced August 1972 to 6 years labor camp and 3 years exile. *Valentyn Moroz*, historian, sentenced November 1970 to 9 years imprisonment and 5 years exile. *Yuriy Shukhevych*, sentenced in 1948 at age 15 to 10 years hard labor. Rearrested on release in 1958 and sentenced to second term of 10 years. Arrested for the third time in February 1972 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years exile. *Vasyl Stus*, poet, sentenced September 1972 to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years exile. *Yevhen Sverstyuk*, literary critic, sentenced March 1973 to 5 years labor camp. *Ivan Svitlychny*, literary critic, sentenced March 1973 to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years exile.

Imprisoned for Defending National and Democratic Rights in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

R. Bouzyas, *K. Grinkevicius*, *A. Kachinskas*, *V. Kalade*, *J. Macigauskis*, *J. Prapuolenitis*, *Richard Truskauskas*, *V. Urbonagius*, *V. Zmuida*, students. All 8 were

INITIATING COMMITTEE

Father Daniel Berrigan
Father Philip Berrigan
Naom Chomsky
Ira Glasser
Nat Hentoff
Julius Jacobson

Phyllis Jacobson
Dwight Macdonald
David McReynolds
Sidney Peck
I. F. Stone
Mel Wulf

tried on October 3, 1972 and given sentences ranging from 18 months to 10 years in prison for taking part in the uprising in Kaunas in May 1972.

Imprisoned for Planning to Leave the USSR for Israel

The following were defendants in the December 1970 and May 1971 Leningrad trials charged with "conspiring to hijack an airplane" from Leningrad to Israel: *Anatoliy Altman*, engineer; *Hillel Butman*, lawyer; *Mark Dymshitz*, pilot; *Leib Knoch*, electrician; *Edouard Kuznetsov*, translator; *Mikhail Kornblit*, dental surgeon; *Iosif Mendelevich*, student; *Boris Penson*, artist; *Israel Zalmanson*, student; *Sylvia Zalmanson*, engineer. All given sentences from 7 to 15 years under harsh discipline.

Imprisoned and Persecuted for Advocating Civil Rights in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Vladimir Borisov, member of the Action Group in Defense of Civil Rights in the USSR. Confined 1969 to the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital for 3 years. *Vladimir Bukovsky*, poet, sentenced January 5, 1972 to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years exile for criticizing the Soviet government's use of psychiatric hospitals for political prisoners. *Viktor Fainberg*, art critic, arrested for taking part in a protest demonstration against the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Confined for an indefinite period of time to the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital. *Pyotr Grigorenko*, human rights activist. Confined to a special psychiatric hospital since May 7, 1969. *Pyotr Yakir*, activist in the civil rights movement in the USSR. Arrested June 21, 1972. Presently awaiting trial. *Yuri I. Yukhnovets*, machinist, arrested August 22, 1972. Presently awaiting trial.

Imprisoned in Czechoslovakia for Demanding Democratization of Socialism

Milan Hubl, historian, former member of the Central Committee and Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Sentenced on August 1, 1972 to 6½ years imprisonment. *Jaromir Litera*, former Secretary of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Sentenced July 20, 1972 to 2½ years imprisonment. *Jiri Muller*, student leader. Sentenced July 21, 1972 to 5½ years imprisonment. *Jaroslav Sabata*, political scientist. Former member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Sentenced August 1972 to 6½ years imprisonment. *Jan Tesar*, historian. Member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party since 1964. Sentenced July 25, 1972 to 6 years imprisonment.

AMERICAN SIGNATORIES

Michael D. Abell	Ann Davidon	Rabbi Robert E. Goldberg
Richard Arneson	William Davidon	Leon Golub
David Aroner	Elaine de Kooning	Paul Goodman
Dore Ashton	David Dellinger	Phil Goodstein
Herman Badillo	Ronald Dellums	Sanford Gottlieb
Joan Baez	Barbara Deming	Cleve Gray
Ruth Tiffany Barnhouse	George Dennison	Francine du Plessix Gray
Carleton Beals	Stanley Diamond	Josh Greenfeld
Julian Beck	Ralph Di Gia	Beth & Jules Greenstein
Larry W. Beeferman	Douglas F. Dowd	Burton Hall
Anne M. Bennett	Hal Draper	Morris Halle
John C. Bennett	Martin Duberman	Paul Halvonik
Sidney Bernard	Joseph Duffey	James D. Hare
Nell Blaine	Troy Duster	Elizabeth Hardwick
Burt Blechman	Eileen Egan	Donald Szantho Harrington
Bernie Bolitzer	Julius Eichel	Janey B. Hart
Sam Bottone	Daniel Ellsberg	Alfred Hassler
Malcolm Boyd	Barbara Epstein	Richard O. Hathaway
Richard Boyden	Jason Epstein	David Herreshoff
Ruth Boyden	James Fairley	Herbert Hill
Kay Boyle	Richard A. Falk	R. Philip Hoehn
Horst Brand	Howard Fast	Dustin Hoffman
Henry Braun	Richard Feingold	Darlington Hoopes
Richard Broadhead	Michael K. Ferber	Irving Louis Horowitz
Eleanore L. Browning	John & Martha Ferger	Doug Hostetter
Ernest Callenbach	Richard & Happy Fernandez	David R. Hunter
Charles & Carole Capper	Leslie A. Fiedler	Jean Claude van Italie
Art Carter	Richard Flacks	Louis Jacobs
Owen Chamberlain	Joe Flaherty	Paul Jacobs
Harry Chester	Thomas Flanagan	Sara Jacobs
William Sloane Coffin, Jr.	Roy Finch	Christopher Jencks
Edna Coleman	James Finn	Donald Kalish
J. David Colfax	Joseph Fontenrose	Louis Kampf
Martin J. Corbin	Rev. Joseph W. Frazier	Craig Karpel
Emile Capouya	Michael Friedman	Abe & Ida Kaufman
Paul Cowan	Abe Friend	Herbert C. Kelman
Harvey Cox	Erich Fromm	Roy C. Kepler
Dennis Creek	James J. Gallagher	Fay Knopp
David Creque	Ben Gazzara	Eva Berliner Kollisch
Frederick Crews	Maxwell Geismar	Seymour Krim
Larry Crocker	Rabbi Everett Gendler	Stanley Kunitz
Gretchen Cryer	Eugene D. Genovese	Christopher Lasch
Margaret Cunningham	Richard Gilman	Joanne Landy
Jim & Susan Dailey	Allen Ginsberg	Donald Lazere

AMERICAN SIGNATORIES (continued)

Sidney Lens	Mary Perot Nichols	Harry & Tina Sutonen
Michael P. Lerner	M. Novak	Stephen Silberstein
Nelson N. Lichtenstein	Maxwell Nurnberg	Robert Silvers
Anne Lipow	Mark O'Connor	John J. Simon
Arthur Lipow	Martin Oppenheimer	Stephen Smale
Dick Logan	Peter Orlovsky	Herbert L. Solomon
Jack London	Rochelle Owens	Nancy Spero
Jackson Mac Low	Oxford House	Sylvia & Edward Speyer
Salvador E. Luna	Bettina D. Paige	Henry Spira
Conrad Cynn	Christopher Paige	Peter Steinfelds
Judith Malina	Joseph Papp	Cheryl Stevenson
Saul Maloff	Jim Peck	William Styron
Leon Mandel	Don Peretz	Harold Taylor
Betty Mandell	James & Betty Petras	Raoul Teilhet
Marvin Mandell	Rita Poretsky	Studs Terkel
Herbert Marcuse	Carolyn Porter	Evan W. Thomas
Jeffrey Marker	Norman Rabkin	James E. Thompson
Rollo May	Dotson Rader	Dalton Trumbo
Milton Mayer	Ronald Radosh	Arthur Waskow
Mary McCarthy	Alexis Rankin	Amos Vogel
Carey McWilliams	Thomas E. Rankin	Virgil J. Vogel
Stewart Meacham	Marcus Raskin	George Wald
Saul Mendelson	William O. Reichert	Minam & Jac Wasserman
Everett Mendelsson	Igal Roodenko	George W. Webber
Anne Middleton	Bernard Rosen	Charles C. West
Josephine Miles	Burton Rosen	Stewart Weinberg
Masao Miyoshi	Benjamin Rosenblum	Lois Weiner
Michael L. Monheit	Theodore Roszak	James Weinstein
Ashley Montagu	Muriel Rukeyser	Mary Knox Weir
Bernard Morrill	Janice Rule	Stanley Weir
James M. Morrissey	Ed Sanders	Geoffrey White
Frederick Morton	Judy & Porter Sargent	Dorothy Nason White
Rev. J.P. Morton	Lorna H. Scheide	Eli S. Wilentz
Barrington Moore, Jr.	Andre Schiffrin	Michael Willcoxon
Arthur E. Morgan	Mark Schorer	Joseph Wiseman
Sidney Morgenbesser	Charles Schwartz	Max Wohl
Bishop J. Brooke Mosley	Steven S. Schwarzschild	Seymour Yellin
Richard B. Muller	Leo Seidlitz	Ronald Young
Lewis Mumford	Charles H. Shain	Steve & Barbara Zeluck
Richard Murphy	Helen C. Shain	Iarzer Ziff
Otto Nathan	Stanley K. Sheinbaum	Ruth Ziff
Aryeh Neier	Madeleine Sherwood	
John Oliver Nelson	William L. Shirer	
Henri L. Nereaux	Mulford Q. Sibley	

READ NO EVIL

A secret Soviet directive to all media editors and censors obtained by TIME

The directive, dated 1970 but still in effect, censors discussion of many things that are commonly and openly discussed and debated in the West.

In the judicial area, almost nothing passes to the public without prior censorship. Publication of information about closed-court proceedings is forbidden. Though most Russians have heard about labor camps, the directive takes special pains to ensure that they do not read about them. Censorable subjects include "information about the existence of correctional labor camps," "facts about the physical condition, illness and death rates of prisoners and information about extraordinary events in the camps such as suicides and illness."

Time,
July 23, 1973.



P. Kovalchuk
Ukrainian Inmate,
After Years of Torture
in Soviet Prisons



Gyusel and Andrei Amalrik

INVOLUNTARY JOURNEY

After three years in Siberian prison camps, writer Andrei Amalrik, 35, was rearrested and has now been sentenced to three more years for "fabrications defaming the Soviet state." He has gone on a hunger strike. His friends fear for his life, since he is already in poor health from meningitis and years of eating deficient food. His trial in Talaya, 4,000 miles from Moscow on the Asian coast, was well out of bounds of foreign newsmen. His wife was barred from the courtroom. Historian Pyotr Yakir and Economist Victor Krasin have been held in jail without trial for more than a year on related charges.

TIME
August 6, 1973



Pyotr Yakir

EMIGRATION = CRIME

An attempt to flee the Soviet Union is a grave criminal offense. It is considered to be treason. Punishment is most severe as provided in Article 59, Criminal Code of the Latvian SSR:

SEVIŠĶĀ DAĻA

Pirmā nodaļa

VALSTS NOZIEGUMI

I. SEVIŠĶI BISTAMI VALSTS NOZIEGUMI

59. pants. Dzimenes nodevība

Par dzimenes nodevību, tas ir, par PSRS pilsoņa ar nodomu izdarītu nodarījumu, kas kaitē PSRS valsts neatkarībai, teritoriālajai neaizskaramībai vai militārajai varenībai, pāriešanu ienaidnieka pusē, spiegošanu, valsts vai militāra noslēpuma izpaušanu ārvalstij, bēgšanu uz ārzemēm vai atteikšanos atgriezties no ārzemēm PSR Savienībā, palīdzības sniegšanu ārvalstij tās naidīgajā darbībā pret PSRS, kā arī par savērēstību nolūkā sagrābt varu, — soda ar brīvības atņemšanu uz laiku no desmit līdz piecpadsmit gadiem, konfiscējot mantu, un ar nometinājumu uz laiku no diviem līdz pieciem gadiem vai bez nometinājuma, vai ar nāves sodu, konfiscējot mantu (Latvijas PSR Augstākās Padomes Prezidija 1961 g. 21. augusta Dekrets — «Latvijas PSR Augstākās Padomes un Valdības Ziņotājs», 1961 g., 35 nr.)

Translation

Special Section

Part One

Crimes Against the State

Highly Dangerous Crimes against the State

Article 59. Treason

Treason, that is, a deliberate offense by a citizen of the USSR that harms state independence, territorial integrity or military greatness: ... flight to a foreign country or refusal to return... is punishable by imprisonment of ten to fifteen years, with confiscation of property, and by two to five years banishment or without banishment, or by death with confiscation of property.

(Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Latvian SSR, dated August 21, 1961)

Still, many youths keep trying to cross the Soviet border. An American of Lithuanian descent who recently spent five years in Soviet prison camps told Swedish newsmen of meeting such unlucky young people in one of the prisons in 1963:

I ett särskilt fångblock met-
des alla reservanter för hemliga
politiska åtgärder och ungdomar som
hittades för försök att övervintra
Sverige genom det tillflyktslandet
Norge, Polen, Finland, Polen och
Iran. Dessa ungdomar blev var be-
spädd. Ingen av ungdomarna fick ställa
fångförflyttningen de till Norge
kommer gå till i Sverige. Ingen av
de som hålls under noggrann po-
litisk övervakning under tiden de finns
därin "brott" Sverige inte ska
övertala.

Translation:

"In one separated wing of the prison with eight cells for prisoners of the secret police, were youths arrested for trying to cross the border of the Soviet Union to Norway, Finland, Poland or Iran.

The fate of these youths was tragic. After serving their sentence they were forced to live in a far-away place of the Soviet Union under police surveillance. Their "crime" spoiled their whole future."

Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm, March 25, 1968

A DANGER FOR THE STRUCTURE

In an incessant struggle Ukraine has forged its national identity, which was manifested by the national, though ephemeral, government during the revolution.

No wonder that today Ukrainian "nationalism" is so alive. It goes in step with the reawakening of nationalism in the Asian republics of the USSR (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan), and also with the renewed national feeling of Jews in the USSR. The Soviet Union, which amassed so many different peoples, may justly fear the danger to its structure . . .

France-Soir

January 16, 1972

WAVE OF ARRESTS

Among the arrested Ukrainian dissidents are also young people, especially students, professors and literati. The police took decisive measures also in other universities and industrial centers such as Chernivtsi, Poltava, Kharkiv, Dnepropetrovsk. The wave of arrests extended also to those circles which support the program of Valentyn Moroz demanding full equality for Ukraine.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

January 19, 1972

THEY POSSESSED NOTEBOOKS

What had these men done? They had discussed among themselves, and among their friends, ways and means of legally resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture. They possessed books dealing with this problem, some of them written in Czarist times. They possessed notebooks with quotations from the great Ukrainian patriots . . . They were not advocating secession in any form and even had they done so, there would have been no violation of the constitution . . . They were deeply concerned because the Moscow Government was still persisting in its efforts to blot out Ukrainian consciousness which even Stalin with his massive deportations and killings failed to do . . .

Edward Crankshaw
London OBSERVER
February 11, 1968

Russian show trial ushers in new drive on Jews

By
REUBEN SLONIM

Telegram
Associate Editor

On December 13, the Soviet Union will try 34 of its citizens for alleged conspiracy in the attempted hijacking of an airplane.

All signs point to a show trial. The KGB (secret police) has pulled out all the stops in making the accused appear part of a vast network of traitors.

Last June 15, nine Kiga residents were arrested at Leningrad's Sverdlov airport as they walked across the tarmac to board a plane. At the same time eight others were seized in the Leningrad area. Since then the KGB net has spread to Khabarovsk and Tbilisi, with more arrests.

The Russians have never made any pretense about guarding human rights in domestic affairs, although their constitution and membership in the United Nations make them lip-service advocates of such principles. It is, therefore, not surprising that no specific charges have been made against the 34 prisoners; they weren't even able to contact relatives, friends or even defence counsel.

What gives the trial special significance is that all those arrested are Jews. The materials confiscated from their homes would be innocent enough in a country like Canada, but in the Soviet Union they seem to be treasonous. Here new grammars, Jewish history and other reference books, post cards from Israel, copies of open letters to Soviet universities and prominent people abroad appealing for help to emigrate to Israel.

Books seized

Books or documents containing the words Jew, Jewish or Judaism were seized.

As one incredible brave, young Leningrad Jew, Viktor Bogdanovskiy, said in a letter to the Soviet prosecutor general: Their only crime was that they were born Jews and sought to remain Jews, or saying this, Bogdanovskiy was himself arrested.



Three of the 34 accused facing a possible death sentence in Soviet show trial. From left, David Cernogla, Lev Hanoach and Boris Matveyev, all of Kiga.

U.N. declaration of freedoms

The General Assembly of the United Nations, today's closed approach to the Parliament of Man, adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 22 years ago today.

It was proclaimed as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

In 30 articles accorded to everyone without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, the right to life, liberty and security, freedom from slavery, freedom from arbitrary arrest, thought to a fair trial, freedom of movement, freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion and expression, the right of association and peaceful as-

sembly to work free from discrimination and for a just remuneration and other similar rights.

Article II, subsection 1, says: "Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law and in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary to his defence."

Article 13, subsection 1, says: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

Now, when in all places and times, such as free, the Declaration of Human Rights is not a mere document, it is a living spirit for a better world.

passed five months later to three years of hard labor for "anti-Soviet slander."

His name? According to Khrenko, the victim of the democratic inside ground in the Soviet Union, which cites latest parts of the transcript of his trial, he must stand that Eduk Yav, (the name outside Kiga, where the Nazis slung tens of thousands of Jews in 1941 was a Jewish as well as a Ukrainian tragedy, and that he could not live as free as the U.S.S.R. because there was no cultural and economical institution and therefore needed to make his own in Israel).

At his trial, according to Khrenko, was almost to distinguish between crime, conscience and defence counsel. Even all indicated hostility to him at personal free trial.

Archbishop of the U.S.S.R. in Ukraine has been pronounced by the Soviet Union to be a traitor.

THE USE OF WET CANVAS

V. BUKOVSKY, who spent a total of six years in Soviet prisons, described one torture in the insane asylums. "It involved the use of wet canvas, in which the patient is rolled up from head to foot. As the canvas began to dry out, it would get tighter and tighter and make the patient feel even worse. There were medical men present while it was taking place, who made sure that the patient did not lose consciousness."

GLOBE AND MAIL
Toronto, July 28, 1970



WE MUST NOT FORGET THOSE CRIES

I believe
that no major crime against society can remain undetected.
Some old Masha
who saw everything will always turn up,
or else a few people - -
a dozen, two or even just one - -
will manage to escape
and live to tell the tale.
However much you burn and disperse
and cover over and trample down,
human memory still remains.
History cannot be deceived,
and it is impossible to conceal something from it for ever.

I started writing this book in Kiev,
in my mother's shack.
But then I found
I couldn't go on with it - -
I just couldn't sleep.
I would hear cries as I lay in bed at night.
We must not forget those cries.
They are the present day.
What will happen tomorrow?
What new Babi Yars, Maidaneks,
Hiroshimas, Kolymas and Potmas
in what places and with what new, more advanced methods,
lie hidden in the future, just biding their time?
And which of us now living
is already perhaps marked out for them?
I wonder if we shall ever understand
that the most precious thing in this world
is a man's life and his freedom?

A. Anatoli (Kuznetsov)
Kensington, England, 1969

A BOTTOMLESS PIT

Is there more justice in the world today?
Is there more goodness?
Greater respect for the human personality?
Just see how much justice, goodness
and respect for human beings there is!
There is only more cynicism and more sacrifices.
It is like a bottomless pit:
stupid politicians keep on demanding them,
and they are ready even
to turn the whole world into a Babi Yar,
so long as they can remain in power.
For the rest, what do they care?
This is not the time to be thinking about justice
or about progress, but rather about survival.
So much for our progress.

A. Anatoli (Kuznetsov)
Babi - Yar,
London, 1972
(Text cut out by Soviet Censors)

Part four

we

IMPRISONED UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE LEADERS



Viacheslav Chornovil



Ivan Dzyuba



Ivan Hel



Yaroslav Hevrych

IMPRISONED UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE LEADERS

Mykhailo Horyn



Ihor and Iryna Kaynets



Sviatoslav Karavansky



Valentyn Moroz

IMPRISONED UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE LEADERS



Mykhailo Osadchy



Mykola Plakhotniuk



Leonid Pliushch



Oleksander Serhiyenko

IMPRISONED UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE LEADERS

Stefania Shabatura



Vasyl Stus



Yevhen Sverstiuk



Ivan Svitlychnyj

A LIST OF RECENT UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

ANTONIUK,	Zinoviy - - - age 40, scientist; arrested January 12-13, 1972 tried and sentenced to 7 years and 3 years exile.
BALASHIW,	Mykhailo - - - arrested August, 1972 in Chernyhiv for his religious convictions.
BONDAR,	Mykola - - - lecturer of philosophy; tried in Kiev, May 12, 1971; sentenced to 7 years of hard-regime labor camp.
BOYCHUK,	Yuri - - - former member of OUN ¹ , sentenced February 21, 1971 in Ternopil (Western Ukraine) to 15 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile.
BRYND,	Yulyan - - - age 43; worker; tried May, 1972 at Kharkiv and sentenced to two 5 years general-regime labor camp.
CHAYKA,	Ivan - - - former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; arrested in January, 1972 in Volhynia, to death. The sentence was carried out.

¹ OUN - - - Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; an underground revolutionary organization; it carried out an independence struggle against Polish chauvinism, German national-socialism and Russian communism.

CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav - - - age 36, journalist; arrested in July 1966 for the first time and sentenced to 3 months of hard labor for refusing to testify at a closed trial of Ukrainian dissidents. Rearrested in August, 1967, and on November 15, 1967 sentenced to 3 years of hard labor for compiling documents on the arrests and trials of twenty Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-66. The documents were published in the West in 1968 under the title, The Chornovil Papers. Chornovil was released after 18 months due to an amnesty. On December, 1969 Chornovil signed a petition demanding open trials. On November, 1970, Chornovil refused to testify at the closed trial of Valentyn Moroz, a historian. On December, 1971, Chornovil joined a committee headed by the Jewish dissenter Pyotr Yakir to defend Nina Strokata-Karavanska, a microbiologists. On January 12, 1972 he was tried in camera and sentenced to 7 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile.

CHORNOVIL, Brother of Vyacheslav Chornovil. The whereabouts is unknown, probably kidnapped by the KGB on January, 1972.

CHUBAY, Hryhoriy - - - age 30; poet and worker. Arrested on January 12-13, 1972. His whereabouts is unknown.

DASHKEWYCH, Yaroslav - - - scientist; arrested in the winter of 1972 in Lviv.

- DEMYANCHUK, Tikchon - - - former member of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists); sentenced in 1972 in Volhynia. The sentence is unknown.
- DIDYK, Halyna - - - arrested on March, 1950 for taking part in post-war guerrilla movement in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. She was also a worker in the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II. Tried in Lviv, 1950 and sentenced for 25 years of hard labor; at present Halyna Didyk is at Vladimir prison.
- DYAK, Volodymyr - - - age 42, engineer; poet. He was arrested on December, 1971 and tried on April, 1972 in Lviv and sentenced to 7 years of hard labor; plus 5 years exile.
- DZYUBA, Ivan - - - age 42; literary critic. Dzyuba wrote Internationalism or Russification? a critique of the current Soviet nationalities policies. His work was published in the West in 1968. Early in 1968, together with more than 150 persons signed a petition addressed to the First Secretary of CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, Alexei Kosygin, and Nikolai Podgorny, protesting closed trials. On November, 1970 Dzyuba refused to testify at the closed trial of Valentyn Moroz. On January, 1972 he was placed under house arrest.
- In March, 1972 he was expelled from the Union of Writers of the Ukrainian SSR. In April, 1972 he was arrested once again. He was tried in camera in Kiev in March, 1973

- DZYUBA, Ivan (continued)
and sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment.
(It should be noted that Ivan Dzyuba suffers from accute tuberculosis).
- HEL, Ivan - - - age 36; blacksmith and student; married, and has one child. He was arrested in August 24, 1965, tried and sentenced in camera to 3 years of hard labor. In November 28, 1970 Hel delivered a eulogy at the funeral of Alla Horska (artist) who was assassinated by the KGB, calling her "the faithful daughter of the Ukrainian Revival". For his participation in the funeral and the eulogy, he got a strong reprimand from his employer for "truancy". In December, 1970 he wrote an appeal protesting the harsh sentence given to Valentyn Moroz. Ivan Hel was arrested again in January 12-13, 1972 in Sambir. He was tried and sentenced in Lviv to 10 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile.
- HEL, ; sister of Ivan Hel. She was arrested in the spring of 1972 in Lviv.
- HLUZMAN, Vyacheslav - - - age 31; psychiatrist. He was arrested in May, 1972 and tried in Kiev on October, 1972 and sentenced to 7 years of hard labor camp and 3 years of exile.
- HOLTZ, Ihor - - - age 27; lieutenant of medical services. On April, 1972 he was tried at Lutsk and sentenced to 3 years of general regime labor camp.

- HROMLIAK, ; in 1972 he was killed by the KGB in Ivano-Frankivsk.
- HRYHORENKO, Wasyl - - - arrested in Kiev in January, 1972. His fate at present is not known.
- HULYK, Stefania - - - student; former employee of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments; married and has one child. She was arrested in January, 1972. Her fate is not known.
- HUSAK, Odarka - - - a Ukrainian Red Cross Worker during World War II; was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years at hard labor; the trial was held in Lviv. She was also a member and courier in OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). Presently she is in the Vladimir prison.
- IWASIUK, ; worker. He was arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk for his religious convictions.
- JAREMA, Mykhajlo - - - was arrested in 1972, in Transcarpathia for secretly hiding his two brothers (members of UPA) in his home since 1945 to the present time of his arrest.
- JAREMA, Mykola - - - former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In hiding for 28 years in Transcarpathia, he was exposed in 1972. His fate remains unknown.
- JAREMA, Yuri - - - former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, lived in hiding in Transcarpathia until 1972. He was exposed in

- JAREMA, Yuri (continued)
1972. His fate remains unknown.
- KALYNETS, Ihor - - - age 34; poet; married and has one child. In November, 1970 he and his wife demanded to attend the trial of Valentyn Moroz. In November 29, 1970 he protested the imprisonment of V. Moroz "merely for what he was thinking". In August 11, 1972 I. Kalynets was arrested. He was tried and sentenced to 9 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile on November, 1972.
- KALYNETS, Iryna Stasiv - - - age 33; writer and college teacher; wife of Ihor Kalynets. In the summer of 1970 she was dismissed as an instructor at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute. In 1971, Iryna Kalynets on her behalf and the family and friends of V. Moroz wrote a letter to Kosygin, demanding the release of the seriously ill V. Moroz; to investigate the inhumane conditions at the Vladimir prison. I. Kalynets was arrested in January 12, 1972. She was tried and sentenced in July, 1972 to 6 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile.
- KANDYBA, Ivan - - - lawyer; graduate of Lviv University. He is an outstanding writer and communist theoritician who wrote a political treatise on Ukraine's Rights within the USSR. In 1961 he was sentenced to 15 years at hard labor in the Dubravno camp. At present he is in the Mordovian ASSR.
- KARAVANSKA, Nina Strokata - - - age 48; microbiologist ;

KARAVANSKA, Nina Strokata (continued)

wife of S. Karavansky. She was arrested on her way from Nalchik to Odessa on December 6, 1971. On May 19, 1972 in Odessa she was tried and sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment. A citizen's committee in defense of Nina Strokata-Karavanska was immediately formed by Pyotr Yakir, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Wasyl Stus, Vyacheslav Chornovil, and Leonid Tymchuk (sailor). The members of the committee were arrested in early 1972.

KARAVANSKY, Sviatoslav - - - age 53; journalist; poet; literary translator. In July, 1941 after his Soviet army unit was routed by the Germans, he managed to escape to Odessa. In July, 1944 he was recaptured by the Soviets; court-martialed and sentenced to 25 years of hard labor. In December, 1965 he was released due to an amnesty. Karavansky wrote a letter to the Prosecutor General of the Ukrainian SSR on February 24, 1965, charging certain officials with national and racial discrimination; as well as Russification of the Ukrainian educational system. He was rearrested on November 13, 1965, for having written a memorandum to the Polish and Czechoslovak Communist Parties regarding the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. Without trial Karavansky was sent for 8 years and 7 months to a hard labor camp to complete his 25 year sentence.

In 1967 he was transferred from camps to Vladimir prison. In January 15, 1968 The New Leader of New York published Karavansky's petition in defense of the Soviet

KARAVANSKY, Sviatoslav - - - (continued)

Jews and other nationalities. He was tried in the Vladimir prison in April, 1970, for having written several articles, petitions, in particular, the one concerning the mass execution of Polish officers (POW's) in the forests of Katyn perpetrated by the Russians in 1941. As a result Karavansky's term of imprisonment was increased to 33 years.

KATALA, ; - - - age 30; engineer. He was arrested in April, 1972. He committed suicide during the interrogation in Lviv in the KGB prison on May, 28, 1972.

KENDZYOR, Yaroslav - - - trade union worker. He was arrested in 1972 in Lviv.

KHOLODNY, Mykola - - - age 31; poet. He was arrested in January 12-13, 1972.

KANCHYNSKY, I. - - - He was arrested in Rivno in March, 1972.

KOVALCHUK, Petro - - - former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He was sentenced in January, 1973, in Volhynia, to death. The sentence was carried out.

KOVALENKO, Fedor - - - teacher. He was arrested in Kiev-schyna January 12, 1972.

KOVALENKO, Leonid - - - age 54; philologist; writer. He was arrested in January 12-13, 1972 and tried and sentenced in Kiev in July 10-13, 1972, to 5 years and 3 years of exile.

- KRASIN, Victor - - - age 44; economist. He was first arrested in December 20, 1969. The second arrest was in September 12, 1972. His whereabouts is unknown.
- KRYSHTAL, Pavlo - - - former member of OUN. He was sentenced in 1972 in Lutsk to 12 years of hard labor.
- KUCHARUK, Oleksa - - - former member of OUN. He was sentenced in January, 1973, in Volhynia to 15 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile.
- LISOVYI, Vasyl - - - age 30; scientist. He was arrested in January 12-13, 1972 in Kiev. His fate is not known.
- LUC, Konstantyn - - - former member of OUN. He was sentenced between 1970-1972 to 15 years of hard labor.
- LUKYANENKO, Lev H. - - - was sentenced in 1961 to 15 years at hard labor for organizing the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. He was sentenced to death but was later commuted to 15 years of hard labor. He is presently in the Dubrovno camp, Mordovian ASSR.
- LUPYNIS, Anatoliy - - - age 38; student; poet; disabled. He was imprisoned in 1956-1967. His second arrest was in May 28, 1971. He was tried and placed in psychiatric asylum in November 28, 1971 in Kiev.
- MACHOVYK, Stepan - - - arrested in Chernyhiv in August, 1972.

- MALCHUK, Vasyl - - - former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He was arrested in 1972 in Lutsk. He was tortured to death by the KGB.
- MELNYCHUK, Taras - - - age 30; poet. He was arrested in January 12, 1972. T. Melnychuk was tried and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk in July, 1972 to 3 years.
- MENAJLO, Hrhoriy - - - worker. He was arrested in Kiev in January, 1972.
- MOROZ, Valentyn - - - age 37; historian. He was first arrested on August, 1965. He produced an appeal to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR entitled "Report from the Beria Reservation". This is a lengthy analysis of the Soviet system. He was tried and sentenced to 5 years of hard labor. But on September 1, 1967 he was released and was unable to find employment because of his "criminal" record. On June 1, 1970 he was rearrested for having written "A Chronicle of Resistance" - - a critical essay in which he assailed the Russification of Ukraine. He was tried and sentenced again to 9 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile. In court he delivered his famous final statement "Instead of the Last Word". The reports about V. Moroz stated that he was seriously ill in a prison hospital. This arrest came about on November 20, 1970. Early in the summer of 1971, Moroz received stab wounds in the Vladimir prison by KGB provocation.
- MOYSEIV, Ivan - - - a Red Army Soldier. He was ar-

- MOYSEIV, Ivan (continued)
rested in July 16, 1972 in Crimea and tortured to death for his religious beliefs.
- OSADCHYI, Mykhailo - - - age 35; journalist; poet; writer. He was first arrested and sentenced for 2 years in 1965. His second arrest was in January 12, 1972. He was tried and sentenced to 7 years of hard labor and 3 years of exile on September 4-5, 1972. The trial was in the city of Lviv.
- PLAKHOTNIUK, Mykola - - - age 36; medical doctor; lecturer. He was first arrested in 1965. His second arrest was in January 13, 1965. He was held in a psychiatric asylum until September 9, 1972. He suffers from tuberculosis. His fate is unknown.
- PLUSHCH, Leonid - - - age 33; scientist; professor of cybernetics. On March, 1968 he protested slanderous attacks on the mother of Alexander Ginsberg. He was a member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. He signed a petition to the UN together with A. Sakharov, V. Chalidze, P. Yakir and other prominent scientists. In January 14, 1972 he was arrested. He was tried and incarcerated in January 30, 1972 for an indefinite period in a psychiatric asylum.
- POPADIUK, Lyubov - - - lecturer. She was arrested in 1972 in Lviv.
- PRONIUK, Yevhen - - - age 30; scientist. He was ar-

- PRONIUK, Yevhen (continued)
rested in Kiev on July 6, 1972. His fate is unknown.
- PRYTYKA, Oleksander - - - age 40; doctor. He was arrested on July 9, 1971. He was tried and sentenced in Odessa on May 19, 1972 to 2 years of imprisonment.
- RAKYTSKY, Volodymyr - - - age 26; student. He was arrested in January 12-13, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in June, 1972 to 5 years of imprisonment.
- RESHETNYK, Anatoli - - - age 35; college professor of political economics. He was arrested in January, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in February, 1972 to 2 years.
- RIZNYKIV, Oleksiy - - - writer. He was arrested in November 11, 1971. He was tried and sentenced in May 19, 1972 to 5 years of hard-regime labor camp.
- ROHYNsky, Volodymyr - - - arrested in March, 1972. He was tried and sentenced to 5 years of hard-regime labor camp.
- ROMANYSCHYN, M. - - - television studio engineer. He was tried and sentenced in July, 1972 to 2 years of imprisonment.
- ROMANIUK, Vasyly - - - age 50; a Catholic priest. He was arrested in January 12-13, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in Lviv in July, 1972 to 7 years of hard labor and 3 years in exile.

- SENYK, Iryna - - - age 48; Her first imprisonment was from 1947-1957. Her second arrest was in December 1972. She was tried and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk in April, 1973 to 6 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile.
- SEREDYAK, Lyuba - - - age 20; student; stenographer. She was arrested in January 12, 1972. L. Seredyak was tried and sentenced in Kiev in October 20, 1972 to 1 year of hard labor.
- SERHIYENKO, Oleksander - - - age 40; art teacher. He was arrested in January 12, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in Kiev in June, 1972 to 7 years of hard labor and 3 years of exile.
- SHABATURA, Stefania - - - age 32; artist. She was arrested in January 12, 1970. S. Shabatura was tried and sentenced in Lviv in July, 1972 to 5 years of imprisonment and 3 years in exile.
- SHUKHEVYCH, Yuri - - - age 40; electrician; married and has two children. He is the son of the General Roman Shukhevysh. In 1947 he was arrested for the activities of his father and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment at the age of 14. He was released after 10 years of imprisonment but was rearrested to a second 10 year term in August 21, 1958. He was released in August 21, 1968 but was denied the right to return to the Ukraine for 5 years. On February 27, 1972 he was arrested for the third time in Nalchik (Kabardinian-Balkarian ASSR), where he was living with his family. On September 9, 1972

SHUKHEVYCH, Yuri (continued)

he was tried and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile.

SHUMAK, Danylo - - - age 59; worker; served 28 years of previous imprisonment. He was arrested in January 14, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in July 5, 1972 in Kiev to 10 years of imprisonment plus 5 years of exile.

SHUMAK-SVITLYCHNA, Nadia - - - age 36; philologist; sister of Ivan Svitlychnyi. She was arrested and sentenced in May 19, 1972 to 4 years of imprisonment.

SMESHKO, M.Y. - - - archeologist. He was arrested in 1972 in Lviv.

STUS, Vasyl - - - age 35; poet; literary critic. He was arrested in January 12, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in August 1 - September 7, 1972 to 5 years of imprisonment plus 3 years of exile.

SVERSTIUK, Yevhen - - - age 43; literary critic; He was arrested on September, 1965. The second arrest was in January 12-13, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in March, 1973 to 7 years of imprisonment, plus 5 years of exile.

SVITLYCHNYI, Ivan - - - age 42; literary critic; translator. His first arrest and internment was in September, 1965 for 8 months. His second arrest was in January 12, 1972. He was tried and sentenced in March, 1973 to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile.

TOVKACH,	Ivan - - - former member of OUN. He was sentenced in July, 1972 in Volhynia to 12 years of hard labor.
TSELUK,	Semen - - - former member of OUN. He was sentenced for the second time in 1972 to 12 years of hard labor.
TYMCHUK,	Chrystina - - - worker at the Academy of Sciences. She was arrested in Kiev in 1972. Further information is not available.
TYMCHUK,	Leonid - - - sailor. He was arrested in Odessa in 1972. Further information is not available.
UVCHENKO, ; arrested in Kiev in 1972. Further information is not available.
WOLYTSKA,	Atena - - - engineer. She was arrested in Lviv in 1972. Further information is not available.

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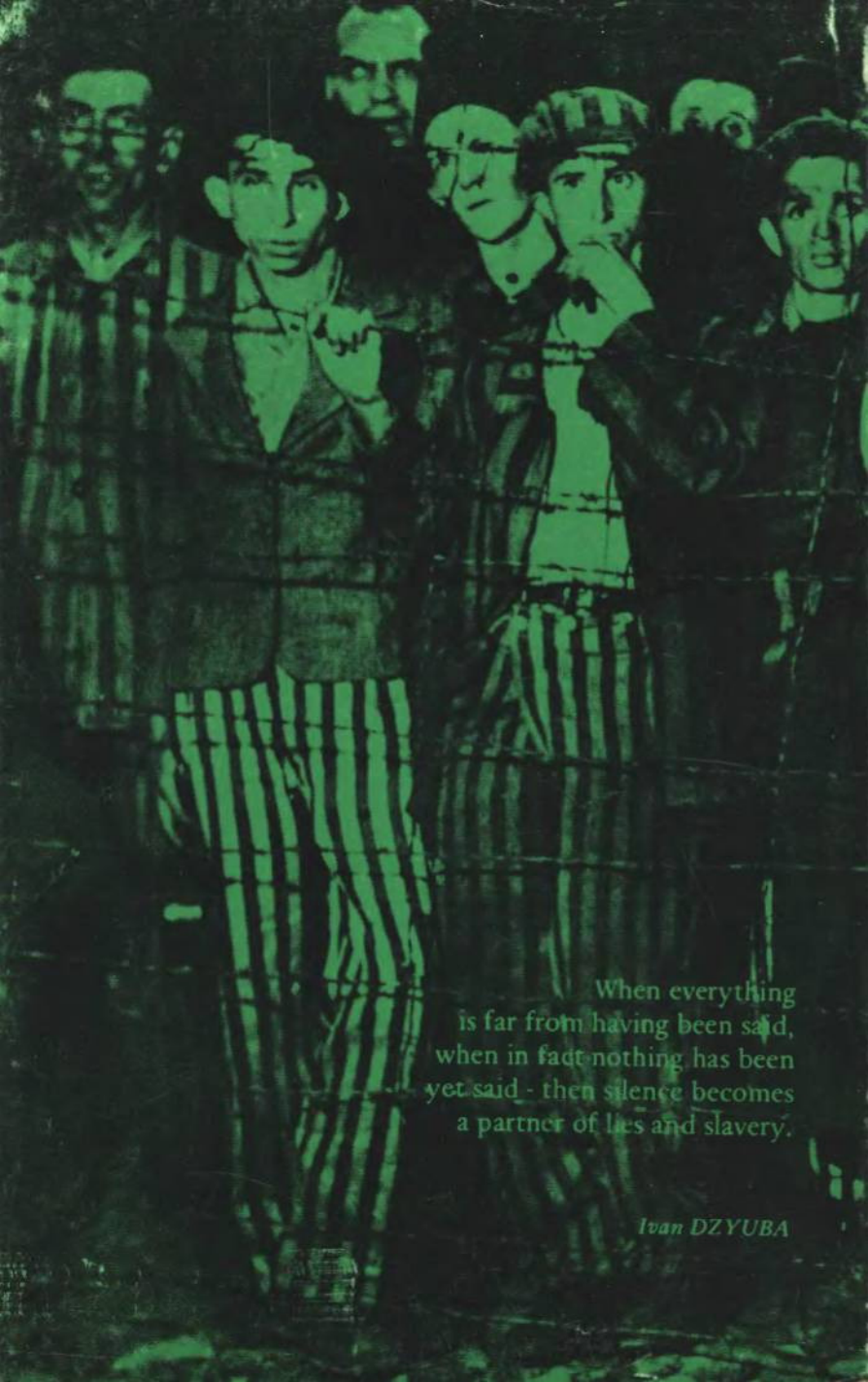
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When everything
is far from having been said,
when in fact nothing has been
yet said - then silence becomes
a partner of lies and slavery.

Ivan DZYUBA