

# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## Free a Victim of Russian Terror!



**Valentyn Moroz, 34, Ukrainian writer and historian**

*Shortly after completing a 5-year term of imprisonment in the Russian concentration camps of Mordovia, he received additional 9 years of hard labor for defending the rights of the Ukrainian nation.*

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## The Prison of Nations on a Volcano

The situation in Poland has reached the boiling point. Workers have risen against "the government by the workers" and "the achieved socialist system" which leads to the "Communist paradise". Moscow is reinforcing Russian occupation troops. They stand ready to intervene, should troops and militia, tanks and tear gas of quislings, the Russian governors-general, the *gauleiters* of Moscow — Gierek, Spiechalski and Cyrankiewicz, fail to crush the workers' uprising. Cardinal Wyszynski gives his tacit consent to this regime, while the Vatican, Washington, etc. are trying to coexist with it. Oh what times, oh what customs!

*The Russian prison of nations is on a volcano.* West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and the governments of other Western states, which try to help it economically and not only economically, want to save it at all costs. Are any of them thinking about the terrible crisis through which this empire, and the Russian system and concept of life, as method of subjugation, forcefully, imposed upon the subjugated nations, are going?

Northern Poland and cities in its other parts are controlled by the army and are hermetically sealed off from the rest of the world and other Polish territories. Russian troops are on the alert.

The revolt of workers in Poland once more confirms *the total bankruptcy of the Russian system of life, imposed on the subjugated countries.* The "workers' government" throws tanks, army divisions and Communist militia against these same workers. Hundreds of workers are wounded and killed at the hands of the "workers'" government. The German-Polish treaty, as a sequence to the Russo-German treaty, was concluded by Bonn neither with the peoples subjugated in the USSR, nor with the Polish people — but with the Russian occupying power and its *gauleiters* in Poland. It is not important that the Polish people support the preservation of the present western boundaries of Poland, but they are conscious of the fact that the Bonn-Moscow-Warsaw agreements and their consequences are a lasting confirmation of the *status quo*, the state of captivity, slavery and subjugation by the Russian system of life and the Russian occupation forces. For what are they looking for either in Poland or Ukraine? They are supposed to be a guarantee of the colonial status of the subjugated countries. How insignificant is the Bonn-Warsaw treaty for the Polish people can be seen from the recent disturbances. German Parliamentarian von Weizsäcker from the Christian Democratic Union (Bonn) declared upon his return from Poland that the Poles asked him why did Bonn recognize the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian sphere of power at all, in particular in Europe, as for instance the boundaries between the Federal Republic of Germany and the "German Democratic Republic"? They said that the Polish-German border and the struggle of the West, and Bonn in particular, for a lasting reconciliation with Moscow and the "German Democratic Republic" are two entirely different matters.

The Polish workers rose against the Russian system of life which was forced upon Poland, against exploitation and the strangling of the people by the system forced upon them by Moscow and guarded by the Russian bayonets and their quislings — Gomulka, Spiechalski and Cyrankiewicz. The "socialist" system is the form and method of Russia's domination in the countries occupied by her. Go-

mulka and Co. saved Poland for Russia in 1956. They are traitors of their own nation and the henchmen of, the spokesmen for and the executors of the Russian concept of life in their countries.

The events in Poland are the revolt by workers against the Russian system of occupation and the government of Moscow's Polish henchmen — headed by its Governor-General Gomulka. Fulfilling their role of quislings of Moscow, Gomulka and Co. have left. Another set of Russian Kadars has come to power. The essence does not lie in the raising of prices on consumer goods, which is only a normal consequence of the anti-natural political and socio-economic system, i. e. the system of slavery and exploitation. The reason for the uprising is to be found in the attempt to topple the whole system of occupation, established by the Russian bayonets, and not only some of its consequences. The uprising of the workers in Poland, just as the continuous disturbances and revolts of the young people in Ukraine and throughout the empire, is one more proof of the correctness and reality of our revolutionary liberation concept, that is a simultaneous uprising of nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite countries in order to topple the Russian empire and with it its political, socio-economic, etc. system, which holds the prison of nations and individuals by force.

The Russian empire is nearing its end. Let us hope that no naive defeatists will be found among the official circles in the free world, who would help to save it, in opposition to the attempts do destroy this tyrannical empire from within.

Is it possible that God is dulling the senses of Western governments, and even of the Vatican circles, which by their policy of "peaceful coexistence" and cooperation are saving the atheistic, tyrannical prison of nations from its downfall?! See *Revolutionary Voices*, Munich, 1969, pp. 116—138

### Valentyn Moroz Convicted Again

At the end of November news reached London via Moscow that Valentyn Moroz, the author of *Report from the Beria Reservation\** and *The Chronicle of Resistance*, has been placed before a court in Lviv and sentenced to nine years of imprisonment in forced labor camps.

The trial of Valentyn Moroz lasted three days. He was accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and the above mentioned works were used by the Russian prosecutor as additional evidence to substantiate his case.

Valentyn Moroz is a native of the village of Kholoniv in Volhynia. He was born in a peasant family on April 15, 1936. He studied at the History Faculty of Lviv University, and throught history and geography

in secondary schools and pedagogic institutes. He was unable to defend his candidate's dissertation on the topic "The 1934 Lutsk trial — an example of revolutionary friendship between the Polish and the Ukrainian peoples in a common struggle against the fascist regime in aristocratic Poland" for he was arrested beforehand.

Valentyn Moroz was arrested for the first time in August 1965. The Volhynia Oblast Court sentenced him in January 1966 to 5 years of severe regime camps for anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. He served his sentence in Mordovia, together with M. Horyn, M. Masyutko and L. Lukyanyenko and other Ukrainian political prisoners. He was formally released from these camps last year. Serving time in forced

\* See *Revolutionary Voices*, Munich, 1969, pp. 116—138



labor camps, Valentyn Moroz continued his studies, learning German and English. From letters to his wife it is evident that he read works of prominent world philosophers and looked for their works.

According to information which previously reached the West, the Russian imperialists attempted to try Moroz anew prior to his release, but the proceedings were terminated. Last year he was arrested in early June. The immediate cause of the arrest was allegedly the fact that during a search of his apartment in April books printed prior to 1939 were found, as well as manuscripts of his new works entitled *Moses and Datan, In the Midst of Snows* and *The Chronicle of Resistance*.

The news of Valentyn Moroz's repeated conviction is yet another convincing proof for everyone about continuous brutal violation of the principles of humanism and human rights in the USSR which was perpetrated by the regimes of Lenin, Stalin,

Malenkov and Khrushchov and of which the present so-called collective leadership under Brezhnev is also guilty. All freedom-loving people of the free world should react and take steps in defense of this next victim of Russian lawlessness.

On November 25, 1970 the Swiss newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* carried an item on Valentyn Moroz's recent conviction entitled "Sentencing of Ukrainian Writer". It ran as follows:

"Moscow, November 22. (AFP). It has been reported by a reliable source that Ukrainian teacher Valentyn Moroz has been tried by a court in Lviv (a city in West Ukraine) for 'anti-Soviet activity' and sentenced to nine years of forced labor. Moroz was accused of allegedly carrying on propaganda against the Soviet Union in his two books. One of them entitled 'Beria Reservation' was written by Moroz during his six-year imprisonment in a forced labor camp."



*Top: EFC President O. B. Kraft opening the EFC Conference in Brussels.*

*Bottom: Nguyen Van Sach, charge d'affaires of the Vietnamese Embassy in Brussels, addressing the Open Session of the ABN/EFC Conference.*



## The ABN and EFC Conferences in Brussels

The joint international conference of ABN and EFC which was held in Brussels on November 12—16, 1970 strengthens the liberation struggle of all the peoples subjugated in the Russian empire. It is a further mobilization of anti-Communist and anti-imperial forces in the West. New ideas, new enthusiasm, new perspectives of this event, so important and the only one of its kind in the West, will no doubt be instrumental in the intensification and strengthening of the revolutionary liberation struggle for the downfall of the Russian prison of nations and its dissolution into independent national states, and for the just order in the whole world.

The delegates of the following nations participated in the conference: Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia and Ukraine from the subjugated nations, and Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden and the USA from Western nations, and from Asia — China, Thailand and Vietnam. All in all over one hundred delegates and many guests were present. Over three hundred messages and telegrams from the whole world from various anti-Communist organizations of the free and the subjugated nations, as well as from prominent statesmen and personalities clearly testify to the ever greater popularity of this revolutionary liberation movement in the world. From the numerous greetings we shall mention the following: from Prince Albert of Belgium, Metropolitan Amvroziy Senyshyn, Archbishop I. Buchko and Bishop Platon Kornilyak of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Mstyslav and Bishop Orest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Honorary President of WACL, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (China), the Chairman of the WACL, Osami Kuboki (Japan), the Secretary General of WACL, Dr. J. M. Hernandez (Philippines), Prof. J. Kitaoka, Secretary General of the Japanese Chapter of WACL, Archduke Otto von Habsburg, the Spanish In-

formation Minister Sanchez Bella, Franz Josef Strauss, head of the Bavarian Christian Social Union and former German Federal Minister, from the Canadian NATO delegation, from the Vice President of the Laotian Congress, from various members of parliament of the USA, Great Britain, Italy, France, Germany, India, Vietnam, Iran, Japan, Spain and from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government in Exile (London). From the subjugated nations the most messages came from the Croats and Ukrainians from various continents.

From among the many outstanding individuals the following participated at the conference: the former Danish Minister Ole Björn Kraft — President of EFC, the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko — President of ABN, the former Italian Minister Ivan Matteo Lombardo, General P. F. Vanuxem — former Commandant of French troops in Indochina, Algiers and Germany, Prof. Row, USA — a prominent expert on the problems of East Europe and Asia, organizer of the American Council for World Freedom, Prof. A. J. App — Honorary President of the German American Congress in the USA, Mrs. Suzanne Labin, President and Founder of the International Conference on Political Warfare and of the League of Freedom, Lady Jane Birdwood, representative of the British League for European Freedom, Prof. Theodor Oberländer — former German Federal Minister, Prof. Peters, USA — specialist on the problems of the East, Dr. F. Peeters, the Belgian East European expert, member of the German Federal Parliament C. Riedel (Christian Democratic Union), and the representative of the German anti-Communist organizations Mr. and Mrs. Grau, General Jorgis-Johansen (Austria).

The subjugated peoples were represented by the following delegates: *Bulgaria* — Dr. Kyril Drenikoff (Italy); *Byelorussia* — Col. Kosmowicz (Germany), Jan Bunchuk (England); *Croatia* — Prof. Dr. Ante Bonifacic (USA), Dr. Srecko Psenicnik (Cana-





*ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko speaking at the Press Conference in Brussels.*

da), Dr. Andrija Ilic (England), Mr. Korbar (Sweden), I. Tuksor (France), Mrs. L. Rukavina and Mr. Kovacic (Germany); *Czechia* — J. Myslivec (Germany); *Estonia* — Mrs. Belinfante (Holland); *Georgia* — Dr. Zourabichvilli (France); *Hungary* — Ernest Rigoni (France); *Latvia* — Mr. and Mrs. Talivaldis Zarins; *Poland* — J. Pawlowski (France); *Rumania* — Dr. Basil Mailat and Dr. Alexander Suga (Germany); *Slovakia* — Dr. Ctibor Pokorny; *Ukraine* — Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Germany), Omelan Kowal (Belgium), W. Oleskiw, Ivan Krushelnytskyi, V. Bohdaniuk, M. Hryniuk (England), Y. Kowalchuk, Stepan Mudryk, Ivan Kashuba (Germany), Wolodymyr Kosyk (France), Stepan Halamay (USA), Roman Dragan (Australia).

Each delegation of the subjugated and free nations consisted of many more members than listed above. The richness of ideas in numerous lectures presented a true and at the same time a grim picture of Bolshevik aggression in the whole world and the cruel fate of the peoples subjugated and

annihilated in the Russian empire, and their many-sided revolutionary liberation struggle which is undermining this prison of nations from within.

The conference was officially opened on the evening of November 12th. On this occasion President Kraft clearly defined the threatening situation in the free world in connection with the continuous aggressiveness of Russian imperialism. ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko in his exposé pointed out why the conference is being held in Brussels: "Here is the West European center; here is the headquarters of NATO which should be made aware of the danger of Russian aggression and the decisive role of the subjugated nations in the confrontation of two worlds — the world of freedom and the world of tyranny." The Flemish journalist, Mr. Arthur de Bruyne, greeted the conference on behalf of the International League for Freedom in Belgium and its Secretary General Paul Vankerkhoven.

The Youth Conference was held after the opening. The fact that it was held right after the opening emphasizes what importance the anti-Communist and anti-imperialist organizations are giving to the young generation. Mr. A. Larsson (Sweden) was its chairman. Marusya Wolczanska, member of the Ukrainian Youth Association in England and student at the Liverpool University, read a very interesting paper on youth in the free world. Andriy Haydamakha, student at the Louven University, read the paper on the fate of the youth in Ukraine in Flemish. In a lively discussion the idea on the need to organize the International Youth Forum of ABN and EFC was brought up. In this connection Minister Lombardo made the observation that all of us, that is young and old, are creating one whole and therefore any divisions into young and old should be avoided. His words were enthusiastically received.

On Friday, November 13th in the morning the ABN session was held. Dr. Ctibor Pokorny presented the report of ABN. This was followed by short reports: Prof. Dr. Stepan Halamay — American Friends of ABN and ABN Canada; Prof. Roman

Dragan — ABN Australia; Mr. W. Oleskiw — ABN Great Britain; Ernest Rigoni — ABN France; A. Larsson — ABN Sweden; Erik Dissing — Danish Friends of ABN. The session ended with the passing of a resolution.

At 11 o'clock the press conference was held at which two exposes were read, that of President O. B. Kraft and President Y. Stetsko. The Belgian, German, Chinese, Vietnamese and other journalists present asked a number of questions on the subjugated nations, on the Russian empire, in particular the Russian people and their place in the anti-Communist movement, as well as on the Brandt-Gomulka treaty and ABN's attitude toward it. Press attachés of the Vietnamese and the Chinese embassies, as well as the NATO representative were present.

In the afternoon joint session of ABN and EFC the speakers were: Mr. V. Bohdaniuk (Ukraine) and Col. D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia) on the subject "The situation of the subjugated nations and their liberation struggle"; Dr. A. J. App (USA) — "What has been done by the USA to contain Russian imperialism and Communism"; Nguyen Van Sach (Vietnam) "The Russian background of the war in Vietnam and Russian infiltration in the Indian Ocean"; Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine) — "Plan of ABN Activities"; Gen. P. F. Vanuxem (France) — "Russia is not invincible"; Dr. Ante Bonifacic (Croatia) — "The idea of national independence, moving force of the subjugated nations"; E. Rigoni (Hungary) — "The Russo-German Treaty and the subjugated peoples" and Mr. W. Kosyk (Ukraine) "Trampling of national and human rights". The majority of lectures were delivered in French.

After the session in the evening hours a reception for the delegates and guests was hosted by the Secretary General of the International League for Freedom, Paul Vankerkhoven and the Secretary General of the Belgian Council of European Unity, Florimont Damman.

On Saturday, November 14th in the morning at the EFC session, Malta was admitted into the membership of EFC. Pre-

sident Kraft reported on the activity of EFC. His report was followed by activity reports of delegates of EFC member organizations. The speakers were: Madame Suzanne Labin (France), Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy), A. Larsson (Sweden), Arthur de Bruyne (Belgium), I. Krushelnytskyi (Ukraine), Gen. P. F. Vanuxem (France). The reports and discussion were particularly aimed at the question of how to expand activity in the youth sector. Among other things the Flemish delegate, Arthur de Bruyne, cited an example of how a Ukrainian student, A. Haydamakha, successfully addressed one thousand young Flemish people. Ole Björn Kraft was reelected President of EFC. Ivan Matteo Lombardo and Yaroslav Stetsko were reelected Chairmen of the EFC Executive Board. Resolutions and declaration were adopted at the end.

In the afternoon a joint session of ABN and EFC was held, at which the following lectures were read: Ole Björn Kraft — "The world political situation and the EFC"; Ivan Matteo Lombardo — "The Russian drive to conquer the world"; Yaroslav Stetsko — "An alternative to the thermonuclear war"; Dr. K. Drenikoff — "Lenin — creator of the tyrannical system and the new Russian empire"; Prof. T. Oberländer — "The Communist onslaught and the Third World"; Prof. F. Peeters — "Consequences of the German-Russian Treaty for the European community"; H. Buntinx — "Problems of European security". The two last speakers were both of Belgium.

On Saturday evening the Union of Ukrainians in Belgium and the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association gave a dinner party, which ended with a folk dance recital by members of the Ukrainian Youth Association mostly from Louven.

During the dinner the speakers were Omelan Kowal, the host, and Ole Björn Kraft, who spoke on behalf of the delegates and guests. Msgr. E. Dujardin, representative of the Primate of Belgium, Cardinal Suenens, greeted the Conference.

An outstanding Georgian leader Dr. Zourabichvili proposed that a joint thank





*EFC President O. B. Kraft (photo left) and EFC Chairman Min. I. M. Lombardo (photo right) at the reception hosted by the International League for Freedom.*

you be said to uniting fighters and organizers of this Conference.

On Sunday, November 15th all delegates and numerous guests attended Mass in the Brussels' St. Joseph Church. Many of them, including some from African countries, received Holy Communion in the Eastern rite. The Mass was offered by Bishop Malanchuk (France), assisted by numerous members of the clergy. The Bishop delivered his sermon in Ukrainian and French in which he mentioned the persecuted Churches and the subjugated nations. He emphasized that the Mass is being said for the intention of all the subjugated peoples. The liturgy was sung by the beautiful choir from Utrecht, Holland, conducted by Prof. A. Antonovych, which added to the success of both the Mass and the ABN/EFC Conference and moved all those who heard it.

After Mass chief delegates and guests were received at a dinner hosted by charge d'affaires of the Vietnamese Embassy, Nguyen Van Sach.

In the afternoon a mass rally was held in the Odegem Cultural Center in Brussels. The ABN/EFC Conference was held in the building of the Christian labor syndicate "Rerum novarum", where the delegates also had their accommodations. The open sessions were held in the "Helder" hall at Luxemburg Street.

The rally which was attended by over 1,000 people was opened by Ole Björn

Kraft, who emphasized the importance of cooperation of nations in defense of the subjugated. He read the resolution earlier adopted by the EFC Conference, which was accepted by the rally by acclamation. Ivan Matteo Lombardo spoke about the threat of a world war, the civil and the peripheral wars. Yaroslav Stetsko spoke on the topic of the subjugated peoples as the free world's first line of defense. Dr. L. Zourabichvili spoke on "The fight of the subjugated peoples continues unabated". Madame Labin (France) — "The Communist subversion in the free world and how to combat it"; Dr. Basil Mailat (Rumania) — "The Russian threat and the European Security Conference"; Prof. Peters (USA) outlined the Nixon doctrine and the evolution of the American policy. The charges d'affaires of Vietnam and National China also addressed the gathering.

The speeches were interlaced with a concert of Ukrainian songs, artistically performed by Prof. Antonovych's choir from Utrecht. The international audience created an atmosphere of international unity and solidarity in the face of Russian and Communist danger.

At the end national representatives, members of ABN and EFC, briefly addressed the rally and were received by thunder of applause and frequent shouts, as for example: "Death to tyrants!", "Long live freedom in the whole world!", "We shall topple the Russian empire" and so



forth. The speakers were: Dr. Kyril Drenikoff — Bulgaria; Jan Bunchuk — Byelorussia; Prof. Andrija Ilic — Croatia; Jaroslav Myslivec — Czechia; Mrs. Belinfante — Estonia; Dr. L. Zourabichvili — Georgia; Ernest Rigoni — Hungary; T. Zarins — Latvia; Dr. Ctibor Pokorny — Slovakia. The Danish representative, Erik Dissing, read the appeal for solidarity by Western youth, while Mrs. Slava Stetsko read the ABN resolutions which were received by applause.

The rally ended with a ballet performance by members of the Ukrainian Youth Association from Düsseldorf.

After this the Chinese Ambassador gave a reception in honor of the delegates.

The Belgian press, in particular Flemish, extensively informed about the conferences of ABN and EFC. Former Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, a prominent European statesman and a long-time Secretary General of NATO, Paul-Henri Spaak, with whom Mrs. Stetsko had a meeting, expressed his support. He was unable to attend the Conference because of his trip to the Far East.

Besides the Thai Ambassador great interest in the Conference was also shown by the counsellor of the Greek Embassy who participated in the open sessions of the ABN/EFC Conference.

The great contribution of young Ukrainians, members of the Ukrainian Youth Association and the Ukrainian Students Association, who with great dedication and willingness performed all the necessary tasks, must be mentioned.

Filled with new faith and enthusiasm the delegates and guests went home to various countries and continents. The Brussels Conference became an important event in the plan designed to expose and find a solution to world problems. The ideas of independent states and the dissolution of the Russian empire were recognized unanimously at Brussels.

Now it is up to us to continue and to intensify the struggle for liberation and to mobilize the freedom-loving forces of the world against Russia and Communism. In a common front of the subjugated and the free peoples of the world, the victory of our ideas is inevitable.



*Miss  
M. Wolczanska  
addressing the  
Youth Conference  
in Brussels on  
November 13, 1970*



## WHY BRUSSELS?

Why have we chosen Brussels for our present Conference? Not accidentally. It is a West-European centre in many respects. It is the home of NATO, of whose significance the freedom loving mankind must be urgently reminded. At the same time it has to be reminded of the role of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, which defend universal freedom, more precisely, the freedom of the still free world, in particular of the rest of the still free Europe. A prominent military theorist of the West and a great Englishman Gen. J. F. C. Fuller gave the unique formulation of the importance of ABN beside NATO, as well as of the importance of my homeland Ukraine, in his works "Russia is not invincible", "How to defeat Russia" and others and I don't have to repeat his thoughts. The excerpts of his works are to be found even here, and can serve as information for the interested. As usual, Gen. Fuller was neither a prophet in his home-country, nor in Western Europe. His military doctrine was applied in the first years of the war by Guderian and Zhukov and his concepts of modern warfare are applied today by Moscow and Peking.

In this country, and in this capital city in particular, the problem of Europe is very acute. But of what Europe? . . . Some are beginning to identify the rest of Europe with Europe in general. Excluded are Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Georgia, Armenia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland and even East Germany. The border of Europe is determined by the foot of the Russian aggressor. Whatever remains of free Europe are only scraps. But we want to remind the world that Europe is where European ideals are defended by blood and life — and those ideals are: The idea of a nation and its independence, the idea of a man, his virtue, dignity and the heroic idea of Christianity. The ideals of Europe have been defended in uprisings of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians and other prisoners in concentration camps of Siberia, in the Hungarian revolution in 1956, in Vorkuta in 1956, in Berlin in 1953, in Prague and Bratislava in 1968, and recently in Kyiv, Minsk and Tbilisi by underground fighters and the courageous young generation, together with the already famous in the free world Ukrainian poet V. Symonenko, killed by Russians, and his

My nation exists, my nation will always exist!  
Nobody will scratch out my nation!

European ideas are also defended by the USA, whose foundations were laid by our ancestors. They have become the general property of the whole mankind. And on the fields of Vietnam Vietnamese nationalists defend them against the advance of tyranny. Also national China or Korea . . .

Europe was great when it was great in its ideals, faithful to them and reflecting them . . . when it was faithful to itself. Europe should act according to the principle of "nobless oblige".

Europe can become an independent, vital force and a deciding factor in world politics when the Russian empire will be dissolved into independent national states of nations presently enslaved in the empire and when not only France, Belgium, Great Britain, or Germany, but equally an independent national Ukrain-

ian state, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, Georgia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Croatia, Albania, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia and others will become partners of an integral Europe and when parliaments of these independent states arising on the ruins of the Russian empire and the Communist system in free elections will decide about the principles of cooperation and of mutual aid of European countries and of the countries finally liberated from tyranny and slavery. They constitute a milliard of people and dozens of nations.

To get Europe into its place again it is imperative for the remaining free nations of Europe to understand that:

- 1) their future destiny depends entirely on the destiny of nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, in the USSR and in the satellite countries;
- 2) the Russian and Communist aggression threatens distinctly to engulf them;
- 3) they must at least formulate moral and political opinion in order to induce their governments to abolish the policy of so-called peaceful co-existence with tyrants ruinous to the freedom-loving mankind, and start by all possible means the policy of liberation.

Thus here, in the centre of the West European community and in the centre of NATO — in this quiet and snug capital — in the face of historic responsibility burdening us, as well as statesmen who meet here frequently we thought it necessary to remind . . .

And this is the reason why we are in Brussels.



*General view from  
the ABN/EFC  
Conferences in  
Brussels, Belgium,  
November 12-16,  
1970.*



# World Political Situation and the European Freedom Council

by Ole Bjorn Kraft, President of EFC

*Mene, Mene tekel ufarsin.* The writing on the wall of the palace of emperor Belsazar, which told him that his empire had come to an end and that it would be given to others, is known as a symbol of warning which also applies to our time. It is our duty today to try to read and understand the writing of history, which may warn us of dangers that may decide our future if we deny the truth and neglect the lesson of evidence.

The last writing on the wall about what may happen was the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. It struck us with grief and fear but now after only two years it seems to be forgotten and neglected. Let us not deceive ourselves. Following this invasion West Germany is placed in a much more dangerous position than before with at least 250,000 Russian troops at the Bavarian frontier, which also is the frontier of the NATO countries. The troops were pushed forward from their previous position in Byelorussia and Ukraine by between 300 and 500 miles. Both militarily and politically it has strengthened the position of the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt that besides full domination of Czecho-Slovakia the purpose has been to frighten the Germans and put psychological pressure on the coming negotiations. "The invasion and the Brezhnev doctrine make it clear that the Soviet Union is in the last resort prepared to use brute force for the maintaining of its East European empire", said the now Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Heath.

The former chancellor of West Germany, Dr. Kiesinger, has made it clear that it can also be used against détente between the East and West. Countries which now pursue a policy of détente run the risk of being accused of aggression by the Russians, who regard all such policies as a threat to the hegemony they exercise within the Communist camp. But there are other writings on the walls. The rapid growth of the Soviet navy is one of them. It is no longer a defensive force but clearly a strong offensive weapon to secure Soviet Russian influence and if possible domination all over the world. Most striking is the number of submarines — 400 strong, 60 nuclear-powered and armed. Russian trawlers now sail the seven seas on espionage missions. Most instructive for the purpose of the Soviet Russian Communist empire is the initiative to try to control the Mediterranean Sea and the whole area of the Middle East. It has now become part of the Communist sphere of influence, militarily speaking. Egypt is in their hands. The arming of the Arab states against Israel and the naval and airport facilities given to Russia play a strong hand in all negotiations of the future. The Middle East is perhaps the most dangerous area in the world today and the Russians are pushing forward to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. In all parts of the third world, the Soviet Union expands its influence to get a foothold.

In Southeast Asia Russian money and weapons make it possible for North Vietnam to fight its war of aggression. At the same time when the Soviet foreign minister had, as it was said, friendly talks with President Nixon, huge sums of

money were allocated to North Vietnam. The truth is that the Soviet Union could stop the war in Vietnam tomorrow, but it has made no move to support the United States' desire of serious peace talks in Paris. USA and the people in Vietnam want peace. There is no evidence that the Soviet Union is at all interested in peace. Every evidence shows that Soviet Union wants to go on fighting the United States to the last Vietcong and North-Vietnamese soldier. Its policy is not a policy of peace. I could go on a long time with many other warnings, but this may be enough to show the present danger and the danger for the future.

The Soviet Union and Red China have never denied that their aim is world domination. I strongly believe that this global aim is still their motivation. They will be prepared to use war wherever possible, without a new world war. But because of the nuclear stalemate so long as Soviet Russia believes that aggression for example in Europe will mean war with the United States, the Soviet Union will try to achieve its goal without a destructive war. It is now quite clear that for the time being they are concentrating their efforts on subversion as a major tool to implement their long-range goals.

To further their subversive policies the Communist governments use every embassy and international organization. They infiltrate wherever it is only possible. Organizations of every kind: trade unions, students, schools, anti-Vietnam, anti-American, anti-NATO and religious groups. In the West they get great help from the many leftist movements, which are not Communist by name, but whose functions and policy in the long-run will further the aims of the Communists, because they undermine our societies, divide our peoples, weaken our democratic systems and are a risk to our security. In reality although these movements deny it all they operate in harmony with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, asking for neutrality, cancellation of NATO and disarmament of the Western world. It is a dangerous threat to our future and the peace of the world, because a weak and divided West is an invitation to aggression. The Soviet Union will only respect strength. So the West must be both militarily and morally strong, ready to fight both the subversive war which is going on day-in and day-out in every country and if the need arises be ready to meet military aggression by force in a conventional war.

The governments and the politicians in the West are silent about subversive actions. People who tell the truth, who alert the West to what is happening are often ignored and attacked. To be anti-Communist is looked upon as being fascist, reactionary and right-wing extremist. They are very often excluded from T.V. and radio, while the leftist spokesmen are given time to voice their destructive opinions. We must not be silent, because silence as it was once said, is a passive lie. For the time being, détente is the password of Western foreign policy. I admit it is necessary to negotiate with the Communist states on the many questions which constitute a danger to peace. But we must not forget the writing on the wall. We must not forget that the cold war in its many aspects is going on while we negotiate. We must not forget what the Soviet political warfare expert, Colonel Selesnev, once wrote: "Whenever diplomatic or commercial negotiations between capitalist and Communist countries are entered into — whenever contacts in the fields of science, arts, sports are made, this is a confrontation between two worlds



opposed to each other. Between two ideologies. Between them there will never be a peaceful co-existence”.

In negotiations we must never accept the principle of Soviet negotiations: What is mine is mine — what is yours must be negotiated about. No — it must be a give-and-take relationship and we must never accept an agreement without a great risk for the Communists if it is broken, and last but not least, it is very important to remember that an agreement or a treaty with a Communist state is never to be expected to be enforced longer than the Communist states think it is favourable to their interests. It is a sad truth, but it cannot be denied, because the evidence shows that in the years since the Soviet Union came into existence its governments have broken their word to virtually every country to which they gave a signed promise. History proves that a Soviet signature, as was the case with the Nazi signature, is not worth the paper it is written on.

But what shall we do in this situation and under these circumstances? We shall speak the truth. We shall tell the people of our nations, that we can't trust the Communists on their words, only on how they act. We shall openly say that most of the foreign policy of the West is based upon a false acceptance of Soviet intentions. We, who have the security of the West at heart, must strongly demand that the time which is gained by containment should be used much more effectively. Much more money must be spent for the defense of the free world against the political, nuclear, subversive and military form of attack of a magnitude the world has not known before. We must support both by moral and material means the captive satellite nations and the captive nations in the Soviet Union itself which demand their rights of self-determination and a more human society as it has been promised in the United Nations' charter.

I agree with Mr. D. G. Stuart-Smith, Editor of *East West Digest*, when he says: “Our duty seems clear. We must persuade those, who do not know — or care about subversive activities, that our liberties and securities are threatened. By rational arguments and sober presentation of irrefutable facts over and over again, we must attempt to make our political leaders aware of their responsibilities in countering the present challenge”.

We must never accept control by Communists over the enslaved peoples and let half of Europe remain under them permanently and as a kind of sacrosanct right. We must awake a human solidarity true to the ideas of the free world.

We must defend democracy with all its faults — it is mankind's highest achievement. Only the ideas of democracy are the foundation of human society. Only by defending human rights and the dignity of men, will we be able to create a hope that some day the suppressed peoples will be given the rights, which now are denied to them by their masters.

So all the anti-Communist organizations in Europe have a great and difficult task at hand. It is the duty of the European Freedom Council to co-ordinate all the efforts and it is the duty of all organizations by ideas, money and co-operation to help the Council to solve its tasks. We have been very weak in doing it, we must change, so that we can be strong in the future. The writing on the wall is clear. I pray that it is not too late to turn the tide.

## Facing Big Confrontation

*Enslaved nations — first line of defense of the free world*

Humanity is facing a large confrontation. What kind of confrontation will it be, depends on the free world. "To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic" — says Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, the greatest military theorist of the West. Thermo-nuclear war would bring not only horrible devastations, but is the highest achievement of the previous type of warfare, which does not suit the present ideological and atomic age. The modern type of warfare consists of revolutionary and guerrilla wars. The aim of the free world should be to help create in the subjugated world a political situation where "the psychological bomb may be detonated from the Arctic shores to the Mediterranean and from the Pacific to the Elbe".

The West cannot avoid the decisive confrontation with Russian imperialism and Communism. European security conferences, talks on disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, Bonn capitulation for the benefit of Moscow, the policy of the so-called peaceful coexistence — are only dulling the vigilance of public opinion in the wake of Russian aggression and the expansion of Communism. At the same time the Russian empire is spreading its sphere of domination at the expense of the free world. In the meantime explosive national liberation revolutionary processes are ripening inside the empire which systematically weaken the empire and the Communist system. Moscow is trying to save itself by escaping forwards, by overrunning new countries and seas, by mobilizing Russian chauvinism for defense of its threatened empire. Russia wishes not the security of her ethnographic borders, — that is of her national state without possessing Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Baltic states, the Caucasian nations, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Bulgaria, Rumania and other countries, which are in her sphere of influence, including some countries of Asia, the Near East, Africa, Latin America, and is systematically gaining mastery in warm waters, — but she wishes to secure her constantly growing state of imperial possessions. Russia will only feel secure when she conquers the whole world. This is the central point in every planning of political and military strategy of the free world against Russian imperialism, whose modern form is Communism in the Russian interpretation. And this is Bolshevism. The attack on Czecho-Slovakia was not motivated mainly by the so-called liberalization trend inside that country, but by Moscow's fear of revolution in Ukraine and other countries under Russian boot, by the necessity of closing the window into the free part of Europe. By moving missile bases from the Carpathians into the Sudetens, which means an immediate border with the sphere of defense of the USA, Great Britain and France, Moscow is impeding the realization of Churchill's old strategic conception of approaching from the southeast of Europe and of encircling Russian military forces in central Europe...

The attack on Czecho-Slovakia was also a flight forwards from the national liberation revolutionary movements of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite states, which disrupt the empire and the anti-natural Communist system from within.



Historian A. Amalrik, born in Kyiv of French origin, predicts an end of the Russian empire for 1984 as the result of national liberation revolutionary processes inside the empire and a possible conflict with China . . .

We agree with Gen. Fuller that Peking's expansion in reality was directed to the south and the southwest. We presume that in case of Russia's guarantying military help to Red China against the USA, which generally objects to Peking's expansion to the south — the Moscow-Peking conflict would be settled.

The expansion of Russia is presently concentrated on free Europe, the warm seas, the Near East and her fleet almost equals the military fleet of the USA. Russia is already present in the Mediterranean, the fact unprecedented in history. The Mediterranean is no longer a sea belonging to the neighbouring countries. Moscow is blackmailing the West with the help of thermo-nuclear weapons, pushing the borders of her empire or the sphere of her influence further and further. Where in Europe or in Asia lies the *casus belli* for the USA, similar to that of the Cuba incident during the period of the Kennedy-Krushchov confrontation is not known. The fundamental truth is: We are not facing the threat of a thermo-nuclear war, provided the free world adopts a policy which takes into consideration the fact that the USSR is not a homogenous entity, but a multi-national construction, an empire.

*The Achilles' heel of the empire are the subjugated nations*

The nations enslaved in the USSR form the majority of the population, as compared with the Russians, and they are all fighting for the dissolution of the empire, the restoration of the independent sovereign states and the destruction of the anti-natural Communist system. Counting together the peoples subjugated in the USSR and the satellite countries, the ratio is 1:2 and possibly even 2:5, if we consider the factual precision of statistics of Russians to the non-Russians.

Let us remember: Russia always lost in previous wars under the pressure of revolutions inside the empire (the Japanese and the Crimean and World War I). In 1917—18 being a member of the victorious Entente Russia was defeated because the empire was broken down by national liberation wars of Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Poland, Siberia, Don Cossacks and other subjugated nations. The armies of Ukraine (S. Petlyura) in particular stopped the march of the Russian Bolshevist armies, trying to reach Hungary in order to give military support to Bela Kuhn and the Communist revolts in Germany. They also helped to stop the advance of Tukhachevsky-Trotsky-Budionny armies over the Vistula, i. e. into the centre of Europe with the plan to bolshevize it. Thus the nations which regained their independence formed on the ruins of the tsarist empire the very first front line of defense against the Bolshevization of Central and Western Europe and of the West in general. Russia won the war when the subjugated nations became the object of new imperialism and colonialism (Nazi-Germany).

In 1942 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), as well as the Lithuanian freedom fighters, fought on two fronts: against Russia und Nazi-Germany. Allies did help Russia. It is not a coincidence that in 1947 the USSR, Czecho-Slovakia and Red Poland concluded a treaty to fight jointly against UPA. The nationwide

uprising was the characteristic phenomenon of the liberation struggle during 1952—53. The chief of German SA Lutze, Russian marshal Vatutin, Red Polish vice-minister of war Swierczewski were killed by detachments of UPA. These facts prove that national liberation revolutionary activity, which was revived during the war, shook the entire empire and contained the further advance of Russia on the still free world in 1945. *And again the subjugated nations were the first line of defense of the remaining free world.* The final goal of Moscow is to reign in the whole world. Lenin confirmed Dostoyevsky when he stated that Russia's national idea is universal, while its embodying is in the interest of all mankind, so "all people have to become Russians". Western Allies had an alternative: a joint front with subjugated nations against *both* tyrannies, but not an alliance with Russian despotism and imperialism against the Nazis. This had induced Churchill's words: "We have killed the wrong pig"!

The national liberation revolutionary fight of the enslaved nations of the empire goes on ever stronger. The empire is shaking. To dominate the enslaved nations by Russian forces for a long period of time is no more possible. To use thermo-nuclear weapons against rising nations, their insurrections and revolutions, is also impossible, because they are suicidal weapons. Besides, one should not forget that weapons of the empire are carried also by members of the subjugated nations, who constitute the majority of soldiers of the Soviet army. They will turn their weapon against the invader.

The strength of the Russian empire is in the weakness of the Western reaction, in the absence of the support given to the liberation movements of enslaved nations in the USSR and the satellites. Moscow's striving for recognition by the West of the *status quo* of conquests made by it and more than that the approval by the West of the suppression of uprisings by the enslaved nations — this is the aim of Moscow's policy, the Moscow-Bonn treaty included. Facts of the past: the uprising of the prisoners at Vorkuta 1948, in connection with the blockade of Berlin, 1953—Berlin, 1956—Hungary, 1953-59 uprisings of prisoners in concentration camps of Siberia, Kazakhstan, then Czechia and Slovakia 1968, without any intervention on the part of the West, on the contrary — an assurance of disinterestedness.

At the same time without a final confrontation Moscow achieved the enlargement of the empire and its sphere of influence by means of peripheral and partisan wars, Communist parties and fifth columns inside every nation of the world, the creation of pro-Russian and pro-Communist fronts, through modern strategy of warfare adopted to thermo-nuclear and ideological age. In spite of weaknesses inside the empire, through exploitation of economic resources and manpower of the subjugated nations, Russia accomplishes exterior political successes. Cuba, the Mediterranean, the Near East, the Indian Ocean, Latin America, Africa . . . In the meantime, after the second phase of the revolutionary liberation fight — the uprisings in the concentration camps, the enslaved nations moved on to mass actions, demonstrations, clashes with the occupant in the native countries. In the vanguard is the young generation. The fight goes on in every domain of life; it is an ideo-economic, national-political, cultural, religious and in general, an anti-Russian and an anti-Communist struggle.



Beginning with 1960 an active many-sided and well planned resistance developed in Ukraine, Turkestan, Lithuania, the Caucasus, Byelorussia. 1960 — Donbas, 1961 — Odessa, Kirovograd, Kryvyi Rih, Sevastopol, Tashkent, Novocherkask, 1963 — Kryvyi Rih and so on. In Novocherkask about 5,000 people died or were wounded. There and in the Donbas Soviet soldiers refused to fire at workers.

Ideological bent in this fight was clear: The national state independence and human rights!

In 1963 a young poet of Ukraine, V. Symonenko, wrote: "Ukraine, you are my prayer, my eternal despair", or "Be quiet America and Russia, when I speak with you, Ukraine"! and again "My nation exists, my nation will exist for ever!"

And in 1969 another young intellectual of Ukraine repeats after P. Hrabovskiy: "Liberation nationalism is a necessary precondition of human progress, as from the downfall of a nation suffers not only the nation itself, but mankind in general" . . . He demands the return of religion, traditions, respect for "God of our fathers", who preferred "death to dishonesty".

The young man Jan Palach called in Prague: "It is better to burn in flames, than to live under Russian yoke", and earlier before him, in Kyiv, a former fighter of UPA and a member of OUN V. Makukh burning himself called: "Long live free Ukraine!" and before him, in front of the Dzerzhynsky monument and the KGB building in Moscow, another Ukrainian burned himself protesting against the imprisonment of writers and fighters for national independence and human rights. The third case of self-burning of a Ukrainian, Boryslavskiy, occurred in Kyiv . . . Those examples from Ukraine and Czechia can be related to all enslaved nations, starting with Lithuania and Byelorussia and including Georgia, Turkestan, Albania and freedom-loving Croatia.

What does it prove? It points to the place of operations in the future inevitable confrontation of the West with Russian imperialism, if the West wishes to be victorious. This means that if the West wishes to avoid any war on its own territory it should actively support national liberation revolutions of nations subjugated inside the Russian empire, as their aim is the dissolution of the empire into national independent states and the destruction of the Communist system.

The West should start to wage a modern-type war, as has been done for many years by Moscow and Peking. Silence, waiting, retreat, disinterestedness in the destiny of the enslaved nations, these are the key problems of contemporary world, which will result in the inundation of the world with aggressive Russian and Communist deluge. Is it possible to keep quiet when confronted with the fact that almost a milliard of human beings and dozens of nations are kept under godless Communist tyranny?

And the tyrants decompose free nations from within, preparing a final attack on them. Let us not forget a warning of Demosthenes from his "Philippics": "You will never defeat the enemy, if you don't expell agents, if you don't annihilate them inside the walls of your city".

When leftist elements organize demonstrations in the cities of contemporary free world under the banners of Lenin, Mao, Che Guevara, Castro, Ho — i. e. symbols of evil, with the goal of annihilation of nations and cultures, the reaction of the noble forces of free nations has to follow symbols of faith in God, nation,

human being, created to the image of God and such symbols as Slipyi, Mindszenty, Stepinach, Petlyura, Bandera, Chuprynka.

Here two worlds clash with each other. There is no reason to be afraid of thermo-nuclear war in case the liberation wars develop on the territory of the subjugated nations. Just as in Vietnam it would be impossible to use atomic bombs. If we stand for truth and justice, according to our duty towards the Providence of God, we shall not become an object of destruction. It is not possible that the key to the destruction of mankind, of righteous mankind, would be placed in the hands of Kremlin criminals.

Perhaps the monk van Straaten says a great truth in his book "Where God Weeps": "Everywhere in the Red East intellectuals and artists are fascinated by the ideal of freedom. There is a possibility that God will not need any war in order to demolish this system in an apocalyptic way. Maybe He prefers that this infamy breaks down by itself and collapses from inside" . . . By this we understand national liberation revolutions inside the empire, actively supported by the West.

And about the help to the sufferers, who fight for the kingdom of liberty, justice and truth, van Straaten writes: "Good Friday and the Cross have remained and the curtain is there, too, to hide the blood-thirstiness of the murderers. Oh, don't call them Marshals or Your Excellencies when they come to visit you with gloves on and a smile. Remember that the glove covers the claws of a thug and smiling they are planning murder. Their hands are stained with the blood of Jesus. Call them murderers. Call your children back from the street-corners where they will be passing and bolt your doors as long as they are in your city. Call them murderers and don't be deceived by the curtain . . . Where they are in power the Church dies . . . But never can it gamble away the inviolable rights of eternal God at the conference table" . . .

The so-called peaceful co-existence with tyrants in politics brings the same evil to the freedom-loving world. Co-existence works to the detriment of the subjugated and for the toleration of slavery and captivity.

The subjugated nation do not ask for help: We consider that he who helps them helps himself and he who does not wish to help himself deserves the Bolshevik yoke. Our strength is to be found in the strength of our spirit and our faith in eternal truth and justice. The Almighty God helps those who are strong. And the victory will be ours.

Z. K.



*Prof. Row of the USA (center) with Byelorussian delegates, Col. Kosmowicz (left) and Mr. Bunchuk, at the reception in honor of ABN/EFC delegates.*



*Dr. Ante Bonifacic (Croatia)*

## **The Idea of National Independence — The Vital Force of the Captive Nations**

There is no doubt that the vital idea of mankind in our age is the national idea and the fight for national independence. There is also no doubt, that the national idea meets a rigorous opposition and is proclaimed reactionary by some intellectual groups, who consider themselves liberal and progressive, but who are for us only primitive and reactionary.

The 19th century proved that the secrets of life are more complicated than the theories of Ernest Haeckel. But the 20th century scientists imagined that the atomic bomb has positively proved their theory of the material structure of the universe. It is a beautiful picture indeed to imagine protons and neutrons following the ways of stars and of the universe. But today scientists have found more than a hundred atomic corpuscles not even enclosed in a definite system.

The earth is round and the humans are equals — then why don't we have just one nation, just one chief and just one culture? There are already 125 nations in the UN, but we know that there are many more, which are not represented. In my home country, Croatia, in schools, in the army and in the press the Croats are obligated to accept the perverted Serb dialect, in contrast to our five-centuries-old literature. This very situation has even provoked Croatian Communists to opposition; the same Communists, who never protested against the massacre of half a million Croats in 1945. They invented a Muslim nation and a Macedonian nation, which never existed. At the same time they teach in schools a falsified history of the Croatian and the Bulgarian peoples and avoid mentioning the Croatian nation in the official propaganda of ethnic and geographical position. These are the unexpected miracles of progress. Incidentally a similar thing happened during the 25th anniversary session of the UN!

The ideological Communist and technocratic pride would like to force mankind into shortsighted, rationalist structures and build state organizations neglecting nations. The story of North Vietnam and North Korea are illustrations. At the same time they do their utmost to destroy the 1000-years-old nations. Soviet Russia has destroyed at least fifteen nations. The vision of an unfounded future replaces the reality. Communist words always have a different meaning.

Today we have a hundred million refugees and one billion Communist slaves. We also know here today, that we are united with these peoples with the help of misterious ties of nationhood. No mighty person of this world has ever dared to proclaim the sanctity of a universal nation, which would direct the human race towards a better future without the fear of complete destruction.

We are living in a crucial age of history, when Communists and their international stooges try to eliminate the national idea and eradicate in our hearts the idea of a native country, covering the idea with words of universal human solidarity, fraternity and international equality. But reality produces fratricidal massacres and blatant inequality in the Soviet system. Russians are always more equal than the others. They are more equal than the Czechs and Slovaks. Even members of the party are never equal.

But we, who were never Communists, do not accept the madness of L. Gomulka, J. Kadar and J. Husak, who suffered in their own Communist jails, but in spite of that continue to impose their Communist doctrines. We do not want to be martyrs for nothing, like Arthur Koestler's Rubachev. The book "Operation Slaughterhouse" is a documentary evidence of assassinations in Croatia, ordered by Tito. We can site the martyrology of every subjugated nation, because Communism has not changed since

1918. The pity is, that the free world hardly recognizes the plight of the captive nations. The conspiracy of silence can only be broken with our anti-Communist and anti-imperialist solidarity and devotion. For this reason we have to be united, as liberty is indivisible and universal.

The Brazilian G. de Conto e Silva said: "I am a nationalist and I superpose the interests of the nation over individual, party, group, regional or local interests". These words conform with Renan, who immortalizes the idea of a nation. Almost the same was said by Walter Kriwitsky the general who escaped from the Soviet Russian empire: "Fighting Communism conservatives are completely impotent, because this fight cannot be conducted, won, or even understood without the supreme sacrifice".

This supreme force of sacrifice is to be found among all the peoples of the world, if they are fighting for their national independence. This supreme energy has not lost its impetus in spite of those, who abuse it. Let us only have a look at the peoples under Communist domination since 1918. We can list innumerable names of heroes of every nation. They have sacrificed themselves not for some perverted ideals, but for the liberty and independence of their nations. Money, material gains, honours, suffering, even death itself, have not dissuaded them from following their way of sacrifice for their homeland.

The images of fictitious celebrities, as depicted in everyday press, are different from those, who sacrificed themselves for their nations. Following the mythical idea of progress, when a human heart can be replaced by an artificial one and a human being will be produced in a laboratory, then of course such a human being will lose his feeling of nationality. Ecology has proved that every animal defends its territory and we can change neither a plant nor an animal in the same environment. Stalin transplanted the Tartars and the Osetins and Brezhnev after Stalin experimented with the Czechs and Slovaks, first with Svoboda and Dubcek, then with Svoboda and Husak.

Stalin, Gotwald and Svoboda never succeeded and they invented a farce called "Communism with a human face". They believed it is enough to give a canary in a cage a little of sugar and salad to make it sing. The farce called Titoism in the press of the world should satisfy captive nations in accepting their bosses and their executioners as benevolent fathers. They believe that human nations are like apes, who do not remember their past. The Russian Communists exterminated the Tartars and other nations with cold blood and determination without mercy. Have they ever changed after having exterminated all the ideologists of Communism and all their adversaries? Milovan Djilas said they have exterminated the Croatian army because Yugoslavia could not exist without assassinations. One cannot become pacifist and humanist after that.

The last pseudo-liberal fiction today is coexistence and containment. They officially recognize that Russia has more megaton bombs than the USA. Everywhere in Europe I met people, who paid lip service to the Russians.

In Italy, in France, in Algeria and in other Arab countries, even in Spain, they would like to send the American fleet and the Yankies home. And the Americans are prepared to do just that. Everybody asks: Why defend Europe, if Europe does not want to be defended? Nierere and Kaunda in Africa wish to leave the Commonwealth, if the Britons decide to protect the last free way around Africa. Karl von Clausewitz wrote: "The aggressor always aims at peace, he would like to enter our land without any opposition".

Our brothers fought Communism all the time without asking questions. We do not know their names, but they are written with blood on the soil of their homeland. Those men, unbroken by terror or comfortable life, possessed the faith and vigour of our ancestors, who were never subjugated by the invasion of the despotic oppressors. Our permissive society of abundance and luxury produces hippies and yuppies. Such a society cannot resist Communism. Millionaires are hosted like kings in Russia, and who would





*The British and the Croatian delegations to the ABN/EFC Conferences in Brussels,  
November 12-16, 1970.*

not like to make a little business. The Russians would be glad to sell a cord, on which their enemies and the children of their enemies would hang themselves. But we do not like to listen to the voice of the captive nations.

Dimitri Miladinov, a Bulgarian patriot, consoled his friends before dying "My children, why are you so afraid? I am meeting my faithful death, but the Bulgarian people are not going to die with me. They are going to live and collect the fruit". But modern capitalism is trying to make a profit in dealing with the Communists, who in turn make their own profit by employing millions of slaves and paying them ridiculously low wages. The agreements between nabobs and commissars are quite on the line of coexistence. Because it is inhuman to throw bombs, why not make business instead? This is the current ideology.

The captive nations defend traditions and the faith of their ancestors. They are partisans of true democracy and they would like

to choose their leaders and way of life themselves. They would like to elect as their representatives those individuals who sacrifice everything for their people and their nation. These nations never stop fighting for their national independence and their true representation. Not representatives, who have enough money to pay the press and the television. They defend their moral and spiritual values, culture and civilization they inherited, the same way as their forests, fields and villages. They don't desire to sell pornography and poisonous drugs. And this is the way of life we should push forward in the whole world to create a better, healthy and progressive humanity.

Here I would like to cite the words of one of the liberation leaders of Ukraine, Symon Petlyura: "Blood shed for magnificent aims will never be shed in vain". And to finish let me also add words of the Croatian leader Peter Zrinski, who was decapitated in 1671 because of his love to Croatia: "Those who die daringly will live forever".

## The Enslaved Nations and Their Present Fight for Liberation

Russia lost World War I because of national revolutions of several subjugated nations who declared their independence. But the period of liberty was a very short one, as they all fell again into the yoke of captivity, this time of Red Russian imperialism. During the second world war the hope for freedom was again not realized, as Allies fought one tyrant instead fighting both. Additional countries, the so-called satellites, were included by force in the Soviet-Russian empire. But all these nations never renounced their rights and are fighting for their liberation until today.

Moscow was never happy with the active resistance of enslaved nations. On the 50th anniversary of their domination the Communist party stated: «In the behaviour of some young men and some workers can be seen the tendencies incompatible with the ideology and the morals of Communism» (*Red Youth*, 26-6-68). And again: "We must destroy the influence of the bourgeois propaganda of the past". In fact, those dissidents, who love their country and their traditions, are not "some", but many, and party lecturers and propagandists are hopelessly unsuccessful with them.

Besides ordinary brutal terror Moscow organizes the ideological attack against the revolutionary movement in literature and arts. Writers and artists are compelled to follow an official party line. The secretary of the Communist party issues instructions to the writers: 1) Don't speak of the past; 2) don't be apolitical; 3) no individual or neutral ideas. (*Communist of Byelorussia*, September 1969). And to attain its goal the party reverts to Stalinism. This front is considered by Communists as the main front and "there is no compromise whatsoever" (*Pravda*, 25-6-68). The November 1968 conference of the ministers of culture of the Eastern Bloc in Sofia only confirmed this terrorist principle.

At the same time intensified Russification demolishes all the vestiges of the national culture in every "national republic". But the strong resistance forces have coined a battle slogan: "Who doesn't know his historic past and doesn't appreciate it, has no future". Intellectuals and workers of Byelorussia, Ukraine and other so-called republics write letters to magazines demanding respect for national culture and monuments.

Another domain of enforced Russification is the educational system and schools in general. The national schools are neglected, badly equipped and without qualified teachers. Books are 80 % Russian and only 20 % native. And even this low percentage of native books has a miserable quantity of printed copies. Whoever aspires to a better position in life must attend Russian schools only. The Russian language is officially called "the second mother language". But writers, pedagogues, students and others strongly defend their mother language and culture. Also farmers and workers take part in resistance.

The most brutal methods are applied in the religious field. The churches are destroyed and priests sent to Siberia. But the big army of atheist propagandists has not succeeded in liquidating the church and in destroying the faith in the hearts of millions. The Komsomol press accuses youth of enslaved nations of

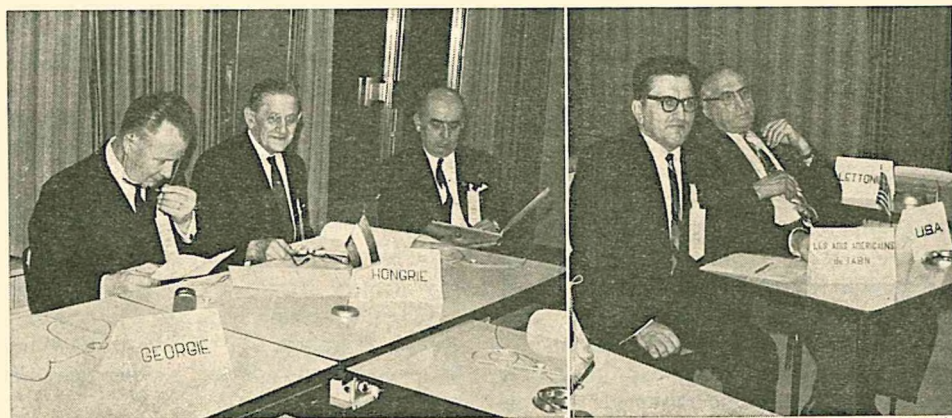


taking an active part in religious festivities. We notice an absolute failure of the Communist atheist and materialist doctrine. The respect for eternal and spiritual values and the love for the native country are prevalent. The secretary of the Central Committee of the Byelorussian Communist Party, Pilatowich said in Minsk in January 1970: "The biggest danger for the USSR today comes from patriotism and love of native lands". Several letters of intellectuals, written to the government and even to the UNO, confirm this.

We can mention the prominent Ukrainians, Ivan Dzyuba and Chornovil, some Tartars of Crimea, 40 Lithuanian priests, Estonian and Byelorussian intellectuals and students, and others whose writings circulate in underground publications. Byelorussian students in Minsk, in April 1970, shouted to the police: "This is not Czecho-Slovakia!" and "You are not going to subdue us!"

Prisons and concentration camps are full of resistance fighters, who never abandoned their hope for liberation. The Soviet-Russian aggression extends to every field of life, but even on the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth they were unable to stop the general resentment and protests against colonization and imperialism.

The enslaved nations will be immensely encouraged if their representatives in the free world in general intensify their efforts in fighting Communism and Russian imperialism. Moscow knows this and its fifth column tries to disrupt our solidarity and to slander us with dirty lies inside their empire. But no Communist stratagems will destroy our common front with enslaved nations for liberty and national independence. And victory will be ours.



*Delegates to the ABN/EFC Conference in Brussels. Left: Georgian and Hungarian delegation. Right: The American Friends of ABN delegation.*

## Life in the Russian-Style Oswiencim

It is hardly necessary to explain the concept "Vorkuta" to our readers. Vorkuta is a terrible synonym for death, persecution, exploitation and loss of all human traits, just as Oswiencim (Auschwitz) had been...

Between 1940 and 1956 hundreds of thousands of people were thrown into the concentration camp in Vorkuta — political prisoners, convicts, prisoners of war. All of them were exposed to the severe cold, hunger, beatings, executions, sickness. But in 1953 heroic uprisings of prisoners working in the mines occurred in Vorkuta under the leadership of the Bandera followers. Vorkuta is an integral part of the Ukrainian history, for most of those who have gone through the hell of Vorkuta or who are resting under the tundra, are Ukrainians.

After the amnesty of 1954-56 many were released, but thousands to whom the amnesty did not apply had to continue to dig for coal. Some managed to leave in secret.

Vorkuta is a major industrial center of the USSR. Today not only coal is mined there, but also oil, coke, gas, celluloid and electric power are produced. 27 million tons of high-grade coal, which flows to the arms factories of Leningrad, are mined there annually.

Barbed wire and death strips have been removed, but one thing has remained: the character of exploitation and inhuman living conditions, the hatred of the workers, their longing for the pleasant south of their native land. The Russian Bolshevik character remains with or without barbed wire. The Russian oppressors are interested in one thing: the plan. The human being does not interest them at all. Although 18 years have passed since the heroic uprising, the same horrible living conditions are prevalent there today — the same as in Stalin's time. The liberal German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, which is close to the Social Democratic Party, said in one of its reports from September 25th, 1970:

"In places where gas is obtained in Vuktil — and it is received also by West

Germany — even with great efforts, not enough workers can be found. How can one attract workers to a place where not even one regular apartment house has been built? In an industrial center there is not a single hospital. This branch of industry has to put up constantly with chronic inefficiency, of which the Moscow ministry is hardly aware; even though a housing project has been planned, it is not being built."

In other words: any one who becomes seriously ill in Vuktil is doomed to death. Due to the lack of living quarters the workers can not bring their wives and children. They have to live either in barracks or in tents. Just as in Stalin's times. No wonder then, that free workers run away from there, leaving behind factories. This is tantamount to a silent boycott or strike. The newspaper writes that a permanent "departure attitude" is problem No. 1 in Vorkuta. The paper stresses that "The annual turnover of workers in this industrial oblast of the North goes beyond 30 %."

The top idol of the Komi ASSR is a Russian, Ivan Morozov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. How catastrophically are the socio-political and economic conditions in Vorkuta and its vicinity shaping up, can be seen from the following picture: almost 80 % of workers recruited by the government (the so-called "volunteers") cannot last there even for a year. The promise of a 10 % pay increase after one year does not help. The desire to escape from this hell is stronger than incentives. The thirteenth pay which the workers in Vorkuta receive does not help either.

Thus the coal mines, the oil refineries, the machine and paper factories, the electric power plants barely employ 65 % of skilled workers.

It is to be regretted that the paper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* did not take notice of the fact that the majority of the exiled workers in Vorkuta, Inta, Pechora, Vuktil, Ukhta and Siktikvar are primarily Ukrainians,



Balts, Byelorussians, Armenians, Turkmen, Jews, Mongols and Germans — modern-day slaves and coolies of the post-Stalinist industrial era of the Far North. The unwillingness to work there has its reasons, not only of the material, social and economic nature, although they cannot be ignored either; the most important are the spiritual and the psychological reasons. No Ukrainian holding national, anti-Communist or

Christian views works willingly upon the ruins of the Russian Oswiencim. For how can anyone be sure that one day the barbed wire, the death strips, the "Maxim", the watchtowers and the gallows will not return again to the places where now bar shacks, barracks and a movie are standing. Oswiencim can repeat itself in the Bolshevik Vorkuta anytime.

### A Trial in Ryazan

A group of people, who were engaged in circulating "bootleg" literature have been arrested and sentenced in Ryazan. The inquiry and searches were conducted by the KGB. During the investigation more than 100 witnesses were questioned. The trial was held in the hall of the oblast court, and lasted from February 10-19, 1970. Among the defendants were *Yuriy and Valeriy Budka* — brothers, evening students at the Ryazan Radio-Technich Institute, born in 1947 and 1948 respectively; *Symon Hrylyus* — an engineer at the "Red Flag" factory; *Oleh Frolov*, *Yevhen Mortymonov* and *Semen Zaslavskyi* — all students of the above mentioned institute. All of them were tried for attempts to establish an anti-Soviet organization, dissemination of anti-Soviet literature and anti-Soviet propaganda (Articles 72 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and 70 CC).

During searches the following literature was confiscated from the arrested: "Death of Capital" — a program document written by Yuriy Budka; "De-ro-or" (Herald of Freedom) in Hebrew — dealing with man in contemporary society; "Marxism and Magicians" — on incidents in Czecho-Slovakia; "What's Ahead" (in Ukrainian and Russian) — additional elaboration on "Death of Capital", "simplified for the workers", a typewriter and photographic equipment.

The trial was held behind closed doors. Besides members of the KGB, only "representatives" of some factories, the oblast committees of CPSU and the Komsomol and some members of the defendants' families, all together no more than 30 persons, were present in the court room. 20

people were called to testify.

The defendants are said to have admitted their guilt, but the prosecutor nevertheless demanded harsh penalties for the Budka brothers and Hrylyus, for they, supposedly, did not repent.

The court allegedly established that Yuriy Budka's work was passed on abroad — to Czecho-Slovak and Dutch citizens.

Further the prosecutor accused the group of propagandizing their views, of recruiting new members and of holding seminars for discussion of the work "Death of Capital". Defendant Semen Zaslavskyi was the prosecution witness against other prisoners. He was arrested on July 29, 1969 and released on the next day. A day later Yuriy Budka, Oleh Frolov and Yevhen Mortymonov were arrested. Valeriy Budka was arrested on July 14. S. Hrylyus was arrested only on August 21st in Klajpeda, Lithuania.

Prosecutor Dubtsov demanded a 7-year imprisonment with strict regime and 3 years of exile for Y. Budka, 5 years for Frolov and Hrylyus, 3 years of corrective labor for V. Budka. The court passed the following sentences: for Y. Budka the term of exile was changed from three to two years, while three years of exile were added onto Hrylyus' and Frolov's terms. The last sentence remained as demanded by the prosecutor. Since Zaslavskyi was a witness for the prosecutor and the KGB, he received a three-year suspended sentence. Because of a serious heart condition Y. Mortymonov received a three-year suspended sentence. All those who read "Death of Capital", but who failed to inform the KGB, were dismissed from the Komsomol and the institutes.

## "The United States of Siberia"

Material to date suggests that Siberia is moving toward the center of world events. Since China is not strong enough, judging by present-day facts, to wage a war for the reconquest of Central Asia and Siberia, it has turned its expansionist drive southward. Peking has been somewhat successful in gaining control in Southeast Asia by way of an indirect aggression, that is by getting various "national fronts" to fight its battles. This Chinese expansion drive into Southeast Asia could be stopped by actual war between the United States and China. But it is difficult to foresee whether the United States will decide on the use of nuclear weapons. Conventional warfare in the jungles does not seem to promise any spectacular victories for the United States.

The gimmick is that Moscow certainly would appreciate an open confrontation of Washington and Peking, which might very well degenerate into a prolonged period of guerrilla warfare. The Soviet Union would secretly, but very generously, supply the Chinese with needed weapons (as it does now in Vietnam) to defeat U.S. forces in Asia. However, the Russians would hardly miss an opportunity to see the two rivals, the United States and Communist China, bleed each other to exhaustion. In the end, the Soviets would once again appear as the champions of peace, as they have done between 1939 and 1949.

It seems that U.S. policy in Southeast Asia might be undergoing a revision in the 1970's. It will probably make tactical withdrawals from the Asiatic rimland and confine itself to the defense of the chain of islands — the Philippines, Formosa and Okinawa — as well as the South Korean bridgehead. The strategic objective would be to prevent China from establishing its influence in the Indonesian Archipelago — the bridge to Australia. Such a strategy would make it possible for the United States to use, in a concentrated form, its great superiority in naval and air power. The result would be more favorable than the

arduous campaigns of a prolonged jungle warfare. However, it would also mean that it would have to accept China's domination over the whole of Asia and, by the same token, the Chinese armies would have more time to undergo modernization.

Should the political and military developments take that course in Asia, then the Chinese would press for an expansion in the north — the industrial areas of Siberia and Central Asia. Moreover, it seems probable that in the next few years China's nuclear power is going to pose a greater threat to the Soviet Union than to the United States.

Attention should now be turned to the very delicate problem, i.e. the future status of Siberia. There are many different peoples, races and religions in Siberia. In the process of over three hundred years a new nation emerged. This new nation has gradually asserted its independence from Russia, first in cultural and economic aspects, and then with the official proclamation of political independence on July 4, 1918. Siberian independence was suppressed as soon as the Bolsheviks freed their hands on the European front.

As the Bolsheviks strengthened their Siberian front, the young Siberian Volunteer Army was forced to retreat. In February, 1920, Siberia, from the Urals to Lake Baykal, was reconquered by Russian Bolsheviks. Four years later the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia met the same fate.

After the Russian Bolsheviks had broken the resistance of the Siberian people and destroyed their national state, they started the reestablishment of the Russian empire. They set up what has been called the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic which is the core of what is entitled the Soviet Union. The Soviets disregarded the principle of self-determination of the Siberian people, and an area of over 5,000,000 square miles which was once the Independent Siberian Republic was divided



into the Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Autonomous Regions, National Areas, Krays and Oblasts. The entire vast area was forcefully attached to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and is still treated as an integral part of Russian territory.

From the culmination of World War II until the present the Soviets have been especially vociferous with regard to the liberation of colonial people. However, they have been silent with respect to subjugated people within the Soviet Russian empire.

It should be recalled that during the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev advocated the immediate abolition of the colonial system and all forms of colonial administration in order to afford the peoples of the territories concerned an opportunity to determine their own destiny and form of government. He severely castigated the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium and other Western powers, and claimed that he spoke for some "100 million of colonial peoples" in Asia and Africa.

As a reply to Khrushchev's proposition to abolish all forms of colonialism, the late United States Representative to the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson, stated that:

"Russia, in her foreign policy, supports the liberation movement in Western colonies because such support helps the Russian Communist empire to spread its power and influence all over the world. But within the borders of the Russian Communist empire Russia is against the self-determination of once free and independent nations. The Soviet colonial empire is the only modern empire in which no subject people have ever been offered any choice concerning their future and their destiny. That destiny was decided once and for all — at gunpoint".

Moreover, at its 1960 session, the General Assembly "solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms

and manifestations."

In its declaration, the Assembly said that "the subjugation of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation". The Assembly further declared that:

Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

Subsequently, the establishment of a Special Committee of seventeen members, according to the Resolution 1654 (XVI) passed by the Sixteenth Session of the General Assembly on November 27, 1961, was regarded as an important event, since it reflected the Assembly's desire to abolish colonialism everywhere. Soviet Russian colonial possessions, including the vast areas of Siberia, are excellent examples of modern colonialism.

The humanitarian ideals, proclaimed in the chambers of the United Nations, have found an echo only in Soviet propaganda. As far as the implementation of human rights principles is concerned, the Iron Curtain remains impenetrable. The peoples of Siberia are deprived of these rights. They are deprived of a democratic system of government. They have to serve their masters in Moscow.

The desire of the Siberian peoples to throw off the Muscovite yoke and take part in determining their own destiny was amply demonstrated in 1918. It is therefore not a new concept. The enormous wealth of natural resources, favorable geopolitical position, and a great demographic potential, form a solid base for an independent Siberian state to develop. The fact of ethnic heterogeneity points toward a political entity of the federal type rather than the unitary. A United States of Siberia would be a positive phenomenon in

the Eurasian and in the global system of politics. First, it would make it possible for the peoples of Siberia, who have occupied these vast areas from time immemorial, to realize their human potential within a political and socio-economic system established by themselves. Secondly, an independent Siberian state would constitute a power-balancing factor — a buffer state — between major Eurasian powers. Lastly, a free Siberia would provide a vast market for the neighboring states — in terms of a common market. A peaceful development of those vast areas could easily involve foreign capital, from the neighboring states. Above all, a federal system of government would be also more suitable for providing an economic op-

portunity for a substantial Chinese minority — emigrants from a free China. Siberia could accept many more people and thus alleviate the proliferating population crisis especially in China and Japan. A free and independent United States of Siberia would be a bulwark of peace and order in Eurasia and in the entire world.

Alexander Radishchev, a 19th century Russian philosopher, once said: "What a rich land Siberia is, what a great land! A few more centuries are needed, but when it is peopled, it will be destined to play an important role in the history of the world." Siberia does embody monumental potentialities, that when applied and developed, may shape the lives of millions of people in the not too distant future.

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#### **Lenin Memorial Plaque in Munich Destroyed**

In December 1970, a memorial plaque of Lenin in Munich was destroyed by persons unknown. It had already been violated some time ago. The memorial plaque was set on the front of a rental unit, where the later founder of the Russian-Bolshevist empire had lived for a period as emigrant. The writing on the memorial plaque was both in German and Russian.

Even though the perpetrators are unknown, there can be no possible doubt that the destruction of the Lenin Memorial Plaque constitutes an act of protest against the policy of appeasement, which the present German government engages in towards Moscow. A growing uneasiness and discontent because of this policy can be felt amongst the German public.

#### **Against Red China's Entry to UN**

Mr. Osami Kuboki, Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League and President of the International Federation for Victory over Communism, issued a statement strongly opposing the entry of the Chinese Communist regime into the UN and at the same time called on WACL-APACL member units to observe January 23rd as Freedom Day.

#### **Protest in the Indian Parliament against Consular Relations with East Germany**

The Hon. Dahyabhai V. Patel, M. P., protested in Parliament against the decision of the Government of India to establish consular relations with the Russian Occupation Zone of Germany. Among other things he stated:

"The decision of the Government of India to seek Consulate General relations with East Germany is nothing but a kind of 'get together' with a totalitarian dictatorship, which is given to acts of aggression."

"All things duly considered, the decision of formal recognition of the Democratic Republic of Germany spells betrayal of India, of the cause of international amity and cooperation, and world peace."

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## Russian Concentration Camps Today

(Continuation)

### *Flowers for the Commissar*

It is Thursday, the day of political instruction. Everyone has to attend, and at seven o'clock on the dot in the evening must be in his hut for instruction. Everyone tries to dodge it. What can we learn in such instruction? Everyone has had enough of Communist talk, the slogans, the wall newspapers. Besides, most prisoners have high school certificates, some university degrees, and many have read Lenin, Marx, Engels, Hegel, Kant and the modern philosophers. We are after all "political" prisoners.

Shortly before it is time the library and canteen close. We can only continue to play volley ball and dominos or walk in the yard. Then the doors of the administration open and about thirty supervisors set about collecting us together.

The refusal to take part can, according to regulations, be punished by withdrawal of privileges such as family visits (once a year) or the right to receive parcels from outside (one every three months). But you only get these privileges if you have already done half of your time, and even then most are withdrawn for other offences. During my whole term of imprisonment, I didn't get a single parcel and only two visits.

Before each period of instruction the camp chief, Major Sveshnikov, dictates the subject matter to our group leaders, who mostly can scarcely read and write. They then direct the instruction and try to teach politics from their notes. This is sometimes extremely funny. The pupils pressed to attend get their own back on the teacher with a flood of questions.

One evening my friend Mykola Yusupiv asked: "You say one should be honest and not deceive the state. But how is a family to live on 50 to 70 roubles a month? What does the family deserve? How does this fit — and the increased work quotas and increasing prices for all food — with the increase in the standard of living?"

Our teacher stutters for a while and then answers: "Yusupiv, you are intentionally raising small defects which are mostly only temporary." All the prisoners laugh.

I joined in and asked: "How long will this all stay like this? Censorship was after all only a temporary measure. That was fifty years ago, and we still have it today."

"Marchenko", replied the harrassed group leader, "You got too short a sentence. It must be increased. And you others. I have the impression you are longing for solitary confinement."

"OK, OK", we shout, "you have convinced us! You've convinced us!"

From time to time we also had to take part in "discussions" with government representatives visiting the camp. At the beginning only very few prisoners could be made to do so without threats, but then the camp direction gave programmes with folk songs and poetry at these meetings. One day representatives of a Baltic republic came. After the usual address we were promised a concert. We appeared in large numbers. When the speech was finished; a young prisoner from the Baltic states rose and went to the platform, a carefully wrapped up bouquet in his hand. This had never happened before. Artists received flowers, but never speakers. The hall became dead silent.

"Allow me", began the prisoner, "on behalf of our countrymen, to present a bouquet of the flowers which grow here so far from our native land."

The prisoners were outraged. People called out: "Creep! Stool pigeon! Crawler!" I was also boiling with rage.

The prisoner ended his short address and presented the bouquet. But when the speaker took away the wrapping, there appeared a bunch of barbed wire! Everyone was speechless for a moment. Everyone, on the platform and in the hall, sat there with open mouth. Then a storm broke loose.

Neither before nor afterwards have I ever seen such wild applause.

The same evening the prisoner went into solitary confinement for fifteen days and then into "spesh". Shortly after the incident we read in the camp newspaper that the concert had taken place in an "atmosphere of friendship and cordiality."

#### *Khrushchov Goes*

As we were going from work to lunch one day in autumn 1964, we saw three guards bringing a prisoner into solitary confinement. Many of us knew him and called "Why are you going into solitary?"

"Because of Khrushchov" he answered.

Nikita Khrushchov had just been deposed and the camp administration was zealously getting rid of all traces of him—posters, banners, photos, quotations. Our friend had been called into the administrative building with some prisoners—human wrecks, who were to be had for anything for a small wage. Sveshnikov, the head of the camp, put several packets of imported Indian tea before him on the table—a priceless article on the camp black market. "Go into the reading room of the library", said Sveshnikov to our friend, "and get rid of everything which has to do with Khrushchov".

The prisoner's look travelled from the tea and back again. "For tea" he said soberly in the end, "one does everything. But you know, Director, that you have a beautifully fat backside. You've been eating away nicely at our costs . . ."

He was pulled away on the spot. But he called further: "You swine! I got seven years extra for Khrushchov. You should release me now, but instead you are putting me in solitary, for him again."

This was the scene which was played before our eyes, when we went to eat. (We had been loading freight cars overnight and thus hadn't heard of the event.) The administration had already begun in the early morning hours to get rid of the name and pictures of Khrushchov, in the hope that they would be finished before the prisoners got up. But it was too much work and so those who had sold themselves for

tea were soon surrounded by cheering prisoners, as they cleaned the camp of all traces of the fallen leader. The head of Khrushchov was cut from posters and stuck laughingly on the forehead of anyone near by. In this pictures of Brezhnev, Podgorny and others were torn, this being later explained as part of the "general confusion".

The mementos of Khrushchov had scarcely disappeared than the chapter began. Prisoners who had been condemned because of Khrushchov demanded loudly to be released. Two in the camp had taken some of their presumable things and gone to the guard. "We are locked up because we criticized Khrushchov", they explained, and now it turns out we were right. So open the gate and let us free!" Of course they were taken back quickly to their huts.

To avoid unrest, the Khrushchov-opponents were brought individually into the office of the KGB and advised to write to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and to ask for a reprieve. The administration was counting on the fact that the prisoners needed time to write, that further time would pass before the letter arrived and even more before an answer was received. By then the excitement had certainly died down.

In any case only a few were released of those who had written a letter asking for reprieve. The others were informed that they had also included the Central Committee of the Party in their criticism of Khrushchov. Or the simple answer: "A reprieve cannot be granted on account of the seriousness of your crime."

#### *"Letter-Loves"*

In all these years my ears gave me trouble. I often had strong pain and attacks of giddiness. Finally I went into the hospital of Camp No. 3 for treatment. Later I temporarily received a position there as nursing orderly.

One can hardly imagine that the terrible conditions of camp life allow love to appear. But it happens. Our hospital and the hospital for women were adjacent, only separated by a closed zone. One could not only see the women but even secretly speak



to them or throw a message over to them. Even when the women's hospital was moved a bit further away, the patients still managed to remain in contact with each other.

Sometimes nurses and orderlies such as myself, who brought women to and back from an operation, let themselves be persuaded to take a note. If we were caught, there was inevitably solitary confinement. But men and women so long cut off from normal life couldn't be stopped by orders.

Such "Letter-Loves" sometimes lasted a week, sometimes years. Often the first note was luckily received by someone or other. One introduced oneself, declarations of love followed, and one dreamed of a meeting some time. The prisoner then embraced in his dreams not simply "a woman" but his Nadia or Lucia, who had written to him that she loved him. He waited longingly for the next little letter, for a time forgot the camp, loneliness and barbed wire, and only wanted to know whether she was still "his" or had found another dream-lover.

Mykola Semyk had such a sweetheart: Luba, a first-aid specialist. Both had worked for five years in the hospital and maintained their correspondence with the help of a nurse. Sometimes, when Mykola brought women to and from the operating theatre, he could even see Luba. We helped him as much as we could by distracting the guard so that Mykola and Luba were alone for at least two or three minutes.

Luba had a husband, a nice fellow whom Mykola had even seen once when he came to visit her. But the existence of a husband didn't disturb the prisoners' love. There were two lives: for one freedom and a husband who came to visit once a year—and for the other the camp life, the little letters and the daily new dreams of a real being together. Which life was real and which dreamed up, who can say?

Most of the prisoners, however, lived without love of any kind, not even in the form of correspondence. Homosexuality is widespread among the criminals. The young bachelors suffer most, and they are very numerous in the camp since now more of them are being arrested.

*(To be continued)*

## Students Demonstrate for Moroz's Release

### New York

On January 22, 1971, amid shouts of "Freedom for Ukraine" and "Free Moroz" some 300 demonstrators, mainly students and young people, protested the nine-year prison sentence of Valentyn Moroz. The protest was sponsored and organized by the Ukrainian Student Organization of Mikhnovskiy (TUSM). The demonstrators gathered at a park across from the UN building, and marched uptown to the Soviet Russian UN Mission. During the march they handed out leaflets. Most of the bystanders were in general sympathy with the protest. The demonstration received wide coverage in the local news media.

### Ottawa

On January 30, 1971, 1,000 high school and college students from Toronto, Montreal, St. Catherine's, Oshawa, London, Waterloo and other Canadian cities came

to Ottawa to protest Moroz's imprisonment. They carried Canadian, Ukrainian and Quebec flags and signs demanding freedom for Ukraine, the release of prisoners and called on Russians to get out of Ukraine. Lithuanian and Estonian students with their national flags and signs, demanding the release of the imprisoned Balts, also participated.

The demonstrators marched from the Ottawa University Building to the Russian Embassy. In the course of the demonstration the Red flag was burned and the Russian Embassy was showered with rotten eggs, stink bombs and firecrackers.

### Chicago

About 600 members of the Ukrainian Student Organization staged a noisy demonstration through the streets of Chicago on January 30, 1971, urging the Russians to free Valentyn Moroz.

## **Against Russian World Danger**

### **Resolution of the ABN Conference in Brussels**

The Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held in Brussels, Nov. 12-16, 1970, reaffirms its conviction that:

National independence and personal freedom are the basic human rights, and a nation is a natural and spiritual body, a living and organic society created by God, welded by common history, culture, traditions and language, and a national state is a crowning of national aspirations;

Under the pressure of national liberation movements of the subjugated nations, colonial empires, except the Russian empire, have disintegrated;

The expansion of the Russian empire under the treacherous disguise of Communism and the idea of world revolution endanger the liberty of the still free world, and Moscow continues by all possible means to press its relentless drive for world conquest. Russia is trying to dominate entire continents and the warm seas. The Russian navy increasingly infiltrates into the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean without proper resistance from the Western powers;

The Russian empire is the main obstacle to a better world organization, and the so-called "Soviet republics" are artificial creations, without parliament or government elected by the free will of the peoples; the USSR constitution is only a facade for the ruthless dictatorial and imperialistic system, and the Russian strength lies in the exploitation of their colonies;

All nations held captive in the Russian empire have been subjected to cruel political, cultural and religious oppression, genocide and economic exploitation. Russia is doing away with freedom fighters and intellectuals, suppressing native languages and cultures, killing the soul of nations;

Liberation nationalism, which is an antithesis to Russian imperialism, chauvinism and racism, is a dynamic and unifying force, and the forces of freedom and independence of all suppressed nations are

alive and hoping for a better social and political order;

It is in the interest of free nations to give support to the national liberation revolutions;

The revolutionary spirit is growing and hardening in the fight;

The revolutionary struggle for national independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, North Caucasus, Armenia, Siberia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany and several others is frustrating Russian global plans;

The prisoners in Russian concentration camps, jails and psychiatric asylums are a reminder to the free world of the plight of the subjugated peoples;

In order to weaken, confuse and disintegrate the free world Moscow applies very cunning tactics, such as coexistence, so-called cultural exchange and "friendship" treaties, which are never kept;

Russian methods of infiltration, subversion, fifth columns, leftist groups and other subterfuges have to be countered by adequate means of ideological warfare in the free world and for the captive nations;

Military growth and expansion of Soviet Russia coincide with internal deterioration and deep crisis in all aspects of life;

The ultimate goal of our fight is the tearing down of the Iron Curtain, the complete liberation of the enslaved nations and the reestablishment of their independent national states;

A change of regime in the Russian empire, or a separate liberation of individual countries, is a short-sighted solution of the present situation, as the Russian nation is the nation aggressor and the creator of Bolshevism, with traditional messianism;

The free world's anti-Bolshevik activity will have direct influence on the non-Russian nations which are a serious threat to Russian imperialism;



The policies of the Western world in relation to the Russian empire have been weak and vacillating;

The fear of thermonuclear war has to be dispelled with noble ideas and spiritual values, which are stronger than atom bombs;

Moral rebirth and faith in God and Country are prerequisites to a successful struggle against the evils of Communism and imperialism;

By using indirect warfare against the free world, Russia gains strategic advantages without risking anything;

The free world's blindness, misinformation, confusion, fear and passivity foster Communist progress, (an example of it is the fact that the UNESCO, infiltrated by Communists, proclaimed the year 1970, as the year of Lenin "humanist", the man who caused the murder of countless millions of innocent people);

In the Sino-Russian conflict the Russian empire being the stronger one should be regarded as the main enemy. It would be disastrous to help one of these adversaries as was shown by the disastrous consequences of the unquestioning support given by Western Allies to Russia against Nazi-Germany, instead of combating both tyrannies in alliance with the subjugated peoples;

The concept of the bipartition of the world, polarizing on spheres of influence, is wrong and very dangerous;

The only effective way to eliminate Soviet Russian threat is to help the subjugated peoples;

Only a common front of the captive nations with support of the anti-Communist forces of the free world can be successful;

To change the fate of the enslaved nations is the responsibility of the free community, since the denial of basic human rights is not an internal matter of the Soviet Russian occupants;

A new generation, brought up on the example of heroes-fighters, knows no fear and courageously protests against tyranny, which is the main feature of the present-day struggle behind the Iron Curtain.

### **In view of all these facts the Conference of ABN resolves:**

To intensify the mobilization of all anti-Communist forces in the free world against Communism and Russian imperialism in a common front with the oppressed nations' liberation revolutions.

To consider the ideology of national liberation, independence, human rights and social justice as the main motivating force in the age of decolonization.

To support the liberation struggle by all available means, including radio broadcasting, and to foster all political, cultural and religious freedom processes behind the Iron Curtain.

To protest against the persecution of religion and churches, of intellectuals, writers and scientists in Ukraine and other enslaved countries, against tyranny, genocide and Russification.

To demand the release from concentration camps and prisons of clergy, of Ukrainian Bishop V. Velychkovskiy, many thousands of known and unknown political prisoners among others M. Soroka, V. Leonyuk, B. Khrystynych, Y. Hasyuk, V. Kalnins, the women — Red Cross volunteers helping the UPA — K. Zarytska, O. Husyak, and H. Didyk — Dr. V. Horbovyi, M. Horyn, L. Lukyanenko, V. Moroz, I. Kandyba, S. Karavanskyi, A. Amalrik, P. Hryhorenko and many other freedom fighters and intellectuals convicted to 10-30 years and the liquidation of all concentration and forced labour camps in general.

To proclaim a Great Charter of national independence of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism.

To set up a world anti-Bolshevik front of all free nations.

To encourage all religions and churches of the free world to stand firm against atheistic Communism.

To unmask aggressive, insatiable Communist Russian imperialism which hides under various disguises.

To abandon coexistence, containment and friendly negotiations with the deadly enemy.

To work for a change of policy by the free governments in the direction of adopting the policy of liberation.

To fight the spirit of defeatism, which may plunge us into the abyss of annihilation.

To exploit the growing internal conflicts within the Communist parties.

To condemn the UNESCO resolution proclaiming Lenin a humanist.

To warn the German parliament of the dangers stemming from the treaty with Moscow.

To stress the global primacy of disintegration of the Soviet Russian empire into independent national states in their ethnographic boundaries and the liberation of all subjugated nations.

To accept the guiding principles of ABN, the avant-garde of the nations enslaved in the Russian empire and to adopt the global fighting strategy for victory over Communism and Russian imperialism.

To work against the presence of the Russian navy in the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

To support the striving for independence of nations forcefully kept in artificial multinational state structures like Yugoslavia or Czecho-Slovakia.

To support the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea, and the liberation of mainland China, Cuba, Zanzibar and other subjugated nations.

To urge the governments of the free countries of the world to break off diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with the USSR and its satellites and to exclude the USSR and its satellites from all international organizations, for their violations of the basic principles of the UN Charter and human rights.

To demand bringing the USSR and its satellites before the International Tribunal at The Hague for beastly crimes of genocide, aggressive wars, violation of human rights, destruction of churches, culture and traditions, for subversion and other horrible crimes.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

#### Demonstration in Stockholm



The Swedish Council of Freedom organized a demonstration in Stockholm on the occasion of the arrival of Soviet Marshal

A. Grechko. Among others the Swedes carried a placard demanding "Freedom for Ukraine".



## ABN's Statement on National Liberation Revolution

*The hopes placed upon Communism's evolution towards democracy are very dangerous and futile. To stop the expansion of Russian imperialism under the disguise of Communism, the national liberation revolutions within the Russian empire have to be supported. The subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of every empire. Prisoners never shall defend their prison.*

*In any event our attention should be directed towards the subjugated nations and their aspirations. The road to liberty leads through synchronized national revolutions and the dissolution of the Russian empire and the re-establishment of national independent states. This would result in revolutionary changes on the political map of the world.*

*Is revolution possible? Uprisings in Vorkuta, Karaganda and other concentration camps of Ukrainian and other political prisoners, revolution in Hungary, uprisings in East Germany and Poland, guerrilla warfare in Ukraine answer this question in the affirmative. Russia was twice defeated in Crimean and Japanese wars due to revolutions and in 1917-18 her empire was disintegrated through the national revolutionary liberation wars. In World War II both Communist Russia and Nazi Germany should have been defeated by the common front of the Allies and the subjugated nations. Yet the subjugated nations were ignored. Today mankind has to suffer grave consequences.*

*In the tyrannical Soviet Russian empire conditions are ripening for explosion. Protests, mass actions, demonstrations, accumulation of hatred, active and passive resistance, especially of youth, are on the rise.*

*What is needed is a long-range ideo-political offensive for the channelling and strengthening of revolutionary dynamic. Thus the West needs a coordinated plan of psychological warfare. The transmission of political guidelines by representatives of liberation movements in exile, and moral support through broadcasts and solidarity protest actions in the free world strengthen the national liberation movements.*

*Attention has to be directed to the young people, who are charged with dynamic emotions and are already using radio-transmitters on a large scope as we were able to learn from Ukraine. The conflicts within the empire will multiply under the pressure of longing for human rights, freedom and national independence. The intensification of contradictions within the system will widen the gap between the imperial oppressors and the subjugated peoples! The collective misery as against the Communist capitalism will only accelerate revolutionary movement for future explosion.*

*We have to place our stakes upon the break-up of the Russian empire from within. Russia is building up an internal front inside Western countries and across the entire world. An opportunity for an uprising can be provided by a favorable external or internal political situation or both simultaneously. At all times we have to be ready to exploit any favorable situation. The ideo-political mobilization and the accumulation of revolutionary spirit can decide the issue of an uprising and the leading cadres will grow and assume the responsibility, provided they are given political support by the free world. He who helps the enslaved, helps himself as well.*

*The free world must cease to fear Russia's military might which is held in leash by the dread of nuclear warfare and the fear of national revolutions within the Russian empire. It has to realize that in the nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as instrument of policy. This warfare must be carried on in enemy territory, that is internally. The free world must understand that in this war of wills and ideas, a strategy based on appeasement or containment, which can solely react to the enemy's offensives instead of resolutely attacking him, can ultimately lead to defeat and degradation.*

*The national liberation revolution, coordinated among all enslaved nations will paralyze the desperate enemy, and is also an adequate alternative to thermo-nuclear war, since the ideas of freedom and national independence are stronger than atomic bombs, which cannot be dropped down on guerrillas for the enemy would annihilate himself as well.*

*General J. F. C. Fuller has rightly stated: "... the Atlantic Pact ... and the ABN ... together should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world".*

*Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)*

*November, 1970*

### EFC DECLARATION

The Conference of the European Freedom Council in Brussels comes to the conclusion that:

*The tremendous Russian military build-up and relentless subversive expansion, the presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Carribean Sea, Communist penetration in the Middle East, South America and Africa are threatening to bring the present confrontation of the two worlds to the brink of worldwide catastrophe.*

*In the empoisoned ambience of tricky "peaceful coexistence" and adventure-some "bridge-building", unworthy negotiations and unreliable treaties with the deadly enemy, the Free World is facing annihilation.*

*The policy of appeasement is extremely dangerous as it is based on slippery ground and self-deluding arguments.*

*The treaty between Brandt and Kosygin is practically a "diktat" by the latter and a betrayal not only of the Free World, but also of the nations enslaved in the Soviet Russian empire and the satellite states, nations which had hoped that their resistance would have deserved sympathy, solidarity and support from the Free World.*

*Only the liquidation of the Russian empire through the restoration of national, independent and democratic states of all the subjugated peoples within their ethnical boundaries would have paramount significance for a new arrangement of political forces throughout the world and for the establishment of a durable peace, liberty and international cooperation.*

*The subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the despotic Russian prison of nations and individuals.*

In evidence of this the Conference resolves:

*1. To appeal to free men to support by every possible means the subjugated nations in their struggle for freedom and state independence; to remind everybody that Freedom is indivisible and Right is indefeasible;*



2. To raise the strongest protest against violation of human rights and genocide in the Soviet Russian empire and satellite states, against the hideous system of concentration camps and the persecution of religion;

3. To point out to the peoples of the Western powers how immoral and dishonourable it would be if they were to side either with Russia or with Red China in their conflict because by doing this they would simply side with tyrants enslaving the Captive Nations in their empires and Communist systems, while those subjugated peoples are struggling for their own deliverance from both;

4. To remind the peoples of the Free World that unless adequate measures are taken against Communist infiltration, military expansion and subversion in the countries still free, they are going to be enslaved one after the other, or nibbled to death;

5. To fight unflinchingly against every form of treachery, opportunism and cowardice in the political quarters of the West; to offer the maximum of dedication by the member organizations for mobilizing anti-Communist and anti-colonialist forces in a common front for supporting the aspirations of the subjugated nations toward liberation and national independence;

6. To call to the memory of the German Parliamentarians that the record of scrapped treaties and infringed agreements by the Soviet Government has no match in history; that the ratification of the recently stipulated treaty is only going to allow Moscow to prepare new aggressions;

7. To remind statesmen, parliamentarians, policy-makers of the NATO countries that unless defense is buttressed and security strengthened to the utmost for standing against Russian and Communist expansionism, the Free World runs the ultimate risk of being cowed into surrender;

8. To appeal to free men to support the fight for the reunification in freedom of all countries divided by Russian imperialism and Communism both in Europe and Asia, and never to lose sight of the moral imperative that all Communist-dominated countries of the world should be liberated and de-colonized from tyrannies and yokes that were imposed upon them.



Mr. Ernest Rigoni (Hungary) reporting to the ABN Conference.



## Statement to the Press

*On the occasion of the Conferences of the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Brussels.*

*The European Freedom Council is a coordinating body of anti-Communist organizations of free European nations as well as those from nations subjugated by Russian imperialism. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is a coordinating center of national revolutionary liberation organizations of nations enslaved by Communism and Russian imperialism. Both organizations stand for human rights and liberties, for human dignity, for freedom to practice all religious faiths, for social justice, for self-determination of all peoples and for the re-establishment of independence of all countries subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism.*

*Therefore they advocate that all subjugated peoples in the USSR and so-called satellite countries should have been given the rights to national independence and to self-determination within their ethnical boundaries, the reunification in freedom of all divided countries which will bring liquidation of the Communist system.*

*The United Nations Organization founded 25 years ago has not fulfilled the hopes of freedom-loving humanity, in spite of its pledges to defend human rights and self-determination rights of peoples.*

*The above mentioned Conferences intend to stress this failure. Every day the principles of the U.N. are being violated, even in countries where governments therein represented are in power.*

*The cause of this evil lies mainly in the fact that the Russian Bolshevik colonial empire as a founding member has a privileged position in this organization.*

*Terror and violation of human rights behind the Iron Curtain, and in particular in the Russian empire, never cease. Persecution of writers and scientists, acts of genocide, compulsive Russification, destruction of churches, are practised daily.*

*The admission of Peking to the United Nations would make it even more difficult for this body to fulfill its duty under the Charter.*

*Only legitimate spokesmen of the people should represent those nations in the U.N. and not their oppressors.*

*Only the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire into independent democratic states of presently subjugated nations and the disappearance of every trace of Communist dictatorship could create conditions for the fulfilment of the principles of the U.N. for securing permanent peace in the whole world.*

*The freedom-loving people participating in the above mentioned Conferences in Brussels take the responsibility of pointing out to the free world that it must take adequate measures to counter Soviet Russian military and subversive aggressiveness.*



*General view from the Open Session of the ABN/EFC Conference in Brussels.*



*Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals! For the liquidation of the oppressive Russian empire of all colours! For the restoration of free and independent states of all nations presently enslaved by Russia and Communism!*

### **An Appeal to Today's Youth — Responsible for Tomorrow's Future**

*Friends!*

*We are witnessing many injustices and wars to which we, the youth of today, sensitive to righteousness and justice, must react positively.*

*The greatest injustice in evidence today, at a time when every nation aspires to achieve national identity and yearns to cast off dependence upon alien powers, is the continued existence of the political paradox of the U.S.S.R. — enslaver of peoples and suppressor of elementary human rights.*

*Freedom for nations — freedom for individuals — is a true motto which as yet has not been adequately applied to the world situation of today. Over a period of several centuries, Russia, one of the strongest world powers, has subjugated East European and Asian peoples, has imposed an artificial union on them and exploited them to this day. Every attempt towards freedom in these nations has been stifled and repressed; each attempt towards liberalization merely tightened Moscow's grip upon freedom-loving peoples.*

*To rekindle the wavering national pride of their people and to arouse world opinion, individuals were found to sacrifice their life by becoming human torches. Those immolating flames shook us out of our apathy and non-commitment, us the young people responsible for tomorrow's future. We salute those brave martyrs, Ukrainians — Didyk, Makukh, the Czechs — Palach and Polacek.*

*Reaction against the tyrannous regime and oppressive alien rule is growing in the U.S.S.R. Proofs of this are the continuous arrests, persecution of intellectuals and workers and of youth who wish to free themselves from forced political, economic and cultural dependence upon Moscow.*

*Sinyavsky, Daniel, Chornovil and Hryhorenko are only a few internationally recognized names. However, there are also thousands of others whose voices do not reach us in the Western world. Nevertheless, they are human beings — individuals who cherish freedom and national identity above all. For this reason alone they have been sentenced to concentration camps or to Siberia. Some known individuals are V. Moroz (34), B. Horyn (34), A. Shevchuk (30). There is evidence that Moscow is attempting to eliminate them by all means including even poisoning.*

*Friends! We must protest against the imperialistic system and ideology which is indoctrinating hundreds of thousands of youth for aggression against the free world. Such evil indoctrination is the basis for the Communist-instigated wars in Vietnam, in the Near East and in Cambodia. In this way, the Communist leaders want to achieve their goal of atheistic Communism and Russian imperialism more quickly by throwing the world into general chaos.*

*Not only does Russia not treat its subjugated peoples equally but decimates them by sending them to populate Siberia. It forces countless numbers of youth (under the pretext of voluntary work) to leave their homeland and work in Siberia and in Central Asia for the consolidation of Communism.*

*We, the youth of today, who wish to see tomorrow's world better than today's, who fight for victory of justice over wrong, who are motivated by our desire of righteousness, must immediately and actively counteract this oppression and conspiracy. We must condemn this totalitarian exploitation of the subjugated nations by an imperialist nation, just as we oppose the exploitation of weak individuals by a gangster. Thus we must stand in defense of the enslaved nations. We must appeal to the free world to insist that*



*the U.S.S.R. should at least honor the most elementary human rights: freedom of thought, of speech and of belief. At this time, none of these rights exist in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan or the other enslaved nations. For innocent and human actions individuals are often condemned to twenty-five years in prison (Zarytska, Didyk, Husyak, Karavanskyi); they are frequently sentenced without trial (Horbovyi); the Church is persecuted notwithstanding attempts to establish official relations with the Vatican. Individuals who are political exiles are even murdered.*

*Friends! We demand justice! We demand that Ukraine and other enslaved nations be granted their national independence.*

*We demand your support for the struggle of the captive nations! We call for an immediate end to the present tyranny in the U.S.S.R., for a just democratic system. We call for the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. In its place we call for the formation of free independent states of all presently subjugated nations.*

*Friends! In today's world torn by a struggle between atheism and the high ideals of Christianity, we firmly carry on our fight for human and national rights, for the rights of individuals subjugated by other individuals, for the rights of nations exploited by other nations. Let us stand up to be counted among those who oppose opportunists who profit from economic relations with Moscow.*

*Let us remember the cries of those who died in the distant Siberian plains in concentration camps for human rights, for the freedom of thought, of conviction and of action, for political freedom and independence of their country.*

*Let us recognize the words of Jan Palach as our motto: "It is better to die in flames than to live under the Russian colonial yoke!"*

*Front of ABN Youth*



*Swedish young people protesting Grechko's visit to Stockholm on December 2, 1970.*



## Women in Camps of Mordovia

*The Chronicle of Current Events* informs about the Ukrainian women who are confined to the political camp in Mordovia, Zone ZhKh 385/3. They are:

*Kateryna Myronivna Zarytska*. Born in 1914 in Kolomyia, in the family of a gymnasium teacher. She finished the Lysenko Music Institute of Lviv and the Lviv Polytechnic Institute. In 1934 she was arrested by Polish authorities in connection with the assassination of the Polish Interior Minister Pieracki and was sentenced to 4½ years in prison. She was released in August 1939. In March 1940 she was arrested by the NKVD. Her son Bohdan was born in jail in September 1940. At the end of June 1941 with the coming of the German troops to Lviv, she was freed together with 16 other prisoners who remained alive. Until 1947 she was director of the Ukrainian Red Cross, contributed to the periodical *Ideya i chyn* (Idea and action) and served as contacts man for the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). In 1947 she was arrested in Khodoriv. Returning fire she killed several attackers and was herself wounded in the head. Regaining consciousness in prison, she bit an ampul holding cyanide of potassium, but her life had been saved.

By a special decision she was sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Until April 1969 she was held in the Vladimir prison. Her husband, *Mykhailo Mykhailovych Soroka*, is serving time in camp ZhKh 385/17A.

*Halyna Didyk*, born in 1912, a teacher. Until 1947 she was the assistant director of Red Cross in the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), as well as a scout and contacts man for the OUN. She was arrested in March 1950 in the house where Gen. Roman Shukhevych was hiding. Shukhevych was killed in battle, or shot himself seeing his hopeless situation, while H. Didyk tried to finish with herself by taking poison. She was sentenced to 25 years. Until April 1969 she was in the Vladimir prison.

*Dariya Husyak*, born in 1924, contacts man for the OUN, arrested in March 1950,

sentenced to 25 years. She spent 19 years in the Vladimir prison.

*Mariya Palchan*, born in 1927, contacts man for the OUN, arrested in 1958, sentenced to 15 years.

*Evheniya Kyslyachuk*, about 65 years of age. She received a second 10-year term for belonging to "Jehovah's Witnesses". She should be released in 1972.

In the same camp the following women are also to be found: *Lidiya Sklyarova* and *Halyna Selyvonchyk*, sentenced for an attempt to hijack a plane in order to flee abroad. *Veruta Kodene*, a Lithuanian, is confined to the psychiatric clinic. *Nadiya Hrozena*, *Mariya Varseeva* of Tashkent and *Mariya Semenova* were sentenced for belonging to the Orthodox Church (not sanctioned by the regime). *Vira Bozhar* — for belonging to the "Jehovah's Witnesses"; *Valentyna Mashkova* — for attempts to cross the border with her husband; *Byrute Heilane* — daughter of a Latvian writer; *Olena Rohaleva* — for distributing leaflets; *Raisa Bekdualyeva* — a teacher, sentenced for writing letters abroad; *Nataliya Grünwald* — the heroine of the film "Two years over the abyss"; *Vira Vorontsova* — sentenced to death for collaborating with the Germans. The sentence was commuted to 15 years in a concentration camp.

It has been reported that recently a group of Ukrainian prisoners was transferred from the Vladimir prison to the Mordovian camps. Among them are Mykhailo Horyn, Mykhailo Masyutko, Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk, Dariya Husyak, Lev Lukyanyenko and Ivan Kandyba, as well as Ivan Sokulskyi, Mykola Kulchynskyi and Viktor Savchenko of Dnipropetrovsk, who were tried in January 1970 for the "Letter of Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" which was well-known in Ukraine and abroad. The letter exposed Russification of schools and other aspects of life in Ukraine.

Svyatoslav Karavanskyi remains in the Vladimir prison.

# News And Views

## **Demonstration at UN Headquarters in New York**

On October 25, 1970 the United Nations celebrated the 25th anniversary of its founding. The celebration was attended by representatives of all Communist countries. On the initiative of the Ukrainian Liberation Front and the American Friends of ABN a protest demonstration and rally were organized outside the United Nations in New York to coincide with the celebration inside. Over 1,000 demonstrators from all the Captive Nations, carrying their national flags and signs, raised their voice in protest against the representation at the UN of Moscow's puppets, the representatives of the enslaved countries.

After the demonstration an open rally took place. It was started by "The Pledge of Allegiance" to the American flag, read by Miss Stepaniak. Then the Ukrainian national anthem was sung. Mr. M. Spontak (Ukraine) delivered the opening address. Dr. R. Huhlevych delivered a speech in Ukrainian. Mr. Barry Farber, candidate for the US Congress then spoke to the rally. Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgaria), Chairman of AF-ABN, delivered an address and conducted the rally. His speech was followed by short addresses by representatives of various nationalities: Mr. M. Aguelera (Cuba), Dr. Carja (Rumania), Mr. Debra (Albania), Mr. Reicherzer (Croatia), Mr. Lipping (Estonia). A resolution was adopted unanimously to be presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

## **For the Reestablishment of Sovereignty of the Estonian Republic**

The Estonian National Council, whose headquarters are in Stockholm, has, on the occasion of the meeting of the European Security Conference, composed a memorandum, directed to the governments of the

West European states, their members of parliament and the international organizations concerned with the right to self-determination.

The memorandum states that the violent annexation of the Republic of Estonia by Soviet Russia was an act of aggression, which had no legal affect on the basis of international or national law. Therefore, the Estonian National Council, in the interest of both Estonia and Europe, asks for support for its demands for the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Republic of Estonia.

The memorandum of the Estonian National Council is signed by its chairman, Alexander Warma, and by the chairman of its Foreign Commission, Johannes Mihkelson.

## **Communist Philosopher Honoured in the Free World**

Significant of the political confusion prevailing in the public life of many countries in the Free World at the moment is the fact that the City of Frankfurt in the Federal Republic of Germany has awarded the Goethe Prize (of 50,000 DM) last year to the Communist philosopher and literary critic working in Hungary, George Lukacs. George Lukacs was People's Commissar for Culture in Hungary in 1919 during the Communist dictatorship of Bela Kun. After the collapse of this dictatorship he emigrated to Soviet Russia. There he worked as a Communist philosopher, or rather, ideologist. He joined in the various changes of course made by the Bolshevik regime. In 1944 he returned to Hungary with the Russian Red Army. Under the Russian occupation he was promoted to Professor for Cultural History and Esthetics at the University of Budapest.



## Russian Gangsterism in Lviv

News has reached us from Lviv about the intensified banditry of Russian youth gangs in various cities of Western Ukraine. Such groups numbering from three up to a dozen or so, are made up chiefly of sons of high-ranking Russian officials who were sent to the territories of Western Ukraine after World War II. Imbued with Russian chauvinism and their parents' hatred for everything Ukrainian, such youth gangs destroy Ukrainian historic relics, churches and crosses, and attack the young people who speak Ukrainian. In various towns instances of attacks by such gangs upon Ukrainian high school and college students were recorded.

One of such sad cases occurred on February 7, 1970 when the graduating class of Lviv Secondary School No. 27 were holding their traditional dance. Hearing Ukrainian songs from the street, the young bandits broke into the hall and to the accompaniment of Russian curses began to beat up the assembled youth. Some young people dispersed, while the organizers of the dance, who tried to defend their friends, were severely beaten and knifed by the gangsters. The victims of terror were *Volodymyr Samiulyuk*, *Mykhailo Konduriv*, *Serhiy Vatyn* and *Arkadiy Rubak*. *Hryhoriy Kosachenko*, a student at the Lviv Medical Institute, was knifed to death on the spot.

Terrorized by frequent instances of similar nature, teachers, who were supposed to be present in the building where the social evening was held, did not come to the aid of their pupils, and one of them even forbade an ambulance to be called.

### Vice President of Vietnam Meets with Ukrainians in London

On Tuesday, October 6, 1970 the Ambassador of South Vietnam held a reception on the occasion of a private visit to London of Vice President of free Vietnam, Air Force Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky and his wife. Among the 80 invited guests there were also Ukrainians, Mr. and Mrs. W. Mykula, Mr. and Mrs. W. Oleskiw and Prof. V. Shayan. The Ambassador of South Vietnam introduced the Ukrainian guests

*Hryhoriy Kosachenko's* funeral, which was held on February 14, 1970, turned into a manifestation of Ukrainian students and the expression of their solidarity in the struggle with foreigners.

It is also reported from Lviv that in the Spring of 1970 Ukrainian students attending the Lviv Forestry Institute were attacked in the B. Khmelnytskyi Park. Students *Yosyp Pudylyk*, *Mykola Chyshynskyi* and *Vasyl Kyrlylyk* were sitting in the park and conversing in Ukrainian. They were assailed by a gang of bandits shouting anti-Ukrainian slogans, who beat them to such a degree that *Vasyl Kyrlylyk* lost his eyesight and is partially paralyzed.

Upon demands from the Lviv community and the parents of the victims, the local militia was forced to undertake a search for the bandits. With the help of young people and students the Russian gang was discovered. It had its own hide-out, knives, ropes, nets and other implements with the help of which it terrorized its victims. To this most aggressive of the Lviv gangs, which was long tolerated by the militia and the KGB, belonged the Zherdev brothers, *Mutnyk*, *Kuriy*, *Zotin*, *Vasilyev*, *Parshin*, *Olkhovoi*, *Kravets* and others, almost all children of Russian party members and high officials.

In July 1970 the trial of the criminals was held, as the result of which they received very mild sentences. This deeply angered the Lviv residents. It became known that appropriate protests were sent in this matter to government authorities in Lviv and Kyiv.

to Marshall and Mrs. Ky. In the course of an amicable discussion a number of problems pertaining to the anti-Communist struggle were touched upon. As a memento of the meeting a group picture was taken.

Present at the reception were also the Ambassadors of the USA, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Congo (Kinnshasa) and other states. Ukrainian representatives had an opportunity to converse with some of them.

## Ukrainian Youth Doing Slave Labor

The present age in the history of Ukraine is parallel to the age following Ukraine's defeat at Poltava, when Peter I, the first butcher of Ukraine, building up the empire, was constructing huge fortifications in the north and south and digging canals. For over thirty years, thousands of Ukrainian Cossacks and peasants perished while in penal servitude. In his history of Ukraine, V. Doroshenko says that as a rule large contingents numbering 10—20 thousand Cossacks, and as many peasants, were dispatched to do hard labor. This meant a great biological weakening of Ukraine, without even mentioning the fact that the Cossacks instead of fighting for their own country, were forced to expand the empire of the oppressor.

Now this role is being performed by the Ukrainian youth. It is a general practice to employ the young people at new construction sites during the summer months. They are called "construction detachments of the higher educational establishments of Ukraine." In the Kyiv press it is hard to find detailed information about the extent of their work and the number of young slave laborers. A bit more information was provided by the paper *Radyanska Ukraina* of Sept. 11, 1970 in an article entitled "Student Undertaking".

The students of Ukraine "coped" with 40 million roubles this summer. They built village schools and constructed a cybernetics center in Kyiv; almost 5 thousand students worked at the most important Komsomol construction jobs — the Kakhovka irrigation system, the Ladyzhyn and the Trypillya DRES, the Kalush chemical-metalurgical works, the Rivne nitric fertilizer factory, the Pervomaisk, Shostka and Sumy chemical works. The significance of these detachments is explained as follows: "The most important Komsomol work means: work without interruption of the working process, with a full utilization of strength and knowledge." And further: "In particular knowledge, for

each future expert is going through a special kind of craftsmanship school here."

In Ladyzhyn, for instance, besides other specialists, there worked also cooks — 30 students were sent there by the Vinnytsya technical school of public catering. To Kakhovka more than one thousand students were sent from schools of higher learning of 8 cities of Ukraine. Students are building everywhere: "It seems that there is no such district in the republic where students would not be engaged in village construction." Student detachments performed work to the value of 23 million roubles. They built hundreds of animal farms and living quarters, cultural and children's centers. In order to imagine, at least approximately, what great proportions this slave labor is taking it is enough to cite one example: on the Postyshev state farm in the Kharkiv region alone "100 buildings were built by the hands of students" and a school with the capacity of 564 pupils. And no matter where the detachments work there is an unwritten law: besides performing the planned jobs, they must help the local schools — in construction, repairs and outfitting.

Satellite camps (for training teenagers — students) are being set up near the detachments. Their task is to take the example from the young men and girls — slave laborers.

The students of the Chernivtsi University built a number of housing premises and five stables. The detachment "Odyssey" from the Odessa Polytechnic Institute was commended for work done in the Myshyn district. The same was true of the Kyiv district detachment "Slavutych".

But the Ukrainian youth is not only forced to do slave labor in Ukraine. A great deal more young people are to be found outside its borders — in Kazakhstan, in Siberia, in the Far East. The article mentions Kustanay oblast (Kazakhstan), and the Urals. At present 70 thousand students are working in the construction detachments of Ukraine.



In the swamps of Siberia they are constructing oil wells. And for example in the Tyumen oblast a 15-thousand-strong student detachment from Ukraine is drilling for oil in the taiga. It arrived there at the end of June. It's made up of students who completed two semesters and "have come here for their third semester — a working semester." (*Molod Ukrainy*, Aug. 16, 1970.) "For many of them West Siberia is a familiar country." Today, the Tyumen region is the major all-union Komsomol construction site, says the paper. For the sixth summer in a row "those sent by universities and technical schools of Ukraine" are coming there. This year they should extract 31 million tons of oil.

The climate there is harsh. It is far to the north, with many lakes, swamps and rivers. But the slave laborers "like ants are warping the machines which are pulling the pipes."

This is one example of forced labor. And there are many similar ones. And not just seasonal. Hundreds of graduates of secondary schools, in particular 10-year schools and other vocational schools, are forced to do slave labor, and in most cases

not just in the summer months but for a long period of time. They work there for years. The subtle policy of the oppressor has a double advantage in this: it has a labor force, and at the same time it is Russifying them. Kalmuk girls, for instance, are sent to work in the same locality. Ukrainian boys, having no girls of their own nationality, marry the former, and their children become Russians, as the saying goes: the father is a Turk, the mother — Greek, and I'm "a Russian *chолоvek*" (man). The opposite is true of Ukrainian girls. Of course, this has a negative effect on the growth rate of the Ukrainian population.

And even if both marriage partners are Ukrainian, their children are nevertheless subject to Russification for there are no Ukrainian schools outside the borders of Ukraine. There is no national cultural life there either — books, newspapers, periodicals or a native church, in other words nothing Ukrainian national in character. Only an insignificant part of these slave laborers ever return to Ukraine and they are lost for Ukraine. Of course, their place in Ukraine is taken up by a swarm of Russian locusts.

F. Koval

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### Polish Catholic Hierarchy Received by the Pope

Pope Paul VI granted an audience to both Polish cardinals, Stefan Wyszyński and Karol Wojtyła, and to seven bishops. The main topics of discussion were the problems connected with the creation of the regular Polish ecclesiastical jurisdiction on former German territories where to date only apostolic administratorships existed.

The demands of Ukrainian Catholics living in Poland, who number about 300,000, to create a normalized canonical structure for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, have been rejected for many years by the Polish episcopate on historical as well as current grounds, allegedly because the Ukrainian Catholic Church never existed on these territories and does not exist there at present, *and because the Polish Catholic Church has historic claims to*

*lands to the East, as far as the Black Sea, where Polish dioceses existed for centuries.*

It so happened that both visits to Vatican occurred at the same time. In the USSR the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church is alive, but its right to existence is being denied; in Poland 300,000 Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Rite are living, to whom the rights to their own church organization are being denied. Is this only a chance occurrence?

(UPB, Rome)

### Protesting Gromyko's Visit

On the occasion of A. Gromyko's visit to Great Britain on October 26, 1970 the Ukrainian Information Service of London distributed leaflets exposing ruthless oppression over hundreds of millions of human beings who are not Russian but belong to nations conquered and enslaved by Russia.

## Victims of Russian Terror

Below we are publishing a list of people from the nations subjugated by Russia who were imprisoned for various terms. This list is a document which gravely accuses Moscow for its merciless and inhuman destruction of all human and national rights.

On August 8, 1968 *Namedi Chabanov* — a Crimean Tatar — was arrested in Symferopil (Crimea) for resisting state authorities — 3 years in prison.

On August 27, 1968 *Mubein Yusupov* and *Fakhri Ismailov* — Crimean Tatars — were arrested in Symferopil (Crimea) for resisting state authorities. Yusupov — 1 year, Ismailov — 6 months of imprisonment.

On October 18, 1968, a Ukrainian priest, *Rev. Petro Horodetskyi*, was arrested in Lviv for defamation of the Soviet state, social order and for violation of laws dealing with the church and state.

On October 22—28, 1968 *Lyuman Umerov*, *Indris Kasynov*, *Shelket Seytableyev*, *Lyenar Guseinov*, *Yusuf Rusinov* — members of an organization of Crimean Tatars — were tried in Tashkent. They were accused of publishing an information bulletin about the incident in Chyrchyk on April 4, 1968 and of appealing to the Tatars. Sentence: Umerov — 1 year in prison, Guseinov and Rusinov — one year suspended sentences.

At the end of 1968 Ukrainian Catholic Bishop *Vasyl Velychkovskiy* was arrested in Lviv for political activity under the pretext of religious activity. He was sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment.

On January 26—29, 1969 *A. Nazarenko* and *V. Kondryukov* — workers of the Kyiv waterworks and at the same time evening students at the Kyiv University — were indicted in Kyiv for anti-Soviet propaganda, dissemination of leaflets against Russification of Ukraine and dealing with Shevchenko's anniversary in Kyiv. The courts sentenced them as follows: Nazarenko — 5 years, Kondryukov — 3 years, Karpenko — 1½ year of forced labour camps with severe regime.

On April 23—24, 1969 *Gomer Bayev*, an engineer, Crimean Tatar, was tried in Symferopil (Crimea) for defaming the Soviet state and sentenced to 2 years of camps.

On May 13—16, 1969 radio engineer *Borys Kochubievskiy* was tried in Kyiv for anti-Soviet views and the intention to emigrate to Israel. The court sentenced him to 3 years of forced labor camps.

In June 1969 *Svetlana Ametova*, *Rashat Bayranov*, *Ayder Bariev*, *Izet Khairov*, *Munira Khalilova*, *Ruslan Eminov*, *Ridvin Gafarov*, *Ismail Yazydzhev*, *Rolyan Kadyyev* and *Riza Umerov* were indicted in Tashkent for circulating and sending abroad newsletters containing criticism of the Soviet policy toward CSSR and for disseminating documents about the fate of Crimean Tatars. They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in remote forced labor camps as follows: Ametova, Khalilova, Galafarov, Yazydzhev, Umerov — 2 years each; Bayranov, Kadyyev — 3 years each; Bariev and Khairov — 1½ year and Eminov — 6 months.

At the end of June 1969 a retired major, *Ivan Hryshchuk*, was arrested in Moscow for organizing a demonstration against abuses by the housing administration in Beretsk near Kyiv.

On August 22, 1969 *Anatol Marchenko*, the author of the book "My Testimony", was sentenced in Nyroba (Perm) to 2 years of camps with severe regime.

In September 1969, 10 Ukrainians were arrested in Ternopil for circulating underground literature dealing with the problems of nationality and the intervention in CSSR.

On October 2, 1969 student *Illya Rips* was indicted in Riga for attempts at self-immolation. He was confined to a mental institution by force.

On November 26, 1969 radio technician *Henrikh Altuniyan* was tried in Kharkiv for anti-Soviet propaganda and circulation of documents which defame the Soviet state and social order. He was sentenced to 3 years of forced labor camps.



In 1969 *Vasyl Ryvak* was arrested in Lviv for writing a letter to the editors of *Pravda* with complaints dealing with language obstacles and the forced assimilation of Ukrainians.

At the end of 1969 *Petrenko*, a railroad machinist, was arrested in Krasnodar for criticizing government policy with respect to the intervention in CSSR and confusion in the Krasnodar industry and for criticizing Brezhnev in his letter to Grechko. The defendant was sentenced to 1 year in prison.

In 1969 *Fritz Menders*, one of the founders of the Latvian Socialist Party, was arrested in Riga and sentenced to 5 years of camps with severe regime.

On January 19—27, 1970 *I. Sokulskyi*, *M. Kulchynskyi* and *V. Savchenko* were tried in Dnipropetrovsk for editing and circulating an appeal to the youth of Dnipropetrovsk, disseminating "The Report from the Beria Reservation" and other items. Sokulskyi was sentenced to 4½ years in a camp

with severe regime, *Kulchynskyi* to 2½ years of camp and *Savchenko* received a 2-year suspended sentence.

On February 3, 1970 economist *Bedrylo* was tried and sentenced to 2 years of camp for circulating an appeal by seven previously arrested Ukrainian writers and for leaflets issued in connection with self-immolation of *Makukh*.

On March 20, 1970 student *Bakhtiyarov* was sentenced in Kyiv to 3 years in camp for anti-Soviet propaganda.

On April 4, 1970 *Arkadiy Levin*, an engineer, was sentenced in Kharkiv to 3 years of forced labor camps for signing and circulating the first and third letter to the Commission of Human Rights at the U.N. in connection with the arrest of Gen. *Hryhorenko*.

On September 4, 1968 *Zekeriy Asaanov*, a Crimean Tatar, was arrested in Symferopil for resistance to state authorities — 1 year in prison.

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#### Jews Living in the USSR Appeal to the World

In an appeal addressed to the Jews throughout the world, 82 USSR Jews are asking for help in their efforts to emigrate to Israel. The appeal which carries full names and addresses of the signatories was smuggled to the free world by a tourist and made public in *The Times* of London.

The signers report in their appeal on the anti-Jewish terror under Stalin and Beria. They write the following on the present situation of Jews in the Russian empire: "We are the only national group in the Soviet Union which is being told clearly and explicitly to dissolve and to assimilate with other national groups... However we have every moral right to consider ourselves as a nation having equal rights with other free nations. We have our own historic and modern culture; we have our own language, our own homeland, our own Jewish state. We state herewith publicly that Israel is our homeland."

#### The Case of Karavanskyi

On July 30, 1970 in the Supreme Court of the RSFSR an appeal was heard in the case of *S. Karavanskyi*, who was earlier tried in the Vladimir prison for circulating secret manuscripts. A 5-year sentence was upheld.

The attorney's pleas were not taken into consideration. The attorney motivated his defense by the fact that the experts failed to prove that the handwriting was *Karavanskyi's*, and furthermore there were so many manuscripts that *Karavanskyi* alone could not have written them in his cell.

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In the report from the 4th WACL and the 16th APACL Conferences in Kyoto, Japan, *ABN Correspondence*, No. 6, 1970, p. 30, Hungary was omitted from the list of participating countries. We apologize to our readers for this oversight.

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# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## Estonia

### The Church in Estonia

At the beginning of August a Swede, Mr. Askmar, stayed in the capital of Estonia, Tallin, with the intention of familiarizing himself with the life of the church there. He reports as follows on his impressions:

The church in Estonia is not about to die out — despite atheist propaganda — but has a vital existence and is able to withstand pressure, even economically. Services have a lively attendance.

In Tallin, for example, there are at the moment eight Lutheran communities. The two largest communities in the time of national independence, the Johannis Church (37,000 congregation members) and the Karls Church (40,000 members) have today 3,500 and 4,000 members each. The communities are enrolled as communities of belief; they have to pay the state rent for the use of the churches. The annual rent of a large-size church in Tallin amounts to 3,500 roubles. The state receives altogether 100,000 roubles annually from the 125 churches in the Russian-occupied Estonia. The community itself must pay for the renovation and current upkeep of the church.

From the income of the community (from voluntary contributions) 15 % go for general expenses of church life, including the running of the Theological Institute, which has now 25 students, who are preparing, along with other work, to become pastors.

There is no religious literature, and it is forbidden to import it from abroad. The customs officials checked with especial care to see that the Swedish guest did not bring any with him. The hymn books are falling to bits. Hymns for the services are duplicated or written by hand.

*(News from the Baltic States)*



## RUMANIA

### Obstacles to Foreign Travel

The affiliation of scientists, artists and other cultural personalities with national and international organizations abroad will in future be closely vetted by the State Committee on Culture and Arts and the National Council of Scientific Research, which will decide on whether Rumanians may attend events organized by these bodies. The fees and expenses involved in attending functions abroad are usually defrayed by the applicants themselves, who do not benefit from the official rate of exchange, but have to buy their foreign currency at the much less favourable commercial rate. This new measure is seen as a further restriction on the opportunities for Rumanian scientists and cultural leaders to travel abroad.



## SLOVAKIA

### Slovakia Dissatisfied with "Limited Sovereignty"

On every possible occasion the Slovak people is showing its dissatisfaction with the "limited sovereignty" of the Slovak Socialist Republic within the equally "limited sovereignty" of the Czecho-Slovak state formation (CSSR). It wants not a limited but an unlimited sovereignty, not an artificial state formation, but a free and independent Slovak state.

The president of the CSSR, Ludvik Svoboda, is trying to appease the Slovak nation and to make palatable to it the Czecho-Slovak formation, the "socialist" (Communist) regime and the Russian overlords. He is trying to make the former Novotny regime (before 1968) responsible for the tensions between Slovaks and Czechs. Thus he declared recently in a speech:

"The lack of attention paid to Lenin's



principles in nationalities policy caused no little misunderstanding in the mutual relations between Czechs and Slovaks. It was a serious failure on the part of the party and state leadership in the time before January 1968 (before the Dubcek era — Editor) that they did not clear up the problems in time and did not draw the necessary conclusions from them. On the contrary, against the logic of things, the rights of the Slovak organs were then limited”.

The Slovak people is nevertheless still not to be satisfied with half-solutions.



### **Are Members of UPA in the Carpathians?**

News has reached us from Ukraine that the number of Ukrainian insurgents in the Carpathians is constantly growing. Their ranks are filled particularly by young people who are escaping forced deportation to the Asian parts of the USSR and who must face repressions or arrest for their political views and criticism of existing conditions. According to the information received, these small groups are often forced to use arms in self-defense or in performing acts of diverse character.

News about the growth of the insurgent movement in the Carpathians was quick to spread in particular in Carpatho-Ukraine. This caused alarm among the Russians and high party officials. In the Carpathians it is generally known that the Russians did not dare go deep into the mountains this past vacation season for fear of possible reprisals by the modern national avengers.

### **Martyrdom of a Ukrainian Priest**

Father Yosyf Kynytskyi, nephew of Monsignor Leonid Kynytskyi, born in 1909, curate, and after the death of the pastor, Rev. Lev Kurmanovych, administrator of the parish of Zapytiv near Lviv — had been murdered by NKVD agents in 1945 in the yard of the parsonage, while his mother and two aunts, who lived with him,

watched, only because he did not want to embrace Stalinist Orthodoxy, for Father Yosyf, besides the cultural and educational work in his parish “did not engage in any political activities.”

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### **Prisoners in Mordovian Camps Go on a Hunger Strike**

*The Chronicle of Current Events*, which is circulating illegally in the USSR, carried news of a hunger strike by political prisoners in the concentration camps of Mordovia. It began in early July 1970 in Camp No. 385/19 as a protest against intensified regime. Twenty young political prisoners participated in the hunger strike. As the result the camp administration transferred the following prisoners to the Vladimir prison: *Stepan Zatykyan*, sentenced to 4 years in 1969 for the Armenian newspaper *Paros*; *Vasyl Kalumin*, sentenced to 8 years for membership in the UNF (Ukrainian National Front), *Mykola Drabys* and *Mykola Tarnavskiy*, sentenced to 7 and 5 years respectively in 1965 (the Marxist group in Odessa).

Upon news of their removal to the Vladimir jail the protest hunger strike spread to two other zones.

### **In Concentration Camps of the USSR**

In line with testimony of two Russians, Zorin and Alekseyev, over 500,000 political prisoners are to be found in the concentration camps of the USSR, of which over 60% are Ukrainians. From this a direct conclusion could be made that there are over 300,000 Ukrainian political prisoners in the concentration camps of the Soviet Union.

Testimony of the above-mentioned Russians supports very strongly L. Lukyanenko's report that 70% of prisoners in Russian jails and concentration camps are Ukrainians. Other Russians, who were prisoners in Mordovia, say that the principal part of political prisoners is made up of participants of post-war disturbances in Ukraine and the Baltic region.

## Hounding the Soviets—Part II



Police sergeant mans barricade near Soviet UN mission at 67th St. and Lexington Av. at demonstration by Ukrainian student organization, Michnovsky, to protest nine-year sentence of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian, for alleged "anti-Soviet activities." Two policemen were injured and three demonstrators were arrested in protest which began with a march from the UN.

Post Photo by Jerry Engel

### They Were Seeing Red



NEWS photo by Anthony Casale

A demonstrator is hauled away after scuffle with police at 47th St. and First Ave. last night. He was among group marching from UN Building to the Soviet UN mission at 67th St. and Lexington Ave. to protest nine-year sentence of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian, for alleged "anti-Soviet activities." Marchers were kept behind barricades at mission but two cops were injured and three protesters were arrested.

**Ukrainian Students  
Demonstrating in  
Front of the  
Russian UN Mission  
in New York for the  
Release of Valentyn  
Moroz**



# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

## Youth in Defense of Moroz



*On January 30, 1971, 600 Ukrainian students demonstrated in the streets of Chicago for the release of Valentyn Moroz. Similar demonstrations were held across the U.S. and Canada and in France and West Germany.*

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## The Russian Empire Is Critically III

No one in the Russian empire can forget March 5, 1953. This was the date of Stalin's death. His death was not an easy one, as was later revealed by Svyetlana Aliluyeva. But even such death was not what the millions of slaves of the empire would have wished for him, had they had the chance to be his judges.

One way or the other, March 5, 1953 was the day having historical significance for the Russian Bolshevik empire. Stalin had been a satan, but a satan of genius. His pupils — Beria, Malenkov, Bulganin, Khrushchov — have not equalled him in the diabolical genius. Of course, Brezhnev is also following in Stalin's footsteps. But the subjugated peoples are reacting to neo-Stalinism quite differently. Not with passivity, fear and patience, but with action, fearlessness and impatience. In the first place this applies to those subjugated who must live under dual slavery — as members of a particular social class and as members of a particular nation. Therefore it is quite understandable that resistance and revolutionary turmoil exist primarily in the non-Russian countries. This is a consequence of Russian colonialism.

What happened on March 5, 1953 was not just the death of one dictator, for the whole system was ready for death. The post-Stalinist years are marked by feverishness and confusion of the old regime, the symptoms of political agony. The agony of the tsarist empire also lasted a long time.

On this significant day the author of these lines had been a political prisoner at Vorkuta. March 5, 1953 was a day of rejoicing for millions of prisoners, but also a signal. Several months later uprisings of prisoners broke out everywhere. The goals, the ideas and the slogans with which hundreds of thousands of convicts, under the leadership and encouragement of the Bandera followers, went to the barricades, have preserved their vitality to this day. They circulate throughout Ukraine in the form of poems, programs, letters and accusations. They sound as follows: National independence! Away with Russian chauvinism! Down with dictatorship! For social justice! For revival of religion! Power to the people! . . .

One has just to look into the works of Lina Kostenko, Vasyl Symonenko, Ivan Drach, Evhen Hutsalo, Valentyn Moroz, Mykola Vinhranovskyi in order to convince oneself that Stalin's death was of great significance to the history of the Ukrainian nation.

Not a single vital question — national, social, cultural or church — had been solved in the post-Stalinist era. This includes also the question of the peasants and concentration camps. The fatal illnesses of the Stalinist era are also fatal to the Brezhnev reign. One thing has changed however. The enemies of the empire have increased and have become more daring. Every Ukrainian worker knows that strikes are outlawed in the empire and that strikers will be fired upon. But in spite of this, strikes have occurred in January in Kyiv and Kharkiv. The fear of death is overcome by strong emotions, the sufferings of the human soul, the longing for political freedom and the sense of human dignity.

Ten years ago I was told the following about my book "Blood and Coal": "Aren't you exaggerating? Do such heroic people exist at all? Are those who think about an insurrection not crazy? What can individuals do?" Then I could only refer to my experience in Vorkuta. But today, 1971, I do not need to turn to Vorkuta. Today I am quoting the works of Ivan Kandyba, Vasyl Symonenko, Valentyn Moroz, Ivan Dzyuba. And thus I can prove that the spirit of Vorkuta is today the spirit of Kyiv, Lviv, Rostov, Kharkiv — towns and villages of the entire Ukraine. Yes, Ukrainian heroism does exist and those who want a revolt and are working for it, are not maniacs but realists who are standing on firm ground. Those are madmen who believe that after the "thousand-year-old empire" of Hitler, Stalin's empire will last for a thousand years.

Stalin outlived Taras Chuprynka by only three years. Twenty-one years ago, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) died in battle with the Russian Stalinist executioners. He died as a soldier and a revolutionary, as a nationalist and a Christian. That which he had sown is lasting, while that which Stalin had left is stinking of death. The spirit of freedom shapes a man into a fighter. And the present-day Ukrainian fighters, be they dissenters or revolutionaries, legal or illegal critics, be they called Kandyba, Moroz or Karavanskyi — that which they are in reality is the spirit inspired by Petlyura, Konovalts, Chuprynka, Bandera. It is not important whether Moroz is declaring himself a Bandera follower or not, what is important is his attitude and his goal. *A. Furman*

### **Further Attacks upon ABN**

As reported by the Munich daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on March 3, 1971, the Russian weekly *Nedelya* of March 8—14, 1971, levelled a scathing attack upon the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). Calling its article "Their People from Zepelinstrasse" (ABN Headquarters in Munich), the paper attacks ABN's President Yaroslav Stetsko as well as the leading members of ABN: Dr. Baymirza Hayit, a leading Turkestani politician, Col. D. Kosmowicz, President of the Byelorussian Liberation Movement, Prof. F. Durcansky, former Slovak Foreign Minister and Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgarian), Chairman of the American Friends of ABN. In addition the paper considers the following West German statesmen as the enemies of the USSR: Franz-Joseph Strauss, the head of the Christian Social Union, the Premier of Bavaria, Dr. A. Goppel and the member of the European Freedom Council, Prof. Dr. Dr. Th. Oberländer.

Russia is undoubtedly taking advantage of the Olympic Games which are to be held in Munich next summer to attack the freedom-loving movements of the subjugated peoples, in particular those located on West German territory and to blackmail, demoralize and extend their aggressive influence upon the Germans. In order to achieve these goals they are resorting to provocation, deception, spreading of lies and in particular terror.



## THE TORTURES CONTINUE

United Nations  
Human Rights Commission  
New York

*Copies:* Government of the Ukrainian SSR, Kyiv  
Medical Officer of No. 2 Prison (Block II),  
Larissa Kuzminichna Suvacheva

*From:* Political Prisoner Ivan Oleksiovych Kandyba, City of Vladimir (oblast),  
Establishment OD-1/Station 2

We, Ukrainian political prisoners, have established that the prison administration has been adding drugs to the prison food, the provisions we buy at the prison store and the food we receive in parcels from our relatives in order to ruin our intellect and our mental capacities in general.

Within 10—15 minutes of eating such food one senses a slight intoxication and a sharp pain in the center of the brain. One's head feels as though it is gripped in an iron band; you become intensely irritable; your hands tremble slightly and your memory . . .\*) is so dulled that it is hard to concentrate on even the simplest ideas. What one has just read is almost forgotten immediately. This condition persists for 4—5 hours, then gradually wanes, but it is not until 15—16 hours later that your body becomes more or less normal.

We began to sense such changes in our bodies after eating the prison food from early April 1969 and also after eating the provisions we had received in parcels from our relatives: I received a parcel on 8 April, L. Lukyanenko on 9 May and M. Horyn on 14 May 1969. Despite the fact that we are allowed only two food packages of a mere 5 kilograms each a year in prison, we were forced to throw them away so as not to poison our bodies.

On May 19, 1969 when M. Horyn reported this to the KGB agent at the prison, Lieutenant Otrubov, the latter called him crazy and derided him in other ways. This Otrubov reacted the same way to my own complaint on 23 May 1969. Instead of stopping the poisoning of the food, the prison administration and the KGB agent Otrubov decided to isolate us (Horyn, Lukyanenko and myself) still more strictly from the other political prisoners. On 26 May 1969 we were transferred from Block I to Block II (the so-called infirmary block) and confined in a small cell of only . . .\*) square meters containing nothing but three bunks and two lockers: there was only one's bunk to sit, eat and . . .\*). Moreover, the cell had but one tiny window with double opaque panes and close-spaced shutters . . .\*) covered in wire mesh behind heavy bars. This meant that hardly any daylight penetrated to the cell, so that (apart from the daily one-hour exercise period) we had to have the electric light on all the time. Each day the prison food continued to be poisoned. In addition, throughout June and July 1969 they poisoned the provisions (bread, long loaves, margarine and cheese\*\*) which we bought each month at the prison store (we were allowed to buy 2 rubles 50 kopeks' worth a month).

\*Indicates short illegible passage in text (trans)

\*\* In the form of a sausage — kolbasny syr (trans.)

Although the prison food allowance amounts to only 1,963 calories a day (of the lowest quality foodstuffs), we were forced to throw out about half of it in order to cut down the poisoning, but then we suffered constant hunger.

To put a stop to this daily torture, we all three decided on 25 June 1969 to appeal to the UN Human Rights Commission. Two days after submitting our appeals, i. e., on 27 June, the prison administration stopped poisoning the food and on 5 August 1969 we were all three moved to Block III into a common cell for political prisoners of all nationalities. On 16 September 1969 the prison administration informed us of the results of the "investigation" (in connection with our appeal to the UN):

*"Office of the Prosecutor, Vladimir Oblast, 10 September 1969, No. 4/312  
To the Commandant of Establishment OD-1/st. 2, Lieutenant-Colonel V. F. Zavyalkin*

*Please inform prisoner I. A. Kandyba that his complaint forwarded to the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office, has been checked and dismissed as unfounded.*

*Oblast Assistant Prosecutor, Lawyer 1st Class, Siguchev."*

M. Horyn and L. Lukyanenko received similar replies.

Evidently, instead of passing on our appeals to the addressee (the UN), the prison administration sent them to the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office . . .\* for a final decision to the local (Vladimir) prosecutor's office. It is, moreover, noteworthy that the Vladimir Prosecutor's Office, in conducting its inquiry, for some reason saw no need to question us as to the facts mentioned in our appeals to the United Nations but contented itself with a meaningless write-off of the affair. We therefore have reason to believe that the prosecutor's office made no investigation at all of the prison administration's criminal actions which we indicated. This being so, the procuratorial organs are, if not the instigators (as the authorities which supervise the prisons), then at least connivers in a crime against humanity by protecting its immediate perpetrators in the person of the prison commandant, Lt-Col. V. F. Zavyalkin, the chief of the medical department, O. M. Butova and the KGB agent, Lt. Otrubov.

However, the persecution and reprisals against us Ukrainian political prisoners by the Russian chauvinists did not end with this. For our hunger strikes and protests connected with the detection of poison in the prison food, which took place on 7 and 14 September 1969, the chauvinistic Russian prison authorities punished only us Ukrainian political prisoners, although political prisoners of other nationalities took just as active a part in the protests. On 19 September 1969 the prison administration decided to isolate us from the other political prisoners and transferred six of us Ukrainian political prisoners (M. Horyn, Z. Krasivskiyi, L. Lukyanenko, myself and others) from Block III to Block II (the infirmary block), where we were once again confined in cramped cells, three persons to a cell.

This Block II (the infirmary block) is apparently a complex run by the chief of the medical department, Medical Service Major O. M. Butova, where some persons are treated, but others are crippled by being subjected to various kinds of endless

\* indicates short illegible passage in text (trans.)



torture. Even the above-mentioned KGB agent Otrubov himself said: "Nobody lasts long here (i. e. in Block II)." With the start of October the poisoning of the food was resumed. For example, the margarine (a 200-gram packet costing 36 kopeks) which I bought on 3 October 1969 at the prison store was specially poisoned. Also poisoned were the provisions (butter and sausage) which I received on 8 October 1969 in a parcel from my brother in Lviv. After eating them I sensed the same bodily effects as I have previously related. Throughout October 1969 we were periodically given poisoned prison food.

One often reads in the press of the Soviet Union about the Greek dictators, i. e., the "black colonels", constantly persecuting democrats and putting them in prisons and concentration camps, where they are tortured.

But to credit the Soviet press, in Greece it is the fascists who are in power. In this case it is not surprising that they wield their power with the help of force and coercion, since this is quite normal for fascists. The German fascists also ruled by force and terror, brutally abused the prisoners in the concentration camps, worked or starved them to death and subjected them to various tortures, for which they were brought to trial at Nuremberg. The Soviet Union energetically condemns fascist regimes and practices and at the same time immeasurably extols its own (Communist) regime as the most democratic and most humane of all regimes that mankind has ever known. However, that does not prevent this so-called most humane regime from using throughout its entire existence methods which are more cruel than those practiced by even the most fascist regimes.

In this connection, it is a matter of great surprise, as well as indignation and disgust, that Professor Nedbailo, a representative of a Muscovite colony, i. e., the Soviet Ukraine, is a member of the UN Human Rights Commission. What is more, in 1968 he was even awarded the UN International Prize for his alleged services in the defense of human rights. Do the Free World and the United Nations still not realize that there has been established in the Soviet Union a most savage Communist dictatorship where the citizens are deprived of the most elementary political rights and democratic liberties, where the peasants are driven into slavery and the workers into semi-slavery, where the citizenry is subjected to mass-persecution and repression? Don't they realize that in the Soviet concentration camps of the Far North and Siberia, the Far East and Mordovia and Kazakhstan, i. e. the death camps of Kolyma, Vorkuta, Tailag, Novaya Zemlya, Dzhezkazgan and many others, millions of completely innocent victims, including several million of Professor Nedbailo's compatriots, Ukrainian patriots, have been tortured to death, executed or killed through slave labor, hunger and cold? Don't they realize that over ten million Ukrainians, Professor Nedbailo's fellow countrymen, were killed as a result of the artificial famine (especially in 1933)?

There has been little change for the better even after the condemnation of the so-called personality cult. By and large, it is the forms and methods in the practices of the dictatorship of the Communists that have changed, becoming more refined in view of the times and the circumstances.

For example, particularly in Ukraine, Ukrainian patriots — Professor Nedbailo's fellow-countrymen — are even now persecuted en masse merely for striving to preserve the Ukrainian nation from enforced Russification, from artificial inhibition of their nation's cultural development and from the plundering of their wealth by the Russian chauvinists. In the course of the past decade alone, upon orders from Moscow, a number of political trials were held in Ukraine. In 1961, 1962 and 1963 entirely under the old principle — absolutely in secret from the people and on KGB premises, not in the courthouses. And although in 1965, 1966, 1967 and 1969 political trials of Ukrainian patriots — Professor Nedbailo's fellow-countrymen — were also held in the court-rooms, the public was again excluded. After such judicial reprisals, under instructions from its sovereign in Moscow, the government of the Soviet Ukraine sends the Ukrainian patriots to a foreign land thousands of kilometers away for further reprisals at the hands of the prison guards of Russia. Hence, in addition to unwarranted and illegal deprivation of their liberty, Professor Nedbailo's fellow-countrymen are furthermore forcibly deprived of their Motherland.

Professor Nedbailo stands "on watch" for "human rights" in a world body, while in his own country those who try to make use of the Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN on 10 December 1948, are persecuted and copies of the Declaration are confiscated from anyone found in possession of it. On 4 December 1966, for example, in Concentration Camp No. 11 (Mordovia) it was confiscated from me personally, as well as from the political prisoner L. Lukyanenko and many others. In this connection some brazenly claim that the Declaration of Human Rights was adopted only for Negroes, while others maintain that it has no legal force but is merely a "good-will gesture".

Professor Nedbailo is rewarded for alleged services in the defense of human rights, while the Russian chauvinists subject his fellow-countrymen — Ukrainian political prisoners — to ceaseless tortures and discriminate against their relatives (our letters to relatives and their letters to us take about a month or more, while the letters of Russian political prisoners take only a few days). Visiting relatives are forbidden to talk in Ukrainian, and anybody unwilling or unable to speak Russian is simply deprived of his visit. This occurred on 11 January 1969 during the Ukrainian political prisoner Dmytro Khvetsko's "visit" by his 63-year-old peasant mother. They were prevented from seeing one another merely because a simply-educated mother, Mariya Khvetsko, cannot speak Russian. Hence, the unfortunate old woman travelled 2,000 kilometers in the joyful expectation of seeing her dear son and of talking with him after their long enforced separation but had to be bitterly disappointed with tears in her eyes merely because the Russian chauvinists ignore all human rights.

Even under the military dictatorship foreign correspondents have access to Greek political prisoners and are allowed to interview them. An International Red Cross commission has also visited them. On the other hand, under the so-called most democratic and most humane regime in the USSR, during the entire half-century of this regime's existence, nothing of the sort has been permitted. Here it is very hard even to get to see one's relatives.



Just what guided the UN in electing Professor Nedbailo to the UN Human Rights Commission and, more, in awarding him the UN International Prize for his alleged services in the defense of human rights?

Isn't this blasphemy and a mockery of dozens of millions of victims of the mass Communist terror that mankind has ever seen — derision and ridicule of those many people who now languish in concentration camps and prisons as well as the many dozen million slaves, citizens without rights and entire captive nations in the Muscovite-Communist empire?

On the basis of the above I request that a competent UN Commission be sent to Ukraine and to the sites where Ukrainian political prisoners are interned — Concentration Camps Nr. 3, 6, 10, 17, 17-a and 19 (Mordovia) and No. 2 Special Prison in Vladimir — to ascertain the true situation of the Ukrainian nation. I request that the medical officer of No. 2 Prison attach a copy of this appeal to my medical record. I am sending the medical officer as an appendage to the copy of this appeal samples of the poisoned provisions for the purpose of a laboratory analysis, namely:

- 1) Honey received in a parcel from my brother Stepan in Lviv on 8 April 1969;
- 2) Cheese and bread purchased at the prison store in June and July 1969;
- 3) Margarine purchased at the prison store on 3 October 1969, and
- 4) Butter received in a parcel from my brother Stepan in Lviv on 6 October 1969.

I have retained similar samples for myself.  
31 October 1969.

I. A. Kandyba

### **Ukraine in Defense of Moroz**

News about the renewed arrest of Valentyn Moroz on June 1, 1970 spread with lightning speed throughout Ukraine. Numerous protests, letters, declarations and petitions to various organs of government of the Ukr.SSR were sent by representatives of the Ukrainian writers, intelligentsia, peasants, students and workers. In spite of this protest action and the protests of Valentyn's wife, Raisa, which she sent on October 8, 1970 to P. Shelest, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Prosecutor of the Ukr. SSR Hlukh, and the chief of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR Fedorchuk, the trial was nevertheless held. It was closed and lasted two days — November 17th and 18th.

The main charge against V. Moroz had been the writing and distribution of "Report from the Beria Reservation". Moroz allegedly admitted the authorship of the "Report". He is said to have told the judges: "I wrote this, this and this. I refuse

to answer any other questions." During the proceedings V. Moroz conducted himself bravely and with dignity.

Moroz was allegedly sentenced to 5 years in a tight security prison, 4 years in camps with severe regime and 5 years of exile outside the borders of Ukraine.

In the report about the trial of V. Moroz which has reached us from Ukraine it is said among other things:

"The night from the 17th to the 18th of November was spent by V. Moroz in the premises of the court. It was, perhaps, feared that attempts to kidnap him would be organized, or that ovations would be staged as he would be led from the court... Valentyn Moroz was brought to the court premises under automatics. He turned to the people who were standing before the court with raised fists of both hands, which was reminiscent of the figure of Shevchenko from a well-known painting by Opanas Zalyvakha.

"During the trial precautions, which were

unusual in such cases in recent years in Ukraine were taken by the security organs. Almost without exception, all Ukrainians from Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv, who could have been suspected of organizing even the slightest counteraction were under constant surveillance of agents. Besides maximal readiness of all the local security cadres, large numbers came from other cities during these two days in order to be prepared to quell every possible instance of opposition.

"Prior to the trial KGB agents warned individual people: either you appear before the doors of the building where the trial will be held and be prepared to lose your job, or you get out. The majority nevertheless chose the first option (for instance Hrytsko Chubay, Opanas Zalyvakha.)

"The public of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk responded to this secret trial by a large number of individual and group protests, directed to appropriate state organs.

"Two well-known Lviv poets (Ihor Kalynets, Hrytsko Chubay) dedicated their new collections to the convicted.

"Valentyn Moroz himself was optimistic (or at least he gave that impression) and said that he believes in the changes, which would also result in the fact that he will not have to serve his 9-year term in the place to which he was sentenced by the law of 'the most democratic' constitution and 'the most progressive' country of the world..."

Many witnesses were called to testify at V. Moroz's trial. Among them were also prominent writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil, who refused to give any kind of testimony.

The third issue of an underground publication, *Ukrainskyi Visnyk*, which appeared in October 1970 in Ukraine, devoted a great deal of space to the defense of V. Moroz by the Ukrainian public prior to the trial. It cites the following protest documents:

1. A statement to the prosecutor of the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, which was signed by citizens of the village of Kosmach: Olena Knyschuk, Hanna Berbekychuk, Yurko Lyndyuk, Anna Senchuk, Dmytro Klaptunyak, Vasylyna Polyak, Petro Polyak.

2. A statement of June 17, 1970 by Oksana Ya. Meshko (Kyiv) to the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR O. P. Lyashko, the KGB chief V. Nikitchenko, the deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR B. Paton.

3. A letter by Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Zynoviya Franko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk to the head of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR O. Honchar.

4. A letter by Mykhailo Kosiv (Lviv) to the head of the Writers' Union of Ukraine O. Honchar.

5. A letter by Mykhailo Osadchyi of July 7, 1970 to O. Honchar.

6. A letter by Vasyl Stus of July 28, 1970 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR.

7. A statement to the head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR, to the First Secretary of the CC CPU, to the KGB chief of the Ukr.SSR, to the public prosecutor of the Ukr.SSR by Iryna Stasiv, Ihor Kalynets, Lyudmyla Sheremetyeva, Mariya Kachmar-Savka, Stefaniya Hulyk, Olena Antoniv, Yaroslava Kendzora (all from Lviv), Nina Strokata (Odessa), Yuriy Shukhevych (Nalchik).

8. A letter by Raisa Moroz, the wife of V. Moroz, of October 8, 1970 to the First Secretary of the CC CPU P. Shelest, Ukr. SSR's Prosecutor Hlukh and KGB chief at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR Fedorchuk.



# **What Has Been Done by the U.S. to Contain Russian Imperialism**

By Austin J. App, Ph. D.

It is probably fair to say at the outset that the most important thing America has done against Communist imperialism so far is to prevent it from engulfing all of Europe and the world. It seems quite certain that since Germany and Japan were totally disarmed in 1945, only the might and will of the United States have kept the Iron Curtain from being advanced to the Rhine or the Andes or the Atlantic! But it is also unfortunately true that the American might and will have not prevented an erosion to Communism of the area of the Free World. Neither has America been willing to give material, nor even real moral support to the freedom fighters of East Berlin in 1953, of Hungary in 1956, of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, nor even of Cuba, only fifty miles from our American shore, in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961.

The United States did, however, in 1950 fight a bitter war to prevent total Communist takeover of Korea and has now been fighting for seven years in Vietnam to prevent a total Communist takeover there. The Korean "Police Action" cost America 157,530 casualties, 33,629 fatal. The Vietnam war has been the most expensive in our history and so far cost us 50,000 fatal casualties. Both wars aimed to prevent Communist conquests of the free half of countries whose other half should never have been surrendered to the Communists in the first place. But at least the United States has paid heavily in men and money to halt the Communist advance into South Korea and South Vietnam.

## **The Whole Concept of National Self-Determination and Freedom Is American**

The very existence of the Soviet Russian colonialist tyranny is a scandal to everything America stands for. It was for self-determination and to make the world safe for democracy that America professed to intervene in two European wars and so enlarged them into world wars. It was America that professed to usher in the new era of self-determination of peoples. In his Fourteen Points President Woodrow Wilson enunciated "guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike". Again in 1941, in the Atlantic Charter an American president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, with Prime Minister Churchill, proclaimed the primacy of self-determination in the second principle: "No territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned".

It was this idealism that got the American people into the two world wars and inspired the majority of the peoples of the world to victory. Indeed, it was owing to the American ideal of self-determination that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismembered into four independent states and that the Baltic states and Poland became independent.

In both World War I and II, U.S. governments enlisted the American people to achieve self-determination and freedom for the nationalities of Europe and elsewhere. It is therefore one of the supreme ironies of history, that President Roosevelt's policy of Unconditional Surrender and hatred of Germany and trust-

fulness of Soviet Russia resulted at Yalta and Potsdam in the worst betrayal of once free peoples into colonialist tyranny in all of history! And instead of securing self-determination and freedom for the non-Russian peoples in the pre-war Soviet Union, like Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Cossackia, and others, American diplomacy allowed them to be subjected more absolutely than ever under Soviet-Russian tyranny and in addition betrayed half of Germany, the Baltic states, Poland, and the Balkan states into the frightful Communist Soviet Russian totalitarianism. The pathetic fact is that every nation that Wilsonian self-determination liberated in 1918 from the Austro-Hungarian and Tsarist Russian empires, President Roosevelt in 1945 delivered into bestial Red Russian colonialism.

#### **America Must Redeem Its Pledge of Freedom**

The American people won World War II on Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter pledge "to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them", and to enable "all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live". President Roosevelt unfortunately violated this pledge. He confidentially told Cardinal Spellman on September 3, 1944, that the Big Four will divide the world and "Russia will predominate in Europe . . . He hoped . . . that the Russian intervention in Europe would not be too harsh . . . The European people will simply have to endure the Russian domination, in the hope that in ten or twenty years they will be able to live well with the Russians". (See, Robert I. Gannon, *The Cardinal Spellman Story*, 1962, p. 222).

Ever since 1945 we have been told that Soviet-Russian tyranny is growing milder. But in 1956 Soviet tanks mowed down the Hungarians who thought so, and in 1968 the same tanks "re-educated" the Czechs to the harsh Red reality, and at the Berlin Wall Red guards still shoot to prevent anyone's running away from the Russian domination Roosevelt hoped would get milder!

Nevertheless, the American pledge of self-determination and liberty still is valid and must somehow be honored. What our American president Abraham Lincoln said of America, that it cannot remain half slave and half free, we Americans, those of us not tainted with Communism, the Spiro Agnew Americans, the Silent Majority and the Hard Hats, think of the world — it cannot remain forever half Communist, and half free. And we Americans are determined not only to keep ourselves free, but to see freedom prevail everywhere.

#### **The Congressional Captive Nations Resolution of 1959**

That is why on July 17, 1959, the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, in a Joint Resolution, designated the third week of July annually as "Captive Nations Week".

I believe this Joint Resolution is the most important thing the U.S. or any other nation has done since the shameful sell-out at Yalta "to contain Russian and Communist imperialism". In part this Resolution reads:

"Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence; and  
"Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Com-



munism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a direct threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; *and*

“Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; *and . . .*

“Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace”,

therefore it is resolved that the Congress request the President to issue a “Captive Nations Week” proclamation “each year until such times as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all captive nations of the world”. Since that time every President has proclaimed the Captive Nations Week annually in the last eleven years urging the liberation of the Captive Nations from Red colonialism, explicitly, or at least implicitly.

These annual American Captive Nations observances constitute a manifesto by the U.S. and through it of the Free World that the Iron Curtain through the center of Europe is not recognized as a permanent *status quo*. It brands the Red colonialism as a reversion to barbarism which diametrically opposes the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter and America’s Wilsonian pledge to the world.

#### **U.S. Leaders Against the Red Colonialism**

This U.S. Congressional Magna Charta for rolling back Red colonialism grew out of and expresses the will of great American leaders.

Their popularity made them the voice of the Silent Majority. General Douglas MacArthur, in the keynote speech at the Republican Convention in 1952, said:

“Foreign policy has been as tragically in error as has domestic policy. We practically invited Soviet dominance over the free peoples of Eastern Europe . . . permitting the advance of Soviet forces to the West to plant the red flag of Communism on the ramparts of Berlin, Vienna and Prague, capitals of Western civilization . . . we failed to protest the murder by the Soviets of the flower of the Polish nation . . .” (See *U. S. News*, July 18, 1952).

The late President Herbert Hoover, who in my opinion is the American President who knew Europe best, who did most to feed Europe after two world wars, and who had more sense of international justice than all American presidents, in 1952 said:

“Twelve years ago we were led into a great war crusade on the promise of freedom to men and to nations under the banner of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. Then at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam we sacrificed the freedom of 650 millions of beings on the altar of appeasement to Communism. The souls of one quarter of mankind have been seared by the violation of that American promise. The ghosts of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter now wander amid the clanking chains of a thousand slave camps”. (See *U.S. News*, July 18, 1952)

This is a clear call by our noblest of ex-presidents, not only to halt the advance

of Communist totalitarianism, but to try to roll it back from where the Roosevelts tragically had helped it to advance.

Another universally popular American leader, Dwight D. Eisenhower, at the American Legion Convention, on August 26, 1952, called "the roll of countries once independent, now suffocating under the Russian Pall". He named Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania and "East Germany and her more than seventeen million people". Then he pronounced the manifesto of their eventual liberation:

"With all the solemnity I can bring to bear, I say to you that the conscience of America can never know ease until those people of our own blood and our own way are restored to the society of free men. Neither the passage of years nor the power of the tyrant will put an end to our search for the peaceful instruments of their liberation".

There General Eisenhower revealed the conscience and will of America. John Foster Dulles, who later became his great Secretary of State, said that the United States must continue to make "it publicly known that it wants and expects liberation to occur". Later in 1956, when Eisenhower was President he declared what must be considered fixed American policy, namely, "the peaceful liberation of the captive peoples has been and will continue to be a goal of United States foreign policy". (See Lev E. Dobriansky, *The Vulnerable Russians*, pp. 398—9).

Out of such pronouncements by eminent Americans grew the Congressional Captive Nations Resolution of 1959. It must be regarded as the American manifesto for eventual liberation of the captive nations and the roll-back of the Communist tyranny now plaguing half of Europe and most of Asia and on our doorstep Cuba.

#### **Basic U.S. Liberation Policy Insufficiently Implemented**

But in spite of official U.S. policy directed towards liberating the captive nations and eliminating Soviet-Russian colonialism, Communism — Russian and Chinese — has expanded even in the last decade rather than declined. After Red dynamism had been propelled by American and British appeasements at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, it has become understandably hard to contain it or roll it back, provided, as American statesmen insist, it has to be accomplished peacefully.

However, it is also true that the very spirit which caused the appeasements in 1945 still infests America so much as to inhibit the proper implementation of official U.S. policy demanded by the Congressional Resolution of 1959. The ghost of Harry Dexter White and the heritage of Alger Hiss still throw a red glow over U.S. anti-Communism in practice.

Our American government, our diplomatic service, our CIA, and of course our news media are still staffed with too many persons who had reasons to fear the anti-Communist investigations of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. If they are not Communists, they are at least romantic about Communism and Soviet Russia. They excuse its atrocities and tyranny, if they admit them at all, as excesses inevitable in a new system which wants to create a utopian future. They will not recognize the intrinsic evil of Communism. Consequently they give only lip service, if at all, to the U.S. Congressional policy of liberation, and in reality in their hearts they oppose it.

*(To be continued)*



Dr. Kyril Drenikoff (Bulgaria)

## Lenin — The Builder of a Tyrannical System and the New Russian Empire

Today the world suffers from a gigantic empire, colonial in structure and with imperialistic tendencies. The admitted end of this empire is to conquer the whole world through the help of a Marxist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This empire is of course Soviet Russia.

Soviet Russia is a dignified successor of the Russian empire of the tsars in her pan-Russian, imperialistic and colonial aspirations. The founder of this empire, on which the future and the peace of the world depend today, is Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, better known under the name of Lenin.

Ulyanov-Lenin was born on April 22, 1870 in Simbirsk, in the family of intellectuals. He finished his secondary education in his home town and continued his studies in the juridical faculty of Kazan. From this moment on started his career of a professional revolutionary and a theoretician of the Marxist revolution. This brought him later to the leadership of the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party. After a sojourn in Samara, Lenin arrived in Petersburg, where he fought in Marxist revolutionary groups. His profound knowledge of Marxism and his natural aptitude for understanding and analyzing facts and events placed Lenin in charge of written Marxist propaganda and brought him the fame of a "littérateur".

He was arrested in December 1895 with members of his group and was sent into exile for three years. During his forced stay in Siberia he wrote a great deal. While there he also married a young revolutionary called Krupskaya, who was exiled in the same village. In 1900 Lenin returned and continued his revolutionary activity, especially in literature, but in the literature of a particular revolutionary kind which was worth its price in bombs.

Beginning with 1902 Ulyanov started to sign his articles with "L", which later became Lenin, after the Siberian river Lena. From then on until 1917 he lived abroad; he made longer sojourns in Paris and

Switzerland, visited several countries in Western Europe and assisted at the congress organized by the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party. He unfolded unbelievable activity and lost much time fighting political adversaries in his own party.

As a gifted organizer he took care of the party newspaper *Isera* (The Spark), which was of great importance in the political life of Russia, particularly within the ranks of the intellectuals.

During World War I Lenin lived in Switzerland with his family and at the beginning of 1917 returned clandestinely to Russia, crossing Germany in the well known way. On April 3, 1917 Lenin arrived in Petersburg, in a Russia in a state of complete disintegration. He was able to analyze the situation quickly and correctly, and assisted by a small group of people, professional revolutionaries — the Bolsheviks in a short time managed to conquer power. Having an incredible flair for demagoguery, he succeeded in imposing himself in spite of everything and became the creator of Soviet Russia.

Lenin died on January 21, 1924.

This is the man whom Communism is trying to impose upon us today as a god. The centenary of his birth was celebrated this year (1970) and commemorated with extraordinary pomp and ceremony, in the whole world we may say. Therefore it is important to put things in their proper perspective. If Lenin had some merits — and he possessed some — these merits were all used to the advantage of his own party, which he succeeded to bring to power, but not for the benefit of the people.

In his "History of the Russian Communist Party" published in 1924, Zinovyev writes: "At the time of our revolution in February 1917, the members of the Central Committee of our party were abroad, in prisons, or deported. The party was dispersed. It was for this reason that we did not play any role in the revolution and we



*General view from  
the ABN/EFC  
Conferences in  
Brussels, Belgium,  
November 12-16,  
1970.*

could not have played any role, because at that moment the working class was in favour of national defense.”

Zinovyev himself gives a perfect description of the party in the summer of 1917. Between April 3rd and November 7th Lenin succeeded in putting together his party in order to give him the necessary impetus to find the necessary allies among the masses, to assure him the conquest of power, and to consolidate the regime of the Soviets.

He was able to profit in the highest degree from the current situation. He was the leader of a party, able and without scruples, and nothing more. After three years of war, he promised peace to the tired population, while at the same time preparing revolution, extermination and terror. In his resolution on the distribution of land, Lenin promised land to the peasants, which he was to take away later in an easier manner. He proclaimed the right to self-determination and to national independence of the peoples, while at the same time he was sending his firing squads to Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, to mention only some of them.

Contrary to the humanistic image which some try to sell today, we should see Lenin as he really was: a revolutionary without pity and without scruples.

In the 3rd edition of Lenin's *Complete Works*, published in Moscow, a letter to Zinovyev was reproduced. He was then the commissar of Soviets in Petersburg. In

this letter Lenin energetically (sic) protests against the decision not to retaliate by mass terror for the murder of Volodarski. I quote: "... it is necessary to stress the energetic and massive character of terror to the address of the counterrevolutionaries, especially in Petersburg, the example of which is decisive.”

Mass terror is one of the steady characteristics and it attacks blindly, without any individual considerations, different social or ethnic groups. Lenin was conscious of this, when a decree on "Red terror" was issued on September 3, 1918. (Laws of the RSFSR, coll. 1918)

Terror is an institution wanted and created by Lenin and its practical executor is the Extraordinary Commission — the infamous Cheka. After the end of so-called civil war, this decree was replaced by another, which gave Cheka permission to proceed with the repressions. (Laws of RSFSR, t. 1921-294)

During his exile Lenin was fighting for the abolition of the death penalty, but landing on top he was categorically opposed to the abrogation of Kerensky's law which carried the death penalty for desertion. This is reported by Trotsky in his work on Lenin, published in Paris in 1925 (p. 116). This was part of the legal planning when the excuse of a civil war and the threat of a foreign intervention could give — we may say — some reasons for some milder circumstances. But what to say about Lenin's telegram, published in Moscow, sent by him in 1918 to Eugene Boche, the commissar of



the Bolshevik government, charged with defending Ukraine — independent at this time — instructing him to enslave her again under Russia.

Lenin gives the order: It is urgently necessary to organize a group of chosen and faithful people to impose pitiless mass terror on the kulaks, priests, white guards; persons suspected of belonging to such groups should be imprisoned in concentration camps away from cities. Provide for instant execution. Inform telegraphically about the measures taken. (Lenin, *Complete Works*, 2nd edition, p. 489)

It must also be noted that at that time it was not the question of the Russians but of the Ukrainians who proclaimed their national independence. — “Shoot or at least threaten with shooting!” — This was the method of Lenin’s rule over the Soviet empire.

No less significant is the telegram sent to Stalin:

— “Threaten by shooting the idiotic telephone operator who could not assure you of good communications by telephone.”

This telegram is reproduced in Volume 30 of the 4th edition, p. 338, of Lenin’s *Complete Works*, published in Moscow.

We do not know the fate of Stalin’s telephone operator, but it is a fact that he belonged to his own general staff, and we have every reason to believe that there was no question of an enemy of the revolution.

Terror installed by Lenin was not terminated at the end of the civil war. Lenin himself wrote to Kamenev in March 1922: “It is a great error to believe that NEP will bring an end to terror, including terror in the economy as well.”

Thus, after his death the institution imposed by Lenin was used and improved by his successors. In his name, in the name of Lenin, whole populations were erased by Communism from the face of the earth; entire social classes disappeared, and not only from the ranks of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

Nobody will ever know the exact number of victims of terror instituted by Lenin in the Soviet Union. They are estimated at

50 million by Ivan Wowchuk in his booklet “The Defense of Humanism”. He added to these figures 20 million victims of the war period.

Are they even more numerous, as evaluated by other authors?

Most probably so, if we take into account the victims in the satellite countries and in those Communist countries which are not controlled by Moscow today, but which are also applying the ideas, doctrines and methods of Lenin.

Using tsarist Russia as foundation, Lenin succeeded in establishing a new empire: the last colonial empire, treading under his authority a score of nations and millions of slaves: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and many others.

Created half a century ago after World War I, this empire was extended to Central and Balkan Europe, conquered the Chinese mainland, and placed its foot solidly in the Americas, in Africa, in the Mediterranean and in the Indian Ocean.

October 1917 left an indelible mark and is marching to conquer the world.

Our meeting of today, the meetings of ABN, the European Freedom Council, the World Anti-Communist League are the sounds of alarm, the cries of a witness calling to a fight to put an end to Communist expansion, to save the essential freedoms of our civilization, to confirm our right to live as free men.

It is not too late yet, but it is great time to put an end to Communist aggression, the greatest obstacle to world peace.

Communism will pass. Freedom will prevail.



Mr. Anders Larsson (Sweden) reporting to the EFC Conference.

## Degradation of the Revolutionary Spirit

by Suzanne LABIN

Like a failure who drenches himself in alcohol, the revolutionary of our time wallows in terrorism.

Formerly, the truly *desinherited* of society, moved by suffering, courageously opposed the forces which oppressed them. That is why, even when their goals were utopian, they succeeded in winning respect. But today, what a degradation has taken place! Sons of good families, who have nothing to emancipate but their hair and their neckties, and are the avant-garde only in mouthing slogans, set off, without risk to themselves and without rhyme or reason, bombs that destroy libraries, schools, computers, stores and cars.

When the *real revolutionary* of yesterday, conscious of his mission, assaulted the fortress of the established order, he took care to preserve the sources of wealth and knowledge which would permit the building of a *better* order. The *false revolutionary* of today, having no plans for tomorrow, destroys for the sake of destruction, for theatrical effect, as a provocation, in other words madly, stupidly, cruelly.

For this he recruits among the least aware and the least responsible groups: feverish school-boys, idle hippies, babblers without employment, primitive tribes in Africa, to unleash, under the pretentious cloak of "total subversion", a pure and simple *gangsterism*. What follows is pillaging, arson, murder, hold-ups, rapes, kidnapping and execution of hostages in the Nazi fashion, air-piracies with captivity of children and pregnant women whom the thugs threaten to blow up with dynamite. No form of violence is too awful for these gangs.

The chief of the *Black Panthers* cried in a speech: "Long live the tribes of New Guinea, who cut into pieces their factory directors and threw them into the machines." Whereas, formerly, the old style revolutionary taught workers to respect machines and technicians. Another leader of a front called "Liberation", threw himself into satanism: "Burn the world, babies, he cried, burn the schools, the museums, that's my crazy desire! My eyes have become thirsty for the sight of blood. I want to see blood run in torrents in the streets this evening. Run, find me some dynamite, for this city has got to blow up tonight!"

A few more declarations of this sort, and this leader will be ripe for the Nobel Peace Prize . . .

An English press agency of repute, Reuter's, informs us that the Vietcong placed *entirely nude young women* in front of their troops, expecting to distract their adversaries either by lust or by pity. Certain of the "distractions" did wear something, but only rifles. In America, riot organizers have learned to place women, children and old people in the van of their demonstrations to act as shields. This odious tactic has become a common routine, carefully planned by the chiefs of the revolution.

### *The Bitter Harvest of Cowardice*

When the *Quebec Labor Minister* was assassinated by terrorists, the world was swept by emotion. But it was an emotion *long overdue* and *badly misplaced*. For,



before this minister, in Canada, dozens of soldiers, policemen, firemen and passers-by had been cowardly killed by these same terrorists. And these innocent victims had not, as do ministers, the advantage of governmental power with its obligation to foresee criminals, and the ability to repress them. I am dreadfully grieved by these two kidnappings in Canada, but I can't help feeling that the terrible misfortune of the victims is the bitter harvest of *their own blind and cowardly policies*. Alas, most Western officials follow this policy of compromise with terrorism, under pressure of the so-called "avant-garde intellectuals", who strive to place the respected halo of revolution around the heads of vulgar assassins.

The government of Mr. Trudeau has been particularly guilty in this regard. Misguided by so-called "progressive" trend it had left free and totally unpunished the law-breakers and killers of the FLQ (Quebec Liberation Front) despite the fact that everyone denounced them. I had, myself, described their bloody manoeuvrings, two years ago, in my "Mao's Little Red Book". Mr. Trudeau let them establish, on his *own* territory, two guerrilla-training camps directed by Cubans, and five pro-Chinese terrorist centers. Three days after the seizure of the two ministers, he judged that it was "*intelligent, enlightened and historical*" to recognize the Communist regime of Mao Tse-tung, the very instigator, supplier and trainer of the kidnappers of his ministers. Truly, Mr. Trudeau deserves to be told: "You asked for it!"

Pampering one's enemies to be repaid by blows, seems the fashion among Western governments today. One has only to mention a certain famous *general* who, having recognized Mao to "civilize" him, got in return a foreign embassy-fortress in Paris, crammed with instructors for urban guerrillas, whence sprang immediately the flaming riots of May 1968. And, alas, the *Italian* government has joined this illustrious company of happy owners of automobiles, who coddle the incendiaries of their automobiles. I salute, in the person of our *Belgian* friends, the resistance to this suicidal impulse, of the clear-sighted country which is our host today.

### *Red Drugs*

But to spill innocent blood is not enough. It was necessary to plunge deeper into ignominy, by *corrupting souls* before mutilating bodies. We have irrefutable proof that a large part of the world narcotics traffic is linked to the activities of Communist China. According to the United Nations Narcotics Commissioner, Mr. Anslinger, most of the opium that enters illegally into the free world comes from Mao's China. 750,000 acres of poppy fields, cultivated by forced labor, and guarded by 20,000 Red soldiers under command of a general, supply the raw juices which are transformed into opium in 60 state factories. This pernicious product is marketed by a public minister, whose department is called, by a charming euphemism: "special commerce".

This *enormous machine*, which Communist China employs to *corrupt* the free world, is now linked to that other enormous machine erected in the very bosom of the free world to plunder it, and which is called "*the Mafia*". The situation is so grave that the Swiss, for the first time in their history, have authorized making public the secret bank accounts of the Mafia.

The *advantages* that the Chinese Communist conspiracy draws from this plunge into crime are multiple: Money to subsidize its apparatus of world terrorism;

agents and spies kept docile by opium vice; and, above all, the intellectual, moral and physical degradation of the youth of the West, particularly students, a degradation which assumes alarming proportions in the Anglo-Saxon world. During my fifteenth trip around the world, I witnessed this, personally, in the United States, Canada and along the "hashish trail" much-travelled by the new "little dead souls" — our children. They hitch-hike their way through Europe and Turkey, to wind up in some drug-filled tavern in Kabul, Kathmandu, or on the beach of Goa in India.

The correspondent of *Pravda* in Tokyo declared that "the smuggling of drugs, and the propagation of debauchery and vice among youth, have become the principal sources of foreign currency for Peking".

In San Francisco, *customs officials* seized cases coming from Communist China which contained, in symbolic proximity, quantities of "Mao's Little Red Books", opium, and pornographic magazines printed in Peking.

It has been years, now, that I have followed the career of Communist China, and I thought I had seen the height of infamy among its leaders and the depths of foolishness among the so-called progressive intellectuals who still credit Communism with good intentions. I was mistaken. There is no such depths or such summit. I had known about the massacres, the tortures, the brainwashings, the fabricated trials, the concentration camps, the barbed wire frontiers. I had not thought — who could have thought it? — of the *opium traffic* in the service of Marxist-Leninist revolution.

With a richness of imagination equal to that which nature unfolds in the diversification of species, history has added this brood to its long gallery of apostates: the Chinese Communists, who claiming to bring the potion of truth which would set mankind free, end up selling the powder of illusion to *stupefy* mankind.

#### *Hippies — Pilgrims of the Downgrade*

... And *stupefies* its victims, while making them believe they are *being emancipated*. This is the typical imposture of Communism, which everywhere prepares *tyranny* while calling it *liberty*. Indeed, drugs, today, are no longer absorbed with those feelings of shame and *guilt* which surrounded them formerly and tempered their attraction. The gurus of the hippie movement, in the hundred periodicals they publish in the United States, proclaim that drugs "enlarge consciousness" and "bring humans together in a communion of love", whereas, in truth, drugs *becloud consciousness* and precipitate humans into *violence and degradation*.

Now, this drug *epidemic* also menaces our civilization, for our Western youth throw themselves into the contagion, intoxicated by the novelty of the fashion, wrapped up in a false and nihilistic pathos, their heads turned against the abundance, culture and liberties of our societies by single party demagogues who prepare a regime of censorship and scarcity. But instead of creating a *new culture*, I have seen the hippies, all along the hashish trail, swinging from ecstasy to apathy, from apathy to delirium, and from delirium to tragedy, until they sink *into the black pit of non-being*.

And I understood that these tragedies signify also, in a sense, *the failure of Communism!* For finally, Communism, which laid claim to embody the *aspiration of the masses*, has wound up camouflaging itself behind the *extravagant ways of the hippies* and storming shops with teenagers. Communism, which pretended to



carry *production* and consumption to new heights, is reduced to discrediting them in our world, because our free society furnishes people with much more of the good things in life than its slave society. Communism which proclaimed itself the heir of the most advanced social structures, is reduced to seek allies among the pimps of *the Mafia* and to excite *tribal hatred* in Africa. Communism, which vaunted itself as the champion of science, is obliged to resort to the bewitchment of drugs. In brief, Communism pretended to be carried along by *history*, while now it has to force itself into history by floods of lies and blood.

The *degradation* of the methods of Communism contains the confession of its defeat. And I wish to terminate by emphasizing *our superiority*. No, our civilization is not *decadent*. If the Communists can no longer attack it except through a scattering of bomb-throwers, it is precisely because our civilization is *triumphant*. No, it is not *we*, it is they who will end up on the scrap-heap of history.

*The spirit of enterprise* born 20,000 years ago, and which received its baptism 350 years ago from the great Galiléo, will never disappear from the human scene. It has raised up too many powerful and splendid columns. No doubt, it will acquire with time more noble aims, but it will never be replaced by the *spirit of nothingness*. That is why we must not give way to *panic before the waves of nihilism* crashing against our cultural towers, the waves of which the hippies are the unhappy troubadours and the terrorists the aimless refuse. Our towers will hold, for these waves, although strong today, have neither compass nor motor to carry them very far.

Oh, my joyous and sad companions of the hashish trail! It is not for our civilization that I fear, it is for you. Invoking your dream, you blast us as old fogies, whereas we could have helped you to realize that dream. Then, you retreat to some drug hole to die of that dream. What a foolish and deadly game you play! You, who claimed to be more clear-sighted than the "square" world, you have swallowed whole slogans fed to you by the agents of another conformism: the mouth-pieces of *total subversion*, and you have been its first victims. You, who wished to be the *pilots* of our time, you have become its *laggards*, on your way to become *extinct*.

Do you really believe you are going to found a *new culture* with a *regard* like that?

You are a generation sacrificed by *blind allegiance to attitudes*. You are the despised pawns, the *living dead* of revolutionary undertakings. *Adolescents* of all countries, wake up! Save your generation while there is still time.



*Members of the French delegation, Madame Suzanne Labin (left) and General P. F. Vanuxem, at ABN/EFC Conference in Brussels.*

## The Role Played by Youth in Today's World

A new historical epoch has awakened since the 1960's. Conventional wars have been replaced by internal disruption and civil wars presenting a challenge to the governments of the United States and Western Europe.

The causes of these disturbances and revolts have been many and varied. Increasingly involved in these movements and also growing out of them have been a number of groups both black and white, student and non-student. Their purpose is not the fulfillment of a particular objective or reform in society but the total overthrow of the present Western political system of democratic government.

It should be underlined however that only a minority are attracted by these movements. Still, people who are discontented with present political systems will readily turn to other ideologies circulating in society in order to overthrow present systems.

Among these revolutionary groups are pro-Russian, pro-Chinese, Trotskyist, Marxist, Anarchist and Syndicalist groups. Having established an anarchical situation, with the help of the active minority, they wish to impose their own violent rule and introduce a totalitarian despotism in order to achieve Russian domination over the world.

The membership of these revolutionary organizations is small in proportion to the total membership of the long established political parties in the Western world. Their influence however at times of stress and crisis can turn society out of all proportion — examples of this were seen in the Paris May and June revolts and more recently in the disturbances in Northern Ireland.

In order to perceive the influence of such groups, an analysis of the origin, structure and aims of some such groups would prove useful.

The most important Maoist group in the West is the Progressive Labour Party of the USA. This organization aims to become a

revolutionary vanguard. It produces four publications — *Progressive Labor*, *The Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, an English-Spanish paper sold on the East Coast — *Challenge Desafio* and a paper sold on the West Coast — *Spark*.

The Progressive Labor Party has devoted a considerable part of its activities in acquiring influence over the Black Power Movement. Most of its members are under 25 and in addition to controlling a number of sections within the Student Democratic Society, it has formed a number of worker-student alliance sections within the student movement. These groups are used as a "front" to put over Progressive Labor Party policy. This organization's greatest strength is to be found in New York, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and Boston.

For some time the network of Maoist parties in Western Europe has centred upon Belgium. The first Maoist party in Western Europe was established in 1965 in Belgium, as Brussels was believed to have been selected some years ago as a suitable site for Communist China's first revolutionary base in the West. The Party is known as the Communist Party of Belgium (Marxist-Leninist). Its most important leader is Jacques Grippa — a former member of the orthodox, pro-Moscow Communist Party of Belgium.

Other prominent pro-Chinese group leaders are Abrihiimanyu Manchanda, an Indian who settled in Britain after India's independence. He is a dedicated Maoist and one of the most prominent pro-Chinese figures in Britain. The best known organization he has led is the Vietnam Solidarity Front — small in number but still able to attract large support for anti-Vietnam demonstrations.

Another active Maoist in Britain is Gordon Ebrahim — a native of South Africa who came to Britain to give impetus to Maoist attempts and to gain influence over the Black Power Movement. Like Manchanda, Ebrahim believes in the in-



evitability of revolution and the eventual necessity for the use of violence.

In Britain, there are various Maoist groups. The most well known is the Internationalists — founded in Dublin University. It has opened headquarters in North London where a Maoist bookshop forms a convenient focus for their activities and acts as a contact centre for Maoist-minded university students throughout the country. A number of Maoist cells exist in universities including a “Marxist-Leninist” section in the University of Sussex. A principal British militant student organization — The Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation has important Maoist elements within its ranks.

In Italy there are a number of locally based Maoist groups as well as a larger central Maoist Party founded in 1966. Maoist elements are particularly active amongst the student population. A special student organization — The Leninist Union has been formed with strong branches in Milan, Rome, Florence and Naples. A report in the *Daily Telegraph* 22nd Aug. 1969 indicates that Albania has now become a major centre for the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung’s teachings and methods in the West. The report described how parties of 20-30 students were arriving from France, West Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, Spain and Egypt — their visits prompted by invitations from the Prime Minister of Albania. Their course of training included daily talks on aspects of Maoist thought relevant to the life in Western Europe and North America. Some of them were given instructions in methods of making homemade hand-grenades and the effective use of revolvers and other small arms.

### Trotskyite Groups

The most important single series of events in which Trotskyites have played a leading part since the end of the second world war were the civil disturbances in Paris and other French cities in May and June of 1968. The most prominent organization was: La Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire formed in the Spring of 1966 and led by Alain Krivine — an ex-member of the

French Communist Party’s youth movement. Much of the JCR’s activity has been concerned with agitation against the Vietnam war. In the Autumn of 1966 the JCR and other far-left groups, to which it was allied, sponsored the formation of a national anti-Vietnam war movement — Comité Vietnam National (CVN). Its main purpose was to act as a front, drawing in recruits from the wider section of the public. This new organization spread rapidly establishing regional committees and attracting the support of many prominent left-wing personalities. CVN committees were established in the “lycees”. These became a source of inspiration to a number of school revolutionary movements in other European countries and played a very active part in the events of May and June in the 1968 Paris revolt.

In an interview with Mary Alice Water of the American Young Socialist Alliance, which took place some time after the Paris revolt, Alain Krivine said that the degree of authority the JCR had achieved during the revolt had been possible only because of the way it had integrated itself into the student movement. In the Spring of 1969 the JCR re-emerged under the new title of the Communist League of France and since then has been recognized by the Fourth International as its official French affiliate.

In the British Trotskyist Group there are at present 3 main sections. The oldest is the Socialist Labour League formed in 1959. A major part of its activities has been to conduct industrial agitation. The aim of its rank and file committees has been defined as being “to take the offensive in every strike, of waging each dispute from the outset with the aim of winning a decisive victory”. The League has its own youth movement known as the Young Socialist League. Its activities consist of recruiting young engineering workers and apprentices and forming social activity groups such as football teams, motor cycle and scooter clubs and so on. A sociology lecturer at Leeds University, who left the Communist Party in 1956 as a result of Soviet action in Hungary, refers to the young people, coopted into the League as “The most valuable asset that we have in



*Ukrainian  
delegation  
to the ABN/EFC  
Conference in  
Brussels.*

the revolutionary struggle for socialism". The Young Socialist League has been one of the forces active in attempting to direct the various revolutionary groups that first appeared in British schools in the winter of 1968-69.

The International Socialists is a group which has broken away from the American Trotskyist movement. Their slogan was "Neither Washington nor Moscow but International Socialism". It was first known as the Cliff Group and disagreed with the orthodox Trotskyist teaching on a number of points but notably in its attitude to the Soviet government which it describes as being State-Capitalist. By 1969 the group had divided into about 70 branches mainly located in London. Among its publications most commonly known are the *Socialist Worker*, *Rebel* and *International Socialism*. The International Socialists have played an important part in the campaign against American involvement in the Vietnam war and have been active in universities, including the London School of Economics. The group has also expressed strong support for the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland, and the Palestine Solidarity Campaign. Members of the International Socialism Group were among members of a party of British students who spent four weeks at El Fatah training camp near Amman, Jordan in July and August of 1969. This

organization has made no secret of its belief in the need for an eventual revolution. The following words appear in one of their booklets: "In our epoch not a single serious issue can be decided by ballot. In the decisive class battles, bullets will decide."

#### **The International Marxist Group**

In 1964 a journal called *The Week* began publication, sponsored by the Paris-based Fourth International. The Trotskyist supporters around this journal formed themselves in 1968 into the International Marxist Group. This group played a prominent part in the organization of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the various larger scale demonstrations it has carried out. A number of persons have become well known as a result of their participation in such demonstrations, notably Tariq Ali, Pat Jordan and Mike Martin. The International Marxist Group has contacts with the Trotskyist groups in France, America, Canada, Australia and Japan. At the Easter 1969 World Congress of the Fourth International a decision was taken to recognize the International Marxist Group as the Fourth International's official British section. The Group is committed to the support of the British Black Power Movement and has been making considerable efforts to gain influence over members of Britain's immigrant community. It has also expressed strong support



for the Civil Rights Campaign in Ulster, particularly for the People's Democracy element. It saw the events of the spring and summer of 1969 in N. Ireland as having great significance for revolutionary activists throughout Britain.

### **Anarchists and Syndicalists**

Small anarchist groups are to be found in most countries, having their main strength in Latin countries, especially Spain and Italy. Anarchist activities are divided into two practical spheres: "propaganda of the word", which means holding meetings, publicizing and distributing printed material and "propaganda of the deed" implying direct action and physical violence. There are over 100 groups in Britain alone which are affiliated to the Anarchist Federation of Great Britain. Among their publications are *Freedom* and *Anarchy*. Anarchists are dedicated to the idea of the destruction of the state and modern society through revolution. They hold the theory that violence used by governments to maintain their authority in turn justifies the use of violence by revolutionaries as the last resort. An international anarchist group with origins in Spain, but also groups in other countries including Britain, is believed to have been responsible for a number of bomb attacks in European capitals in recent years, and for a machine-gun attack on the United States Embassy in London. Agitation amongst young people is an important part of anarchist activities. In Britain anarchist groups exist in most of the main universities and also in a number of technical colleges and art schools.

From the above analysis we may conclude that the emphasis of the revolutionary movements' propaganda is placed on youth, especially students. This is because a young person's world outlook is not yet wholly formed; it is only in the process of being formed. Through various social activities such as youth clubs, films, literary propaganda, the movements seek to influence and help form a world which will best benefit their own aims and ideals. It is the young people of today who will decide the

future of tomorrow. By imposing their ideals on young people, these movements hope to ensure a future society which will fulfill their ideals.

The revolutionary movements attract today's youth primarily by their action, courage, risk and determination in achieving a certain objective, not merely by their ideology. This infiltrates into them through their contact with the movement. These attracting characteristics underline a positive element in youth — ACTION.

Minorities which come under the influence of various ideologies do so through lack of their own ambitions and ideals. The majority of people are not influenced by leftist revolutionary movements. They have their own ideals which guide them through life. The Ukrainian youth for example, is motivated by its own positive ideals — to fight for a Ukrainian independent and sovereign state.

Above all whatever the forms of these subversive groups in the West — we must remember — the major and decisive force is Russian underground activity among the young people with the aim of achieving final Russian domination over the entire world.

The revolutionary movements are small in number but their actions and revolts have a dynamic influence throughout the world today. In some respects the leftist movements serve us a good example. They are moved to action through concern for something — whether it be peace in Vietnam or some other cause. Whether we agree or disagree with their motivations, we must admit that these motivations lead them into action, at times even violent action.

What about our cause? We claim that we are fighting for the liberation of countries subjugated under terrorist and imperialist Russia. If we sincerely mean this then let us direct all our courage, all our determination, all our strength and all our unity towards a glorious realization of our aspirations — "FREEDOM FOR NATIONS! FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!"

## Suez: Focus of World Strategy

In his Washington Report of July 27, 1970 Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Strategy and Military Affairs Editor of the American Security Council, states that it is becoming apparent that the Kremlin is intent on reopening the Suez Canal. Therefore a propaganda campaign is under way to make Israel give up the Sinai Peninsula as a preliminary to serious negotiations. It will take at least one year to repair the Suez Canal and it will require more time, perhaps a major international crisis, before the repair work can even be started.

Why are the Russians centering their current strategy on this obsolescent waterway? The only answer is that the Sino-Soviet conflict is the overriding and still widely overlooked motivation. In spite of the fact that no major border incidents have recently occurred or have been reported and Peking has at long last decided to nominate a new ambassador to Moscow, it is no less true that the gigantic Soviet Russian military deployment against China has remained in place and continues to grow in strength. The USSR does not have much time to lose while Maoist China is still preparing for the clash and China's missile capability is coming closer with each passing day. The Chinese missile program may be delayed again, but there are several large launch pads at the Shuangchengtse long-range test site and the Chinese missile industry, which is of considerable size, is working at top speed. The Sino-Soviet conflict is neither a mere ideological quarrel nor just a border dispute. The ideological cleavage seems unbridgeable and China's territorial claims exceed one million square miles. Yet the conflict is predominantly rooted in a fundamental difficulty that cannot be compromised: the USSR is weakest at its Pacific flank, where Japan and China are rising as dynamic superpowers.

If the USSR does not succeed in overcoming its extraordinary vulnerability by strengthening its eastern territories in a major way, those possessions will ultima-

tely become untenable and the Russian empire as a whole will be endangered.

### The Soviet Options

In theory there are two peaceful methods by which the Soviet Far East can be strengthened: either the area may be rapidly populated and industrialized or the industrial complex of Manchuria may be put under Soviet control, for example through some sort of condominium with China. Neither solution can work. The USSR doesn't have 30 to 40 million people to settle north of the Amur, and China, whether Maoist or post-Maoist, will not share its sovereignty. The military solution is to take Manchuria (and the northern regions) and weaken China through partition and unilateral nuclear disarmament. The choice is therefore between the conquest of North China and a crash program to build up Eastern USSR. It isn't much of a choice, but that's the menu.

The land communications of European USSR and West Siberia with the Soviet Far East are insufficient and cannot sustain a massive industrial build-up either in the Transbaikal-Amur region or in Manchuria. If Manchuria is to be occupied, logistics requirements will be formidable. If Moscow decides to crash develop the eastern territories, requirements will be even larger. A mixed strategy would not offer any real advantages. All requirements would be for indefinitely long periods. On the basis of current logistic capabilities, none of those strategies is practical. The alternative is to allow Maoist China to outflank the USSR in the east, and that is hardly acceptable to Moscow.

### The Vital Link

The Suez Canal must be viewed as the only potentially available link which can tie the Soviet Far East effectively to the Soviet heartland. This linking up is a matter of highest urgency because if the Russians do not secure the Suez Canal, they cannot adopt any effective eastern strategy. One implication is that the Russians may not be content with having Egypt repossess



the Canal; instead they may be anxious to assume control themselves, probably in a concealed fashion. Another implication is that the "useless" Sinai dessert is at this juncture the most valuable piece of land anywhere on the globe.

The Russians have been working methodically to acquire port privileges and facilities all around Asia from the Black Sea to Vladivostok. In various ways, they are establishing themselves at Latakia, Syria; Port Said, Alexandria and Ras Banas, Egypt; Hodeida, Yemen; Aden, South Yemen; Berbera, Somalia; Port Louis, Mauritius; Basra, Iraq; Vizagapatam and Port Blair, Andaman Islands, both in India; Singapore; and hopefully Hongkong. The sea route which the Russians are building at huge expense is a replica of Britain's former sea route to India. The Russians are not building a route around Africa, but so long as the Suez Canal is closed, the Asian sea remains quite useless. The Suez Canal is the main missing link. The Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan even advanced the plan to withdraw troops from the Suez Canal zone, thus giving the Russians the opportunity to reopen the Canal. Earlier Dayan expressed an opinion that Israel no longer insists on withdrawal of missiles along the Suez Canal.

#### **China Looks Southward**

The Chinese are countering the Soviet manoeuvres designed to outflank them by sea by attempting to outflank the Russians by land. The scenario is right out of the classic treatises by Admiral Mahan and Sir Halford Mackinder. More specifically, the Maoists aim to break through to control points in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Arabic Sea. Thus, they are building a road from Kashgar, Sinkiang to Gilgit, Pakistan and working on their alliance with Pakistan to reach the Indian Ocean. The Chinese are engaged in intensive road building activities in Tibet and the Himalaya states, and fostering subversion in Bengal and Northeast India. One purpose is to keep the Russians out of India. They are also building roads leading into Burma and Laos and toward Thailand and

fomenting subversion in those three countries and in Malaysia. This operation supplements North Vietnamese aggression in Indochina. The objective, besides knocking out South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma and Malaysia, is to get to Singapore and ultimately into Indonesia (and Taiwan). Chou En-lai, fifteen years ago, wanted to build a strategic triangle linking Peking with Delhi and Djakarta. The idea is still to control east-west communications and for this purpose to get to the coast and into the Malay Archipelago.

In the Arabian Sea area, the Maoists have been able to establish considerable influence in Southern Yemen, which includes the key port of Aden. Southern Arabia is full of Maoist guerrillas who seem to regard Muscat and Oman as their most promising early target. This may change if the British decide not to depart from the Gulf.

#### **The Oil Factor**

The reopening of the Suez Canal by the Russians would allow them to block the not unpromising Maoist manoeuvres in the Middle East. As a bonus, the Russians may be able to lay their hands on much of the Middle East oil and thus gain additional leverage vis-a-vis Japan and Europe. They also may obtain hard currency income of some 500 million dollars. The Canal earned about 200 million dollars, and the Arab oil-producing states are paying subsidies to Egypt and Jordan amounting to 350 million dollars annually.

If the USSR breaks through at Suez, it would be able to outflank Europe as well as Asia, and it would follow through with major moves in the Far East. It is therefore a grievous mistake to construe the war in the Middle East merely as a contest between Israel and the Arabs, to disregard the strategic interdependence between Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Far East, and to ignore the overpowering influence of the Sino-Soviet conflict.

#### **Socotra**

For the first time in her history Russia has a naval base in the Indian Ocean. This

Russian strategic base lies on the island of Socotra, 200 miles east of the Gulf of Aden. The island has a surface of about 3000 sq. miles and belongs to the Republic of South Yemen. On September 6, 1970 the Russians landed on the island. Socotra is destined to become a Soviet naval base in the Indian Ocean; an aerodrome has been built; a wireless station is already in operation, and soon work will be started on the expansion of the harbour of Tamrida, the capital of the island. With the establishment of the naval base at Socotra, the USSR has a position from where for example Vietnam is within the reach of the Soviet navy. And in view of the possibility of a war against Red China, the base in the Indian Ocean has special significance. When the Suez Canal will be reopened, the Kremlin has a sea route from Europe to the Far East under control.

#### **Gulf of Aden Becomes New East-West Subject of Contest**

While Israel controls entrance to the Gulf of Akkaba/Eilat, the possibility of a blockade appears in a much earlier stage, namely at the entrance to the Red Sea, from Yemen or Saudi Arabia. The blockade of the Strait of Tiran, which controls the entrance to Eilat, gave rise to the six-day Arab-Israeli war. Lately (November 1970) it is more often heard that Israel is very interested in that part of Africa's east coast. Also the numerous reports about Israeli supply of weapons to the rebels in Sudan point in that direction. There is a rumour about a secret military treaty between Israel and Ethiopia. The Emperor Haile Selassie is said to have transferred the islands Halab and Fatima in the Red Sea to Israel for the establishment of military bases.

#### **The Arab Guerrillas**

The attempt to overthrow King Hussein and establish Jordan as a Fedayin state was largely undertaken through the Maoist Palestine Liberation Front. This front, led by George Habache, a Christian Arab, consists of 2,000—6,000 men and reportedly receives from Peking \$ 10,000 a month plus family allowances. The Maoist rebellion was subdued, barely, but the PLF is

stronger than before and the Maoists are heavily infiltrating the dozen or so other guerrilla organizations. Yasser Arafat, the leader of Al Fatah, has remained in Nasser's and Moscow's camp, but he recently visited China.

#### **Chinese Missiles**

The Chinese bomber force of TU-16's (Badgers) is stronger than the French force de frappe and about as strong as Britain's four-submarine nuclear deterrent force. If the Chinese IL-28 bombers are added (equivalent to the B-47), China's nuclear delivery force exceeds that of France and Britain combined. China's MIG-21's, which have a speed of nearly Mach 2, possess range adequate enough to deliver nuclear weapons to key cities in the Soviet Far East and in Central Asia. There are not many, but enough of them to do considerable damage.

Short-range missiles probably have been available for some time and whether or not we call them tactical, they can hurt. MRBM's, some of them mobile, could be ready soon. A significant force of 1,000 or 1,500-mile missiles may be available by 1973, perhaps even a few ICBM's.

*The New York Times* reported that Soviet troop deployment along the Chinese border has reached the level of about 60 divisions and that hundreds of new 500-mile mobile nuclear missiles code-named Scalaboard have been deployed in the area. This is the first known deployment of this missile. The Russians, according to the *Times* article, have also deployed a tactical (30-mile range) nuclear missile, code-named Frog.

According to NATO information last summer the Russians sent at least 12 divisions to the Chinese frontier. None of them comes from the European occupying forces. There is not a soldier less in Czecho-Slovakia or East Germany.

*Are all those preparations and proceedings mentioned above leading to the Third World War? What will happen at the outbreak of war between Red China and Soviet Russia? Will the Warsaw Pact forces then attack Western Europe and conquer it in a few days? This certainly will happen*



after the conclusion of the so-called Security Treaty and the withdrawal of the American forces. *And must we in the West stand idly by waiting to be slaughtered?*

There are no resistance movements in West Europe, like the ones found in East European countries, and on these our hopes are placed. The East European resistance movements are joined together with the

Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in a worldwide organization, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) of which the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, is president.

*From the motives of self-preservation it is the duty of every freedom-loving person to support this organization.*

### American Friends of ABN Hold Panel

On January 10, from 2:30 to 6:30, in the Estonian House, 243 E. 34th Street, New York, the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations presented "a Panel Discussion on the Spiritual and Political Realignment of the Free World in the Seventies."

Dr. Ivan Docheff, chairman, formally opened the panel. Mr. Charles Andreanszky was the moderator. Those present represented the "Political Committee" of the ABN.

The first panelist, Dr. Yu Tang Lew, Ambassador of Free China, said that a developing spiritual and moral regeneration will eventually free China again. Prof. Daumants Hazners, President, Latvian Heritage Group of New Jersey, said that the Captive Nations will be more insistent on higher living standards and will finally secure them and obtain freedom. Dr. Andreas Pogany, President of Hungarian Freedom Fighters, said the Rostow-Kissinger type American leadership in the last decade has caused European nations to lose confidence in American protection and conditioned them for Chancellor Bandt's "Ostpolitik", which confirms Soviet-Russian hegemony.

Dr. Volodymyk Sawchak, editor of Ukrainian *Nash Svit*, called the past policy of the State Department aimless, warned against U.S. troop withdrawals from Europe, and insisted that Soviet Russians talk international Communism but relentlessly force Russian imperialism on more and more of Europe and Asia. Mr. George P. Botosani, Bridgeport University, former secretary of the Rumanian National Peasant Party, said the essential cause of trouble in

the last and coming decade is that one-third of the world suffers from Communist tyranny, which in fifty years has nowhere really improved the lot of any people.

After the formal presentation by the panelists, Moderator Andreanszky asked several guests of honor for comments. Dr. Laszlo C. Pasztor, Director of the Republican Heritage Groups Division, reassured the delegates that the Nixon Administration sympathizes with the aims of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and if implementation lags it is because many members of Congress and also some career men in other departments of the government still need more of the spirit and information of this panel.

Mr. Mario Garcia Kohly, Cuban leader, hoped that 1971 would see the formation of a Cuban government in exile which could serve as one of the rallying points for all the Captive Nations. Mr. Raul Comesanas, Chairman of Cuba Committee, fears that Soviet-Russians are entrenching themselves deeper in Cuba as a base with which to subvert all of South America, which, he felt, has become the main theater of the Cold War. Dr. A. J. App, who had recently spoken at the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Conference in Brussels, was invited to comment on the present "Ostpolitik". He said that in his opinion all of free Europe is jeopardized unless the Bonn Parliament decisively refuses to ratify the Moscow-Warsaw-Bonn treaties.

After a period of spirited discussion, Dr. Docheff declared the Panel concluded, said there will be another one in the spring, and invited the audience to adjourn to refreshments.

*Dr. A. J. App*

## **The Geopolitical Significance of Soviet Policy towards Afghanistan**

In order to understand the strategic significance of Soviet Russian policy towards Afghanistan, it is necessary to begin with a brief survey of British-Afghan relations in its geopolitical setting. It is well to remember that the history of England's connection with Afghan affairs was essentially concerned with the defence of the Indian sub-continent. Indeed, an English statesman had observed in the House of Commons that "Russia on the Oxus is Russia on the Ganges."

It is well known that whenever Russia's expansionist activities were halted in Europe, she had advanced into the vast spaces of Central Asia. It was essentially an historic conflict between nineteenth century Britain and Tsarist Russia. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Auckland, the British authorities had tried to enter into an agreement with Dost Muhamad, the Amir of Afghanistan in order to thwart the Russian-inspired thrust towards Afghanistan. Amir Dost Muhamad had stipulated that the British authorities should first prevail upon Maharaja Ranjit Singh to restore Peshawar to him. It is interesting to recall that Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who had taken Peshawar in 1834, was an ally of East India Company. However, as an unfortunate consequence of a series of egregious blunders, Amir Dost Muhamad had swung over to the Russo-Persian side, which ultimately sparked off the ill-starred First Afghan War (1838—42). It is interesting to note that Peshawar had constituted the frontier of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Sikh territories and not that of British India during this phase of British-Afghan relations. The frontier of British India was (1845—46, 1848—49). Soon after the first soon extended up to the mouth of the Khyber in the wake of the Anglo-Sikh wars Afghan War (1838—42), Russia had agreed with Great Britain to look upon the Central Asian Khanates (Bokhara, Samarkhand and Khiva) as the neutral zone between the two empires. And since the Rus-

sian advance towards Constantinople was check-mated, it was difficult to prevent Russia from expanding in Central Asia. Bokhara became an independent ally in 1860; Samarkhand was acquired in 1868 and was followed by Khiva in 1873. A new province of Russian Turkestan was constituted which resulted in extending the Russian frontier from Orenburg to Tashkent. And the situation became alarming when the Russian General Komaroff drove away the Afghan troops stationed in the Panjdeh oasis, but Abdur Rahman's shrewd diplomacy prevented the situation from taking an ugly turn.

Sir Mortimer Durand, the Indian Foreign Secretary, and Amir Abdur Rahman had arrived at a line of demarcation from Chitral to Baluchistan by which it was decided that the river Oxus should constitute the northern boundary of Afghanistan, from Lake Victoria (Wood's Lake) or Sarikol on the east to the junction of the Kochka and the Oxus. And as a result of this agreement, the Afridis of the Khyber region, the Mahsuds, the Waziris, the Swat tribes and the Chiefships of Chitral and Gilgit came within the orbit of British civilization. However, it was only during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon that the entire region of the Pathan tribal territory along with the "settled" districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan were constituted into a new province known as the North-West Frontier Province. This period not only witnessed the delimitation of the Indo-Afghan frontier by Sir Mortimer Durand (henceforth known as the Durand line) but also the demarcation of the boundary between the Russian and British empires by the Pamir Boundary Commission which eventually paved the way for the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907.

The Soviet Russian government rescinded the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 and signed a new treaty with Afghanistan in 1921. According to this Russo-Afghan



treaty the transfer of Panjdeh district to Afghanistan, the construction of the Kushka-Herat-Kabul telegraph line and a yearly subsidy were promised. It was timed well since an Anglo-Soviet trade agreement was also signed by Sir Robert Horne and Leonid Krassin on March 16, 1921. This agreement had made it clear that the Soviet government should refrain "from any attempt, by military or diplomatic or any other form of action or propaganda, to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interest in the British empire, especially in India, and the independent state of Afghanistan". Soon, a combination of circumstances forced Moscow to recall Raskolnik, the Soviet envoy in Kabul, who in Lord Curzon's characteristically sarcastic words "had distinguished himself by exceptional zeal" in fomenting anti-British sentiment in Afghanistan. It is interesting to note that Afghan relations with Soviet Russia were not particularly cordial during this period. And this feeling of uneasiness between the two governments which was strengthened by the fact that there was no further indication of the proposed transfer of the Panjdeh area, flared up into a state of tension as a result of an unfortunate collision between Afghan guards stationed on the Urtatagai island (situated on the Oxus) and some Soviet Russian troops. However, a "pact of neutrality and non-aggression" was negotiated between the two countries in 1926.

The traditional policy of actively instigating the indigenous Communist parties in Asia in an attempt a break through the "Capitalist Phalanx" had undergone a change in emphasis during the post-Stalin era. In other words, the new technique marked a departure from the Stalinist approach which had termed Mahatma Gandhi as "the author of a reactionary political doctrine, the so-called Gandhism." Indeed, the aim of the policy was to reinforce the bond of "friendship and cooperation" with India, Burma, Afghanistan, Egypt Syria and other states. During their Asian tour in 1955, the Soviet Russian leaders, Bulganin and Khrushchev, visited Kabul and

extended a \$ 100 million credit to Afghanistan for economic development and sympathized with the Afghan demand for the carving out of an independent state of "Pakthoonistan".

It is remarkable that the Soviet government had interested itself in the "Pakthoonistan problem", even in the wake of Amir Amanullah's visit to the Soviet Union in 1928. Indeed *Izvestia* had stated that "the belt of independent tribes which the British have pacified and converted into advance posts for their aggressive policy must, under Afghan national policy be incorporated into Afghanistan, to which they belong by tribal relationship and economic ties". And according to Afghanistan, the area of "Pakthoonistan" would cover more than 200,000 square miles and include Swat, Chitral, Dhir in the north and Baluchistan in the south. It is clear, therefore, that Soviet Russia's interest in the "Pakthoonistan problem" is rooted in the strategic significance of the concerned area. The railway from West Pakistan branches out in two directions. The Chaman road proceeds to Kandahar and connects Kabul through the Tarnak Valley in Afghanistan. Beyond Kandahar the Chaman road passes through Farrh and Herat in Afghanistan to the well-known town of Kushka which is situated on the Afghanistan-USSR frontier. Another route passes through North Baluchistan and proceeds to the Iranian frontier at Zahidan. And yet another route begins at Peshawar and winds its way through the Hindu Kush to Balkh in Afghanistan and the Soviet rail terminal at Termez.

Pakistan is unable to accept the claim of Kabul, as the Durand line agreement which clearly marked off the boundary between Afghanistan and British India (since 1947 Pakistan is the successor state) was signed by Amir Abdur Rahman in 1893 and reaffirmed successively by his son and successor Habibullah Kahn, by Amir Amanullah and King Nadir Shah (the father of the present King Zahir Shah). If the Durand line is unilaterally rejected, it would spell disaster to many Asian countries including India whose internationally

demarcated boundaries such as the Mac Mahon line are sought to be changed by an expansionist power like China. Again, Peshawar has never been ruled by any Afghan ruler ever since it was captured by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in 1834. It is obvious therefore that Afghanistan's irredentist interest in the "Pakthoonistan problem" arises out of an historical sense of belonging which may be traced to the era of Ahmed Shah Abdali who ruled the land between the Oxus in the north to Kashmir, the Sutley and the Indus in the east, to the sea in the south and to Persia and Khorasan to the west. And in modern terms it may be said to stretch over Afghanistan, West Pakistan and parts of what are now Persia and Russian Turkestan. And the recent entente between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union can be attributed to the Soviet stand regarding the "Pakthoonistan problem" rather than a deeply committed ideological preference for the Soviet Union.

The major achievement of the Soviet Union lies in the actual construction of strategic roads in Afghanistan. As a result of an agreement signed on May 28, 1959, the USSR undertook to build and pay for a motor road from Kushka via Herat to Kandahar and it was reported that it was also paying for another road from the Amu Darya (Oxus) river through the Hindu Kush to Jalalbad. It was also announced on December 31, 1959, by the Tass news agency that a 1300-mile long Central Asian road was constructed "to strengthen economic contracts between the Soviet republics of Central Asia", adjoining Sinkiang. The project connects the Soviet border and Kashgaz, where it joins the newly built Chinese road to Tibet, which cuts across the Akasi-chin area in Ladakh (Indian territory). It is well to recall at this stage Lenin's remarks that the road to revolution in London and Paris lay through Calcutta and Shanghai. And in November 1918 Stalin made the following appeal to the Moslem communities in Moscow: "No one can erect a bridge between the East and West as quickly and as easily as you can. This is because a door is open for you to Persia, India, Afghanistan and China". The next

logical step was to effect a link between the Buddhist Kalmucks of the Russian empire and the Asian Buddhists to facilitate the subversion of Tibet. This problem however was neatly solved by transforming the state of Tibet into the Tibet region of Red China. While an analysis of the geopolitical nature of this Sino-Soviet controversy is beyond the scope of this article it is clear that Lenin's ideological concept of the road to revolution is rapidly becoming a macadamized reality through a phased programme of Sino-Soviet strategy as a result of the creation of air-bases in Tibet, improvement of internal communications in Soviet Central Asia and the construction of strategic roads towards Afghanistan.

"India" observed Lord Curzon, "is like a fortress with the vast moat of the sea on two of her faces, and with mountains for her walls on the remainder; but beyond these walls which are sometimes of by no means, insuperable height and admit of being easily penetrated, extends a glacier of varying breadth and dimension." And this far-sighted statesman rightly stressed that "he would be a short-sighted commander who merely manned his ramparts in India and did not look beyond." Indeed, the "Pakthoonistan problem" and the recent Chinese essay in Himalayan aggression must be viewed in their proper geopolitical context. And viewed in this perspective, it is clear that the Indian insouciance concerning the Pakthoonistan problem and Pakistan's recent overtures to Communist China in regard to Kashmir, reflect a lamentable lack of awareness of the strategic implications of preserving the security of the northern littoral of the Indian Ocean. It is well to recall that Prime Minister Nehru told the Indian Parliament on September 12, 1959, that China's claim "involved the fundamental change in India, the Himalayas being handed as a gift". And he added that "this was an extraordinary claim and whether India existed or not this could not be done." Indeed it would be necessary for countries like Pakistan, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan to have frequent consultations to evolve a scheme of mutual security in safeguarding



the geopolitical safety of the entire sub-continent. And the defence of the Himalayan frontiers of the sub-continent can be

adequately maintained only by an amphictyony of free nations in non-Communist Asia.

*Dr. Ctibor Edmund Pokorný*

## **Our Attitude towards the Right of Self-Determination of Nations**

When we speak about the political ideas of ABN, we sometimes hear the question raised: what attitude does ABN take towards the right of self-determination of nations? Is ABN for it? If it is, why does ABN demand independence not self-determination for the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism?

The principle of national self-determination is a pre-condition of democracy in international relations. This principle therefore also belongs to the most important ideological principles of ABN. The political conception of ABN is a logical consequence of the principle of national self-determination.

Today almost every regime and almost every politician recognizes — in theory — the right of self-determination of nations, even those who daily violate this right. Even the Russian Bolshevik rulers hypocritically confess their belief in the right of self-determination of nations. They demand its realization everywhere where it seems — from the point of view of Russian imperialism and Bolshevism — to fulfil a purpose. In their own sphere of power, however, they ignore or falsify this right.

When the Bolshevik Party took over power in Russia in 1917, it recognized for tactical reasons the right to self-determination of the nations of the Russian empire, to the point of secession. After the non-Russian peoples of the former tsarist empire had made use of this right and had declared their independence, Soviet Russia waged a war of conquest against the sovereign states of these nations. They were conquered one after the other by the Russian Red Army, and re-incorporated in various forms into the Russian empire. The Russian Bolshevik rulers have the insolence to represent the subjugation of these nations as *the realization of their right to self-determination!*

After the Russian Red Army had occupied a large number of countries in Central and Southeast Europe in the course of the Second World War and had forced “people’s democratic” governments, dependent on Moscow, upon them, this process was and is represented by Communist propaganda as the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples concerned!

This is how the right of self-determination of nations seems in practice in the Russian Bolshevik sphere of power.

The right to self-determination of the nations is, however, in concrete cases ignored, violated, falsified or questioned not only by the Russian Bolsheviks, but also by other imperialists and various opportunists. Therefore ABN is not content with the abstract formulation of the right to self-determination of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, but gives this right a concrete form.

Giving a concrete form to the right to self-determination of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia means the demanding of the re-establishment of the independence of individual states. These peoples have already made use of their right to self-determination by declaring their independence and establishing their own sovereign states. They have never given up their own independence and freedom. On the contrary, as far as is possible, they have and are resisting in various ways the foreign rule and the Communist system forced on them. In the case of these nations, therefore, self-determination means independence.

ABN is for the right to self-determination of all nations. It demands, however, independence for no nation that does not want to be independent, since that would be against the right to self-determination of the nation concerned. ABN advocates

the independence of only such nations which had possessed their own independent states before Russia occupied them, and which also later did not voluntarily renounce their independence.

Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were independent states directly before the Russian Bolshevik occupation. Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria were also independent states, immediately before they were occupied by Soviet Russia during the Second World War. The Poles and the Czechs also had their independent states, before they were occupied by the Russian Red Army, at least not immediately before but earlier. Directly before the Russian occupation they were under German occupation. These subjugated peoples are not prepared to give up their right to possess their own independent state. ABN therefore advocates the independence of all these peoples.

ABN is of course not against several nations forming common states, if they want to. It is therefore also in favour of the re-establishment of the independent states of Siberia and North Caucasus. These multi-national states were founded after the collapse of the tsarist empire by their populations, without foreign inter-

vention. They were later reconquered and re-annexed by the Russians.

ABN, is, however, against artificial formations which were forced on the peoples concerned by the intervention of foreign powers, since their existence is in opposition to the right to self-determination of the people. ABN is therefore also in favour of the dissolution of the Czecho-Slovak and the Yugoslav formations into independent states of the local peoples. These formations were restored by force in the course of the Second World War by the Russian Red Army — against the will of the Slovak and the Croatian peoples.

In that ABN is striving for the elimination of all Communist dictatorships, it advocates self-government of the nations. ABN adopts the viewpoint that the nations have the right not only to independent states, but also to decide freely the system of government and social order in their states.

The political aims of ABN are logical consequences of the principles of the self-determination and self-government of nations. These aims are in accordance not only with the efforts of the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism, but also with the social progress of mankind.



*Ukrainian students  
demonstrating for  
the release of  
Valentyn Moroz.  
Bonn, West Germany,  
February 20, 1971.*



## Russian Concentration Camps Today

(Conclusion)

### *A Famous Man Is Brought to Prison*

When I came back to Camp No. 11 from the hospital, I had only eight months to work off. The No. 1 topic of conversation was now the public trial against Andrei Sinyavsky, of Ukrainian, and Yuli Daniel, of Jewish origin, whose satires had been smuggled out of Russia and published abroad under a pseudonym. When the first reports appeared, almost everyone in the camp was of the opinion that these two must be "swine". They had been charged according to article 70 of the Russian penal code, which punished "the publication of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" abroad. A public political trial according to this article? There had never been one. So we expected Sinyavsky and Daniel would play obediently agreed roles and publicly confess that they had acted on orders from the West and sold themselves for money. We didn't know that the whole world was speaking about the two arrests and that for this reason the government couldn't keep the matter secret.

But now the trial was over and the accused had not confessed and asked for mercy, but defended themselves and insisted on freedom of speech. We found they were brave fellows, and we would certainly be able to discuss the case with them, for we were convinced that they would soon come to the Mordovian camp. As experts we even forecast what they would get: Sinyavski seven, Daniel five.

It turned out that the two had been separated, but Daniel came to our camp. I met him on the first day. He seemed about between thirty-five and forty and had obviously prepared himself for camp life, for he was wearing a quilted jacket, warm boots and a rust-coloured fur hat with ear-flaps. (Naturally he had to hand in these things.)

When we were speaking together, Daniel

turned his right ear to me and asked me to speak louder. I turned my right ear to him and cupped my ear. We discovered to our pleasure that we were a pair of "twins", both hard of hearing.

His trial was only seemingly public. The public consisted mostly of KGB men. "My friends would have certainly come", Daniel said, "if they had been let in."

Daniel had broken his arm in the war on the front, but it had not been properly set. Nevertheless the administration gave him the heaviest work in the camp: lifting heavy beams and shovelling coal. They wanted to make him look small and force him to ask for lighter work.

In the first days not all by any means were well-disposed to Daniel. Some gloated over his misfortune: "He should bend his back like us. We know how these writers are. They live a comfortable life and write about our 'paradise on earth'".

But after the first days this hostility disappeared. Daniel was a simple, natural person, whose fame had not gone to his head. He made every effort not to get behind the others with the unloading, although his shoulder was already hurting where the bones had been crushed. Nevertheless he didn't ask for light work. It wasn't long before the other prisoners began to help him. On night shifts we let him sleep and saw that the gang leader gave him easier work.

Soon afterwards our gang leader was called to the KGB. "Who is helping Daniel?" they asked.

"Everyone is helping him."

"Why? Can't he do his own work himself? He's shirking!"

One had the right answer: "What is the Communist rule? We have to help others. Everyone is a friend of the other, his comrade and brother."

The KGB men didn't contradict. They replaced Daniel in the machine-shop, ostensibly to make things easier for him. But

we knew better. It wasn't helpfulness. His popularity simply troubled these people. Everyone in the camp liked him. The Lithuanians invited him to their huts, when they sang folk-songs. The Ukrainians asked him to read his poems to them.

"I had heard all political prisoners had been released ten years ago" he said ironically to us one day. "Of course I knew of a Jew from Kyiv who because of his sympathy for Israel or some such things was locked up. The Ukrainians helped him. With Sinyavsky and me, I decided there would be three political prisoners, and we would probably be stuck with the criminals. But then I learnt there were thousands of political prisoners. They fooled us beautifully." Everyone laughed.

In June 1966 he got fifteen days of solitary confinement for not filling his quota and for pretending illness. There was a loose piece of bone in his arm, and the old wound was infected. But the doctor refused to certify him unfit for work, and when one morning Yuli Daniel didn't appear, he went into solitary confinement.

He did fifteen days, but the following day got another ten and then ten more, without any reason, simply out of bullying. Up to my release he was constantly treated unfairly. When his wife came, he could only see her for a short time. He wasn't allowed even to keep the cigarettes she had brought for him.

But he never complained, never asked for anything and stood up for his fellow-prisoners. We were proud that Yuli Daniel was made of material that couldn't bend even lightly.

#### *All of One Opinion*

Two or three months before my release I was fetched to a meeting with three people: a KGB officer, the Director of General Organization and my group commander, Captain Usov.

"Marchenko", they said to me, "you will have to behave respectably after your release. Life in freedom isn't the same as here in the camp, where everyone has his own opinion."

"Comrade Director", I replied, "times have changed. Even Communists are not agreed."

"No slander! All Communists are of one opinion!"

"Really? What about the Chinese and the Albanians?"

"In every family there are black sheep" he replied.

"Marchenko" said the KGB officer "with such ideas you'll soon be back here."

"I know that" I said. "In other countries there are legal opposition parties, even Communist ones, whose aim is to change the prevailing system. They are not sentenced for treason. But I, a simple worker, not a member of any party, have spent six years behind barbed wire and now you are threatening me with more because I have my own opinion."

"Other countries have their laws. We have ours. You prisoners are always quoting America to us. If there is freedom there, why do the Negroes rebel? Why do the American workers strike?"

"But Lenin himself said, strikes and the struggle of the Negroes in the USA are signs of freedom and democracy."

Now my "educators" flew at me: "Insolence to slander Lenin like that! Where did you get those lies?"

Luckily I have read a lot — I knew the place by heart, word for word. I repeated it and named the volume of Lenin's writings. The director went at once into his office and brought a volume of the last edition of Lenin's works and threw it on the table. Whilst I was turning through, all three waited like hounds before game at bay. Lenin couldn't possibly have said such a thing. Besides they couldn't believe that I, an uneducated chap, had read Lenin. I gave them the opened book, and the director read the sentence aloud. The KGB officer said: "Give it to me!" All three began to turn over the pages and looked for a refutation or an explanation of what Lenin had written. When they couldn't find anything, the officer said without a trace of embarrassment: "Marchenko, you



interpret Lenin according to your own convictions and in your own manner. That is not right. You will certainly not stay free."

When Soviet people outside hear of such debates, they will certainly say: "Damn it! — the people in the camp have more freedom than we do! Even in our own house we would stop ourselves saying what Marchenko said to the camp bosses. And when he said it, he could go! We would be arrested on the spot here!"

If I had said anything in the hut, informers would have passed it on, and I could have possibly got a special punishment for "propaganda among prisoners." But the camp direction is obliged to convince the prisoners — and if they can't succeed, it's their own fault, isn't it? If I had admittedly been the only one ready to show fight in the camp, they would have perhaps still sent me to Vladimir, but I wasn't the only one. The young people in the camp are all the same, and especially the Ukrainians — and the camps are becoming constantly "younger".

### *Freedom*

Shortly before my release I got a further fifteen days of solitary confinement, since I was ill and refused to work. When I came back to the camp, I was so weak I stumbled about like a drunkard. But there were only seventeen days left to the end of my sentence. I went to work, dragged timber and shovelled coal. It was true I still had attacks of giddiness, but I wanted to spend the last days with my friends.

We spent every free minute together. Our conversation had only one subject: Where was I to go, how was I to arrange my life in freedom? According to the current regulations on residence I wasn't allowed to live in Moscow or Leningrad and not in a sport or a frontier area. There were also several other areas which were closed to me as a former political prisoner. Because of my bad hearing it was impossible for me to take up my old job as a drilling machine operator. I would probably become a transport worker.

On the day of my release I handed in all camp property. Early next morning my friends and acquaintances came to say goodbye. They gave me the addresses of their families and asked me to visit them and to give them greetings, if I had opportunity to do so. But above all they asked me not to forget those who were still in the Mordovian camps or in Vladimir.

Daniel gave me a book. On the flyleaf he wrote in verses: "On the whole it wasn't so bad. You lost your hearing and instead your eyes have been opened. Be proud of it. Not everyone with sight can see."

About ten of my best friends accompanied me to the administrative building. Here we embraced each other and said farewell again. I cannot describe what I felt. All joy was taken away and there was a lump in my throat. I was afraid I would begin to cry.

"Hurry up, Anatol, hurry up, or you'll miss the train."

Immediately afterwards I went through the strip of no man's land, now separated from my friends by the barbed wire. I waved to them again and entered the administrative building. The door fell behind me into the lock. Now I was awaited by a completely different farewell. I was taken into the office.

"Undress! Bend! Arms forward!"

After I had had my body searched, it was clothes' turn — every seam of my shirt, my underclothes, everything. Then my little case. A guard opened the book. He discovered at once Daniel's dedication and showed it to a KGB officer. He took the book into his hand and went out.

Shortly after Major Postnikov, the Russian KGB boss of the Mordovian area, came into the room. He read the dedication and said: "Cut it out! the whole page! Fill in a form!" I asked him what was so terrible about this dedication.

"Daniel is spreading his views in it again."

"But what is so rebellious about these views?" I asked. Postnikov gave me no answer.

At last the Major took me to the exit. We went through several gates at each of which the Major showed some papers. The gates were locked behind us. One last gate and then — I was outside in the street.

When I came out, a group of women prisoners were being taken by the administrative buildings. I heard the rough call of the armed guards. The women were wearing heavy work boots and walked slowly, dragging their feet. Their faces were yellowish-grey. I looked at them closely and thought, perhaps I brought one of them on a stretcher into the hospital. But I didn't recognize any. In this column one looked like all the others. Just prisoners, nothing else.

The line went past. I breathed in deeply. Even if it was only the air of Mordovia, it was free air. Large flakes of snow began to fall and melted immediately on my clothes. It was early in the afternoon of November 2, 1966 — five days before the 49th anniversary of the founding of the Communist regime. I will always remember how the Ukrainians fought and suffered for their independence.

\* \* \*

Marchenko settled down in Aleksandrov, a town a hundred kilometers northeast of Moscow. Here he wrote his book. For eighteen months he lived relatively undisturbed.

He wrote several letters to the Russian officials and protested against the living conditions in the camps. His manuscript on the work camps and life in prison was of course never published in Russia, but copies of it were circulated secretly.

A month before the Russian advance into Czecho-Slovakia, on July 22, 1968, Marchenko sent a two-thousand-word-long letter to three Czecho-Slovak newspapers, to the Communist newspapers in England, France and Italy and to the English radio (BBC). In this letter he condemned the Russian attempt to suppress the liberal reforms in Czecho-Slovakia.

A week later Marchenko was arrested on a journey to Moscow. His trial was to have taken place in the middle of August and he was sentenced to a year's forced labour in the same camps which he had described so graphically.

In the foreword to his book Marchenko reported that his group commander, Captain Usov, once said to him: "Marchenko, you are never satisfied. You always only want to run away. What have you done to improve conditions?"

"If I now stand before Captain Usov again in prison", continued Marchenko, "after I have written it all down", I will say to him: "I have done everything in my power. I am here again. And I think again and again of the Ukrainians who are fighting and dying for their national independence!"



*Left: Members of the Byelorussian delegation to the ABN Conference in Brussels, Col. D Kosmowicz (left) and Mr. J. Bunchuk (right).*

*Right: Members of the German delegation to the EFC Conference in Brussels, Prof. Dr. Dr. Th. Oberländer (center) and Parliamentarian C. Riedel (right).*



# News And Views

## Freedom's Explosion in Poland

For centuries the people of Europe have looked with fear to the East and, too often, they have seen one or more of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse — death, famine, pestilence and war.

Poland, that sad and troubled land, once again is a victim.

*Driven to exasperation* by massive government price increases on food, clothing and fuel, the Polish people revolted.

News dispatches use the word "rioted" which somehow has a softer connotation but, make no mistake, Poland once again has tasted rebellion.

Poles attacked Communist and militia headquarters, stoned police and firemen, burned and looted shops and, according to one report, exploded a bomb at the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw.

Workers who were the sparks in Eastern Europe's rebellions of the 1950s have once again gone on strike.

The Gomulka regime clamped down hard using the militia and the army supported by tanks. There were many bloody clashes. Of course, Warsaw calls the rioters "hoodlums".

*That is nonsense!* They are no more "hoodlums" than the workers who revolted in Poznan in 1956. Or, the students, workers and intellectuals who spearheaded similar revolts in East Berlin, Hungary and in Czecho-Slovakia. They are oppressed people clamouring for their rights.

The raise in prices ignited this pre-Christmas fire, but the embers have been smoldering for years. Since June of 1956 when the workers of Poznan revolted in protest against ruthlessly enforced Stalinism, Poland was an ill-disguised Russian fief. The country was under Russian military occupation.

The commander-in-chief and minister of defense was a Soviet citizen, Marshal Kon-

stantin Rokossovsky.

The chants have not changed:

*"We want freedom . . . down with Soviet occupation . . . we want bread."*

The 1956 upheaval bore some fruit. Gomulka took power, a "Polish spring" of liberalizations ensued. Jakub Berman, architect of Stalinization and a well-known Kremlin stooge had to resign from the deputy premiership and the Politburo. Rokossovsky was ordered back to the USSR.

Land which had been collectivized partially was restored to private owners. Writers and intellectuals were permitted some freedom. As a result, the United States granted Poland its "most preferred-nation" trade status and considerable amount of help in money and food.

But, now the Poles have exploded again. It was bound to happen. Deeply religious and imbued with an unquenchable national feeling, the Poles have harbored utter contempt for the Russian-imposed regime in Warsaw. Gomulka secured some crumbs from Moscow, but basic political and civil liberties have been missing.

*What the new outbreaks tell us is that Communism, despite ruthless enforcement, has not taken root in Poland.*

The "volcano" that Gomulka has seen exists in everyone of the Russian satellites in Eastern Europe, as well as in many of the non-Russian republics of the USSR.

This time there is no hope of American intervention and the Communists undoubtedly will prevail. But, how long can the Soviet rulers sit on the "volcano"?

*"Nationalism is the strongest force in the world. It managed to split the Roman Catholic Church; it overtook the Roman Empire and the empire of Alexander the Great.*

*"Today, it is overtaking the Communist empire."*

*Dumitru Danielopol*

## What Inspires the Youth of Ukraine

Below we are publishing expressions and quotations which reflect the viewpoint and the political attitude of the young people of Ukraine who grew up in Bolshevik reality. These expressions and quotations stem from various localities, and reveal the views of the young people who today still suffer enemy outrage, but who tomorrow can take the road of active struggle.

For the youth of Ukraine, the Ukr.SSR is only a cover used by the occupation forces, "a trademark of Ukraine", while the Russians are strangers, occupants who have to be gotten rid of as soon as possible. For them the Bandera followers are a synonym for independent Ukraine.

"We are here in our native land, — they say, but it has not made us very happy. The Ukr.SSR is only a stamp of Ukraine, for all government posts, all better jobs, all nice apartments are reserved for the Russians, for the party members. And you are told at every step that you (that is we) Bandera followers are nationalists (for we do not speak Russian). That's called freedom. We, who are living in our own country, in Ukraine, and are speaking Ukrainian are called nationalists, while they (the Russians) who have come here, are a superior race . . . Of course, we have always lived in our own house, but we have been treated there as a disliked daughter-in-law, who can never please anyone, who never has a say in her own house, to whom nobody listens and whom nobody loves. As long as the history of Ukraine exists, a struggle is being waged for her, for her riches . . . We have not been born cruel. We trusted people (the Russians) and there were not enough people who would have loved Ukraine to such an extent that for her sake, for the sake of her freedom, they would have been ready to make any sacrifice."

"We know that it is not easy for you to imagine what our life is like, but believe us, Ukraine exists, the Ukrainian nation exists, there is Shevchenko, Franko, and there are beautiful Ukrainian songs, culture, historical monuments. The Ukrainian people are hard-working and sincere, although

perhaps unhappy. And do not believe those who say that there is no Ukrainian nation, for it exists and will continue to exist until the end of the world."

"This year (1970) there was no Christmas tree in the center of the city (Lviv) for the occupants said that Bandera followers were singing carols last year and making anti-Soviet proclamations. It is true that many people, in particular students, had gathered and sang carols by the Christmas tree, while the militia were dispersing them. For this reason no Christmas tree was put up this year. We had to work on Christmas, but on Christmas Eve we got together and sat around singing carols and remembered those who have departed from us, who have not lived to see this day, and talked about better days, about the future of Ukraine. Of course we cannot hold such solemn celebrations as you abroad, but the people here are also celebrating, in particular in the villages, and are not discarding their traditions. Remember, that we also believe, although this is not completely possible."

"We are always anxious for our 'Dynamo' (the soccer team of Kyiv) not to lose while playing the Russians. They are nice boys and play very well . . . They should be congratulated for it. Although not very often, but still we are reminded that Ukraine has not died yet. And therefore you (abroad) must believe in our national unity, perhaps not always visible, even when not much hope remains . . ."

" . . . And no matter where you go — to Moscow or Leningrad, — when you say that you come from Lviv they will say that you are a Bandera follower. Oh, yes, this is an independent state. Bandera followers are identified with it everywhere . . ."

No comments are necessary to the above. Of course, this is only a small part of the material which could be used to show the spiritual and political attitude of the young generation in Ukraine, which not only knows the history and culture of the Ukrainian people, but sees and feels all the differences of social character between the owners of the Ukrainian land and the invaders from Russia.



## **A New Institution of Russian Imperialism**

On January 1, 1971, a new institution of Russian imperialism, the International Investment Bank, began its activities. The members of this bank are the USSR, CSSR, GDR (Russian-occupied zone of Germany), Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Mongolia, in other words, Soviet Russia and countries dominated by her. The founding of the International Investment Bank means a further encroachment upon the nevertheless only fictitious sovereignty of the satellite states and their exploitation by Russia.

The exploitation of the satellite states is already evident from the stipulation of their contribution to the initial capital. Together they must put up more money than the USSR, although the latter has more inhabitants and takes up more territory than all the satellites together. This contribution must be paid half in gold or US dollars.

The newly established bank can make decisions not only as to what industrial plants will be financed by it and in what amount, but also in what country and what kind of plants should be founded.

The International Investment Bank is not controlled by the individual states where its branches are operating and where their employees have diplomatic immunity. The bank's directors will be appointed by Russia.

Later this bank is also to introduce an "international socialist currency" in the whole Russian Bolshevik sphere of domination. There is no doubt that this currency will be the Russian ruble.

*Istropolitanus*

### **Expansionist Policies of Russia**

Nothing in the world changes less — or more slowly — than Russia. It was an absolute monarchy under the black tsars, supported by the army and secret police, expanding over Europe and Asia with armed force, dreaming of the Mediterranean; an absolute monarchy, supported by the army and secret police, expanding over Europe and Asia with armed force, dream-

ing of the Mediterranean it remains under the red tsars.

The orthodox beliefs have changed. The nature and course of policy, both at home and abroad, have not changed at all.

Russia's tactics may be as dazzling as the case demands — her strategic aims remain unchanged: world domination as a power and world Communism as a party. No negotiator should forget this, — no kind of arrangement is possible with the Soviet Union, which does not approach one or the other, or both, of these aims.

It is part of the circumstances of world struggle that Russia undertakes nothing which could mean general peace. A general war is unacceptable to the Russians. If it were a nuclear war, the risk could be too high. If not nuclear, her awkward regime of violence would probably collapse, the satellite nations would rise as one man against her tyranny. But even a general peace would not be desired by the Soviet Union; this would deprive her of the red flag of revolution.

Salvador de Madariaga

### **Left Job in Protest Against the Appeasement Policy of Bonn**

The deputy chairman of the department 'Soviet Union' of the Foreign Ministry in Bonn, councillor Mrs. Renate Baerensprung, has left her job on November 15, 1970, in protest against the policy of appeasement of the present government of Germany towards Soviet Russia. The 46 year old councillor had, prior to her resignation, stated her anxiety about the development of the official foreign policy towards Moscow to Foreign Minister Scheel, on several occasions.

### **Ukrainians in Rumania Ask for Help**

Ukrainian families from the Marmaro region of Rumania wrote a letter to West Germany requesting help, in particular warm clothing and shoes. Ukrainian villages suffered greatly as the result of the floods. The letter was turned over to Dr. Yaroslav Ginilewicz, Head of the Ukrainian Medical and Charity Service, with headquarters at Munich, Dachauer Straße 9/II.

## Recent Documentation

*The Hon. Robert J. McCloskey  
The U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.*

*December 2, 1970*

*Dear Sir:*

*In the Oakland Tribune article about the defection attempt of a Lithuanian sailor you are named as the spokesman for the United States Department of State. Allegedly during this incident Soviet officers boarded a U.S. Coast Guard Cutter, named Vigilant, beat the Lithuanian sailor unconscious, while the American crew and officers followed orders and obediently watched the beating. Then the Americans assisted the Russians in carrying the Lithuanian off the Vigilant and the Coast Guard Cutter proceeded to escort the Soviet vessel out of the U.S. territorial waters. Do I have the facts straight?*

*This type of behavior hardly measures up to the image "AMERICA THE HOME OF THE FREE!" Let us not even mention bravery!*

*I hope that a thorough investigation will be made and the incompetent individuals responsible for the outcome of the incident demoted to less responsible positions where their ineptitude will not have so widely detrimental effect on the reputation of the United States of America as well as unfortunate HUMAN BEINGS who "due to higher considerations" are forced to live under the occupation of the Soviet Union.*

*The local radio station KCBS in San Francisco alluded to the defector as a Soviet sailor in today's broadcast. I hope that a statement is forthcoming from the United States Department of State on the incident and that it will include a clarification that the United States does not recognize the takeover of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by the Soviet Union and furthermore does not approve of references to the nationals of these countries as Soviet citizens. To call the unfortunate Lithuanian sailor a Soviet sailor would be to add insult to injury.*

*I believe if enough protest and publicity is created officially and unofficially in this country about the incident the Russians may refrain from killing the Lithuanian sailor and some of it will eventually filter into the occupied Baltic states. This would also undercut Soviet propaganda there that there is no way out of the Soviet prison. Even Americans will send you back if you try to defect.*

*The human rights of liberty, justice and pursuit of happiness which we Americans take for granted have been denied to the nationals of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania since the Second World War and present Russian rulers are pursuing a relentless Russification policy in these countries. It is not true, as the recent memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev seemingly show, that all is well in the Soviet Union after Joseph Stalin died. The Russians are continuously expanding their empire and are the largest colonial power at the present time, which I am sure you are well aware of. It then would be extremely cruel and inhuman to turn away a man who maybe planned his escape for years from a forcibly annexed country and dreamed of life among free men only to find that these "free men" do not practice what they preach, and seemingly condone the Russian treatment of the subjugated nations in their colonies.*

*It would be an understatement to call him the loneliest man on this planet Earth at the moment when the realization came to him that the seemingly outstretched helping hand was not there to pull him out of the abyss of despair but to push him back into it. And then the animals fell upon him and beat him and kicked him while he still could see and perceive the presence of his "free brethren". It sounds like a tale from the ancient Rome where Christians were fed to the animals in public for the enjoyment of the pagan crowd.*

*But yet, the man must have a name! Do we know the name of the lonely Lithuanian or was the Viligant's crew so anxious to hand him over to the Russians that they did not*



even ask him his name? Must we write him off as another unknown Christian devoured by the COMMUNIST ANIMAL?

Mr. McCloskey, I leave it up to you to answer these questions!  
Very truly yours,  
Arne Tonis Kint

Excellencies! Gentlemen!

In this anniversary year of the United Nations it is necessary to take a closer look at the greatest colonial empire of our times camouflaged as the "Soviet Union" or even the larger "socialist bloc of states".

The following truths, well documented in thousands of books already published, are the harsh realities "behind the iron curtain":

1) Dictatorial rulers in the Kremlin for over half century have been systematically and persistently destroying the freedom of all neighbouring nations. The so-called "union republics" formally and outwardly "independent and sovereign" are in reality fictitious "states" created by the conqueror to cover up the brutal annexation and destruction of truly independent governments of these nations.

2) The rule of TERROR instead of rule of Law, has been an integral part of Soviet system of government not only under Lenin and Stalin but also under Krushchev and Brezhnev. Liquidation of various social classes (for example farmers), mass deportations of whole ethnic entities, forced russification and cultural oppression (called "Soviet nationality policy"), religious persecutions, prisons, slave labor camps and finally mental institutions are the tools the Soviet government uses to eliminate and silence dissenters.

3) Unfriendly and strained relations between the U.S.S.R. and various Communist states including Soviet military interventions in Communist Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia prove without doubt that for the leaders of the Soviet Union "peace and justice" are empty words and "non-interference" is one-sided slogan.

4) Decolonization is by now largely over with the important exception of the Soviet Union which is holding in captivity scores of nations in the so-called "union republics" and "satellite states". While during the last two decades the old colonial powers granted full and unrestricted independence to almost 60 nations — in the U.S.S.R. mere discussion about the steps leading eventually to the realization of the constitutional right "to secede freely from the U.S.S.R. . ." / Art. 17 of the Soviet constitution / ended with the death sentence for one and 10—12 years of imprisonment for other Ukrainian lawyers (the case of Lev Lukianenko et al. of May—July, 1961).

5) On behalf of Ukrainian nation which cannot speak out freely since it is not represented at the United Nations by true representatives, we ask you kindly to introduce and support at the United Nations General Assembly the following

#### R E S O L U T I O N :

1) Continuation of the colonial rule in the U.S.S.R., where one centralized party dominated by the Russians is imposing non-representative governments and constitutions in the so-called "soviet socialist republics", violates the General Assembly Resolution of 14. December 1960 (Res.-No. 1514—XV) on the Granting of Independence . . .

2) Practical realization of "The right to secede freely from the U.S.S.R. . ." should be reviewed periodically by the General Assembly and appropriate measures should be taken to give the peoples of so-called "fifteen soviet republics" the opportunity to determine, under genuinely free conditions, the kind of government they want.

**THERE CAN BE NO DOUBLE STANDARD IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS;  
THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE MUST APPLY  
UNIVERSALLY !!!**

**Ukrainian Liberation Front**

## THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA COMMITTEE, INC.

Dear Fellow Americans:

*Ben Franklin said: "Either we hang together or we will hang separately."*

*Whether we like it or not, now we really are all in the same boat. No human being can escape the consequence of what happens anywhere in the world. Ultra-sonic communications and transportation have actually shrunk the world to a "nut-shell." Modern weapons are also ultra-sonic.*

*Protection by towering stone walls, big oceans or large armies has become obsolete. We are going to stand or fall, depending on our attitude to the most dangerous and treacherous menace to our civilization: Russian-Communist-imperialism.*

*It is not a question of whether we want to fight or not. We must fight. Or else, be prepared for extermination or serfdom.*

*Russia's Achilles' heel is her over-extended Captive Nations empire, whose One Billion people are desperate for the opportunity to destroy their oppressors. Russia can be defeated NOW without a nuclear war, or even a conventional war. In very few years it will be impossible. All that is needed NOW is to help the Captive Nations to fight their brutal tyrants*

*By its geographical situation, Cuba is not only the Russian Base posing the biggest danger to the United States, but also the Captive Nation offering the best opportunity to defeat Russia. One Captive Nation liberated from Russia will trigger the revolt of all Captive Nations. To that end our Committee is dedicated. It is our only chance to liquidate Russian-imperialist-Communism without risking a devastating nuclear war, or abject surrender.*

*Freedom, like God, is indivisible. The world cannot subsist half free and half slave. Inevitably one side will prevail.*

*May the Lord enlighten you,*

*Luis V. Manrara, President*

### **In Defense of V. Moroz and I. Kandyba**

The Executive Board of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) has entrusted the Human Rights Commission at the WCFU Secretariat to take the necessary steps in defense of V. Moroz and other Ukrainian prisoners.

On February 26, 1971 the Board sent materials dealing with Moroz's conviction to Princess Palevi, Chairman of the UN Human Rights Commission. At the same time the Board also raised the question of the protest letters to the UN by Ivan Kandyba, sentenced in 1961 to 15 years of imprisonment.

The Prosecutor of the Russian SFSR replied to the first protest by the three prisoners by saying that the protest was "unfounded" and that the accusations against the prison administration "are not true". I. Kandyba reported that after their protest they were transferred to another prison where the conditions are still worse and where the administration continues to poison their food.

Documentation in defense of the prisoners was prepared by the Human Rights Commission at the WCFU Secretariat which is headed by Canadian Senator Paul Yuzyk.



# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## Armenia

### Liberation Movement in Action

Frequent trials of freedom fighters, organized by the Russian occupation regime, are a proof of the existence of a liberation movement in Armenia.

In February 1969 a group of Armenian freedom fighters were secretly tried at Yerevan. The following were accused of "anti-Soviet", i. e. anti-imperial, activities: O. M. Vasilyan, born in 1939; A. U. Babayan, a teacher, born in 1915; S. P. Gyunashyan, construction engineer, born in 1939; S. Kh. Torosyan, driver, born in 1930; A. A. Antonyan, born in 1931; G. R. Ekimyan, born in 1936.

They were tried under Articles 65 and 67 of the Criminal Code of the Armenian SSR for slandering "Soviet reality", that is the Russian colonial regime, for denying the existence of the equality of nations in the USSR, and for distributing literature opposed to the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR government.

The accused wrote articles in which they urged that *Armenia be declared independent*. They distributed the pamphlet "It is impossible to keep still any longer" (!) and were preparing the publication, by underground methods of course, of the periodical *On Behalf of the Fatherland* in 343 copies.

The colonial court gave Vasilyan, Babayan, Ekimyan and Torosyan 6 years of "severe regime" in the Russian concentration camps, Antonyan — 5 years, Gyunashyan — 4 years, and Arushyanan — 18 months.

In February 1970 a trial of Armenian patriots was held again. This time five young boys were tried: P. A. Airikyan, b. in 1949, student at the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute; A. O. Ashikyan, b. in 1949, student; A. Ts. Navasardyan, b. in 1950, driver; R. S. Barsegov, b. in 1950, locksmith, brought up in the children's home;

A. Z. Khachatryan, b. in 1951, student at the Yerevan University.

The defendants were accused of violating Art. 65 and 67 of the CC Armenian SSR. The young Armenian patriots were accused of organizing in 1967 an illegal group "SHANT" after the name of the writer Levon Shant, whose purpose was to study the history of the Armenian people, to watch out for the purity of the Armenian language, to fight against Russification, and in general against assimilation and genocide of Armenia and for her unification (ASSR includes a greater part of East Armenia, while West Armenia is under Turkish rule).

P. A. Airikyan was allegedly the leader of the group. He was also accused of reading and distributing the paper *Paros* (Beacon) and the "Program and statutes of a united national party."

On April 24, 1969 the accused organized a radio broadcast near the memorial to the victims of the Armenian 1915 massacre. At their meetings they read articles on the fate of the Armenian people and on the Soviet nationality policy ("Not by daily bread alone", "Again at the altar of victims of Russo-Turkish diplomacy", "Ways to the solution of the Armenian question" and others). They distributed leaflets protesting against "Russian chauvinism" and demanding the reestablishment of an independent Armenian state. The young Armenian patriots clearly stated that their actions were motivated by national and patriotic convictions and therefore they do not consider themselves guilty before the Armenian people.

The imperial court sentenced Airikyan to 4 years of "severe regime", Barsegov and Khachatryan to 6 months in prison each, and acquitted the others.



## BOHEMIA

### Housing Shortage in Prague

In a radio discussion, the Mayor of Prague, Zuzka, said that for example 95,000 applications for apartments have been submitted, although in Prague only 5,500 to 6,000 housing units a year can be built. In the "present reality" (i. e. the Communist system — Ed.) the housing problem in Prague can be solved at the end of this century at the earliest, if at all.



## BYELORUSSIA

### Persecution of Christians Continues

In Ukraine and Byelorussia a sharp attack against Evangelists-Baptists is being carried out. The paper *Chyrvonaya Zmena* of Sept. 9, 1970, an organ of the Byelorussian Komsomol, carried a report on the trial of five activists of this sect. Those tried were *Volodymyr Byelousov*, *Ivan Shynkarenko*, *Semen Vladintsov*, *Yevsey Byelyayev* and *Ivan Petrenko*. The first three were sentenced to three years of hard labor, the other two to two years.

According to the paper, they were sentenced for spreading Christian ideas, for teaching religious poems and hymns and for reading underground religious literature such as "Evangelical family", "The herald of salvation", "From the lips of the lad".

*Pravda Ukrainy* of Sept. 17, 1970 reported that the publishing house "Donbas" in Donetsk published the pamphlet "Baptists-Dissenters" by H. H. Maksymiliyanov. The Baptists are accused of anti-patriotism and of serving "imperialism", etc. The above-mentioned group organized the publication of underground "Brotherly Newsletter". This mimeographed newsletter was distributed at one of the Kyiv subway stations by Borys Hladkevych from Kyshynev and Vira Shupurtyak and Nadiya Pasichnychenko from Kyiv. The pamphlet expresses fears that all religious acti-

vity is taking on the character of socio-political actions and thus becomes a threat to the totalitarian empire.

The paper *Sovetskaya Byelorussia* of Sept. 13, 1970 attacks the Roman Catholic priest, Father Cheslav Vylchynsky, the pastor of Braslavsk, for excessive activity and influence on the education of children in the spirit of religion.

### Closing of a Church

In the Byelorussian town Nova Ruda the occupation government decided to close the church and to make it into a granary. Pleas of the faithful to leave them the house of prayer were disregarded. When on July 26, 1970 the men left for work, the militia surrounded the church and loaded all church furniture on a truck. Since nobody paid attention to their pleas the women lay down across the road to prevent the plunder of the church. The truck driver refused to move although he received strict orders not to pay attention to the women wallowing in mud. A militiaman took the place of the driver and the truck left, but first the women were forcefully removed from the road. The church was then converted into a grain elevator.



## CROATIA

### Demonstration in Zagreb for the Independence of Croatia

The capital of Croatia, Zagreb, witnessed a demonstration for the independence of Croatia, during the ping-pong competition between Japan and Yugoslavia. Under the applause of the assembled public, the Croatian band had intoned the national anthem of the Independent Croatian State which was proclaimed on April 10, 1941, instead of having played, during the opening ceremonies, the national anthem of the Tito regime. Communist party and state officials were naturally very perturbed. The Communist newspaper *Vercernje Novosti* demanded the strongest possible punishment for the persons held responsible, who were stamped as Croatian nationalists.



## East Germany

### Border Police Reinforced with Dummies

In the Russian-occupied zone of Germany, dummy policemen have been placed along the border facing the free part of Germany. The dummies are intended to deceive and frighten the people who flee to the West from the "workers and peasants" paradise, for they could mistake them for real policemen. Evidently the Russians could not dispense with their Potemkin methods. Of course, the border between the Russian-occupied zone of Germany and the West will continue to be guarded by real policemen, alongside the dummies.

## Estonia

### Estonians to Prison Camp in Mordovia

The underground periodical, *Chronicle of Current Events* (published illegally by the so-called "Samizdat", i. e., mimeographed or typewritten and distributed by anonymous private individuals who risk heavy punishment if caught by the secret police), reports that the Soviet Estonian Supreme Court held a special session in Tartu, the university town, from June 9—15, 1970 and sentenced four men, arrested on Dec. 11th 1969 and charged with hiding weapons and attempting to form an underground resistance organization. Those sentenced were:

Paava Lepp, born 1947, laboratory worker at Tartu University, five years;

Andres Võsu, born 1946, taxi driver in Tartu, three years six months;

Enn Paulus, born 1947, locksmith at the Tartu car repair workshop, two years six months;

Sven Tamm, born 1940, occupation unknown, three years suspended sentence.

The sentenced were sent to a prison camp in Mordovia according to the report of *Chronicle*.

Our private source confirms the report and adds that last August several people also were arrested in Tallinn for their anti-Soviet attitude.

### Shortage of Household Goods

The Komsomol organ of occupied Estonia, *Noorthe Hääl*, declared:

*"Every day brings joyful tidings from the labour front . . . The industry of our republic fulfilled the ten month plan of the most important commodities before the date set."* (Noorte Hääl, Oct. 27, 1970).

A few days later the Russian-language newspaper in Tallinn, *Sovietskaya Estonia*, criticised sharply the Estonian industry for its unsatisfactory fulfilment of the production plan for household goods. Teapots and coffee pots, saucepans, frying-pans, enamelled and aluminium utensils, even glassware including simple drinking glasses, are in short supply. If one asks for such goods in shops, one is told they are not available. Nor is it known when they will be available, the newspaper reports.

The goods distribution centre told *Sovietskaya Estonia* on enquiry that the enterprises manufacturing household goods do not supply the planned quantities to the trade network. This year the "Vasar" ("Hammer") factory which manufactures such goods, "owes" 39,535 enamelled utensils, more than 12,000 teapots and coffee pots and more than 30,000 aluminium utensils. The factory producing glass utensils, "Tarbeklaas" ("Utility Glass"), failed to deliver 26,000 drinking glasses to the trade network. This year the network has received only 10,000 kitchen knives and this thanks to pressure put on the manufacturers, the Russian-language newspaper reports.

It also points out that a number of factories, such as the Tallinn Machine-Building Factory and "Volta", the electrical motors factory, whose plans provide for a small percentage of household goods, such as electric cookers, electric radiators for an auxiliary heating installation in homes, etc., ignore that part of their plan and manufacture instead more expensive products, such as sauna stoves for export, which are more profitable considering the overall financial plan of the enterprise.



## LATVIA

### Patriotic Demonstration

According to *Chronicle* a patriotic demonstration had been carried out in Riga at the grave of the first President of independent Latvia, Janis Čakste. Red and white candles (Latvian national colours) were lit on the grave while a large group, mostly young people, surrounded it. Ten of them were arrested but later released.

## North Caucasus

### Kabardinian Student against Denationalization in the USSR

A. Unezhiv, a fourth semester student at the Moscow University, who lives permanently in Nalchik, wrote a letter to the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in which he urges that all encouragement of international marriages in the USSR be stopped, for such marriages lead to the annihilation of smaller nations. He also urges that after completing their service in the Soviet Army the young people be allowed to return to their native land and their own people, instead of being forced, under various pretexts, to stay in other republics of the USSR. The paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of January 6, 1971 almost accused the young Kabardinian of "nationalism" for his love to his small Caucasian nation.

"With all my internationalism, I still do not understand why here we are encouraged to contract international marriages —, writes A. Unezhiv. Of course, there is no sense in forbidding them, but what good will come of it when a Chechen or a Kabardinian will marry a Russian woman? What nationality will their children be? Who finds it convenient to praise such people in newspapers? If it were up to me, I would advise all those who contracted mixed marriages to get a divorce." The Russian newspaper scornfully calls the author of the letter a "patriot" and replies: "What nationality will the children be — this question will be decided by the children themselves."

The paper published another excerpt from the bold letter: "After demobilization members of small nations settle far from their native land and, after getting married, forget their native language, culture, parents — what is good in this? Who was it that said that this is the way the merging of nations is to take place? I am above all a Kabardinian, and with my whole being I am interested in the development of the language, the culture and the numerical increase of my own people."

The newspaper admonishes that "Lenin expressed a wish that representatives of peoples of the USSR should speak Russian" and that "scientists predict that the number of peoples is going to decrease: scientists feel that the time is ripe for even greater national formations." As proof of such "Marxist teaching" — in reality of the Russian policy of denationalization of peoples in the USSR, the paper gives the following example: "In 1926, 196 names of nationalities were segregated in our country, while in 1959 — only 109. Statistics has established that 87 small national groups have consolidated with others near in language, culture and territory, as Nahaibaiks, Kshyashens, Mayshars — with the Tatars, Mengrels, Svans — with Georgians. A historical and inevitable process of internationalization is taking place, and therefore one should not see 'evil' in nationally mixed marriages." Anyone opposing such marriages in the Soviet Union, in fact "wants to oppose the ideology, the cultural exchange, common to all peoples of the USSR." The newspaper mentions that allegedly thanks to the Russian language Tatars, Georgians, Ukrainians, Kabardinians and other peoples "are familiarizing themselves with world literature", by reading translations from world literature into Russian.

The editors of the Russian newspaper admitted that student A. Unezhiv stated in his letter that should the paper fail to publish his letter he would consider this "a stand against his national sentiments."





## SLOVAKIA

### Conference of the Clergy in Bratislava

Upon the wishes of the Communist government a conference of Catholic clergymen from all dioceses of Slovakia was held in Bratislava. The conference was also attended by the Minister of Culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic Miroslav Valek. The problems of "world peace" and "the friendship of people" were discussed. At the end of the conference all participants were forced to send a memorandum to the Prime Minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic in which they expressed their support for the government's efforts at "consolidation". Most probably this was the only purpose for which the conference had been called.



## UKRAINE

### Underground Reports

As has been reported, the second issue of the underground periodical *Ukrainskyi visnyk* (The Ukrainian Herald) is circulating throughout Ukraine. One of the most important documents in this issue is an article entitled "On the KGB Self-publication", which points out how KGB agents are attempting to falsify underground publications and are engaging in various provocations in order to compromise the resistance movement in Ukraine and the authors of some underground materials and documents.

The current issue of *Ukrainskyi visnyk* contains the following items:

- 1) The tasks of the *Ukrainskyi visnyk*;
- 2) "The trial in Dnipropetrovsk" (data on the trial of I. Sokulskyi, M. Kulchynskyi and V. Savchenko);
- 3) Mykola Klakhotnyuk — "The truth is on our side" (an answer to slanderers);
- 4) Ivan Sokulskyi — selected poems;
- 5) Mykola Kulchynskyi — selected poems;
- 6) Agandyan — "The present state of Soviet economy";

- 7) The letter by 64 Kyiv residents;
- 8) The trial of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi (April 14-24, 1970) in the Vladimir prison;
- 9) S. Karavanskyi's petition of March 19, 1967;
- 10) The letter of the imprisoned Stepan Bedrylo;
- 11) The arrests and trials in Kharkiv;
- 12) The last word of Vladyslav Nedobora at this trial on March 10, 1970;
- 13) Other arrests, trials, inquiries and searches;
- 14) Valentyn Moroz's statement of May 2, 1970;
- 15) V. Ivanyshyn's statement of May 1, 1970;
- 16) Persecution for convictions. Ukrainophobia. Miscellaneous;
- 17) Around I. Dzyuba's work "Internationalism or Russification?";
- 18) In the world of literature and art;
- 19) The survey of Ukrainian "Self-publication";
- 20) On the KGB "Self-publication";
- 21) Ukrainian political prisoners in prisons and concentration camps;
- 22) Through the eyes of foreigners.

In line with information provided in the second issue of *Ukrainskyi visnyk*, the prominent Ukrainian writer and translator Svyatoslav Karavanskyi was tried in the Vladimir prison from April 14th to the 24th, 1970 with recesses of several days. S. Karavanskyi was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment, of which 5 are to be spent in prison and the remainder in the camps with severe regime. To this are added the years which S. Karavanskyi did not complete from his previous 25-year term, but so that the total does not exceed 10 years. In other words S. Karavanskyi is to serve another 10 years.

In Kyiv a group of students were arrested who allegedly copied and circulated the second issue of *Ukrainskyi visnyk*. Their case was linked to the case of young workers, arrested in Lviv, who in the spring of 1970 allegedly stole type and some typewriters from several state-owned printing shops.

*Vilna Ukraina* (Free Ukraine) of July 1970 in an article by some M. Byelinsky

in the section "On the subject of morality" published a report from the trial of the brothers Mykola and Valentyn Krezhevskyi, of whom one, wearing a militia uniform, was to have entered the printing shop of the Lviv Commerce and Economics Institute and with the help of his brother taken 22 kilograms of type and printing sets. Byelinsky provocatively describes Mykola Krezhevskyi's past, accusing him of listening to foreign radio broadcasts, openly praising life in the free world and since he was an avowed Christian, of wearing a Crucifix around his neck. Mykola Krezhevskyi was allegedly in possession of two passports: one issued in the Bukhara oblast and another in Lviv. He worked as an engineer in the Ukrainian Geologic Scientific Research Institute, after finishing the Drohobych oil technical school.

M. Krezhevskyi and his brother were punished very severely by the court. The former received 15 years in prison and concentration camps, the latter 10 years.

#### **Ukrainians in Russian Captivity**

The French periodical *Rencontre internationale* for January-February, 1971 published a list of Ukrainians prisoners who were deported by the Russian imperialists to their extermination camps in Mordovia. This list was received by the Society to Aid Political Prisoners in Paris. The enumerated Ukrainians are all members of the Ukrainian National Front, an underground organization active in Ukraine in the 1960s.

*Zynoviy Krasovskiy*, born in 1928, writer and pedagogue, with university education, married, two children, 15 years in a concentration camp.

*Dmytro Kvetsko*, born in 1937, secondary school teacher, with higher education, married, one child, 6 years in a concentration camp.

*Hryhoriy Prokopovych*, born in 1928, secondary school teacher, married, one child, 6 years in a concentration camp.

*Ivan Hubka*, born in 1939, economist, with higher education, 6 years of concentration camp.

*Yaroslav Melyn*, born in 1929, instructor at a sanatorium, with higher education,

married, 6 years of concentration camp.

*Yaroslav Lesiv*, born in 1945, secondary school teacher in the Kirovograd oblast, unmarried, 6 years of concentration camp.

*Vasyl Kulynyn*, born in 1943, turner in Stryi, with secondary education, single, 6 years of concentration camp.

*Mykhailo Dyak*, born in 1939, secondary legal education, militia delegate in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, married, two children, 12 years of concentration camp.

*Mykola Tarnovskiy*, born in 1940, secondary school teacher in Moldavia, 7 years of concentration camp.

*Valentyn Karpenko*, born in 1938, worker in Kyiv, sentenced to 18 months in 1967.

*Vasyl Kondryukov*, worker from Kyiv, received 3 years of concentration camp in 1967.

*Mykola Mykolayenko*, born in 1932, from the Chernihiv region, brick-layer, married, 5 years of concentration camp.

*Roman Hryn*, born in 1946 in Lviv, sentenced in Uzhhorod to 3 years in a concentration camp.

*Mykola Kots*, born in 1930 in Volhynia, teacher in an agricultural school in Ternopil, in 1967 sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of concentration camp.

*Oleksander Nazarenko*, born in 1930, student at the Kyiv University, 3 years of concentration camp.

*Rev. Danylo Bakhtalovskiy*, abbot of a monastery in Ivano-Frankivsk, born in 1897, received 3 years of concentration camp in 1968.

*Volodymyr Vasylyuk*, born in 1925, smith on a collective farm in the Tysmenytsya district of the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, 5 years of concentration camp and 6 years in prison.

The list also includes names of political prisoners of other nationalities, in particular Armenians and Balts.

It mentions that officially there are 202 concentration camps in the Soviet Union, but experts believe that their number is as high as 1,000, in which probably millions of prisoners are incarcerated. Besides, just as many political prisoners are held in prisons and insane asylums.



## Upheaval in Poland

*The riots against the Gomulka regime in Poland brought swift changes in the leadership of the Polish Communist Party. The riots were but one more proof, if more were needed, that the smouldering resentment of the people in the countries enslaved by Russian Communism is always present under the surface.*

*This resentment can break out at any time into large-scale riots and open revolts.*

*The fact that the first institutions attacked by the workers were the headquarters of the Communist Party in Gdansk and Szczecin shows that the masses understand the source of the repression under which they suffer.*

*So the replacement of Gomulka with Gierek is unlikely to deceive the Polish people for long.*

*And the situation in Poland is not unique. All the nations held captive in the Russian Communist empire are brimming with hate for the repressive regimes under which they live. They are kept in check only by the ever-present threat of brutal terror and inhuman reprisals.*

*Basic human rights, so long denied the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, are now being demanded with ever-increasing force. And Moscow's reply to these demands is tougher neo-Stalinist policies — intensified by Brezhnev — and which guarantee that the captive nations will have no other choice but revolution.*

*The West has given moral support to the demand by Soviet Jews for basic human rights. The peoples of the captive nations — Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, the Czech and Slovak peoples, and many others demand no less.*

*On the 54th anniversary of the year in which many of these peoples gained their freedom and independence from a former colonial empire — some for two or three years, others for twenty years — they claim that their voice should be heard.*

*Individual and national liberty is the right of every man and every nation.*

*Statement by Executive Committee*

**British League for European Freedom**

### Joint WACL/APACL Executive Board Meeting March 19–20, 1971, Manila, Philippines



*Sitting from left to right: Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez (Philippines), Secretary General of WACL; Mr. Osami Kuboki (Japan), Chairman of WACL, Mr. Do Dang Cong (Vietnam), Secretary General of APACL; Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), representing Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko of ABN; Sen. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (Turkey).*



1,500 Ukrainian students protest Valentyn Moroz's imprisonment in front of the Russian Embassy in Ottawa, January 30, 1971.



**Russians Get Out of Ukraine  
and Other Colonies!**



# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## Freedom for V. Moroz



3,000 Ukrainian demonstrators, mostly young people, protesting against a 14-year sentence meted out to Valentyn Moroz by the Russian occupation regime. London, May 22, 1971.

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## **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

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## In Defense of Valentyn Moroz!

Once again Moscow has shown its claws and the teeth of a beast of prey, its cruel Leninist mask. Valentyn Moroz has become its newest victim. Although he was not a fighter carrying arms, but only a writer and an intellectual who yearned for a free expression of his ideas and his conscience, he received a harsh 14-year sentence. He longed, as many others do, for freedom of intellectual creativity, for which thousands upon thousands of the best sons and daughters of Ukraine and various other nations of the world have lost their lives. In the whole world people bow their heads before such fighters for freedom of creativity of all ages and of all nations. "But nevertheless, the earth turns on its axis", shouted the great Italian Galileo and the inquisition could do nothing, for the earth does turn on its axis. For what did Moscow send a completely innocent Valentyn Moroz to the Vladimir Prison for long-long years? For the thing of which mankind of all ages has been proud, for courage to stand up for freedom and the dignity of man, made to the image of God. And the world of great ideas cannot be silent, if the West wants to save itself and to remain faithful to its great ideals.

An intellectual of rare caliber, a dedicated idealist in the ethical sense of the word, who longed for one thing only: the free spirit, the free will of a human being cannot be bound by chains of slavery, has been tried and sentenced. He has been accused of "nationalism" and of holding "capitalistic views", for the Russian executioners are ashamed to admit that in their prison of nations and individuals one has to think to order. One has to be a "state" writer of the type of Sholokhov, Korniychuk, Tychna, and praise the party, the regime, the concentration camps; one has to humble oneself, spit in one's own face, write about the new bright sun — the triumvirate of despots, Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny, about the Russian people — the older brother and oppressor of other peoples, about Peter I who crucified Ukraine, about Catherine II who "finished off the poor orphan", about Lenin — the murderer of many millions of innocent people . . . Then such a writer will receive honors and the "creator" will be called "progressive", but he will have a broken spine and honest men will spit when he happens to pass by them.

Valentyn Moroz did not want to be like them. And therefore he suffers not only for the Ukrainian people or for a Ukrainian individual and his most elementary rights, he suffers for the whole world of creators of great ideas. This world of ideas should bow before him, should stand up in his defense, for he rose for free creativity of an individual, courageously and valiantly, as a *man* and a great humanist. Will this world of great ideas of the Occident react? Will it rise in his defense, that is in its own defense, in defense of eternal human values, the freedom of man's intellectual, artistic and literary creativity. Will the Western world of great ideas act in his defense — hold demonstrations, rallies and mobilize the world, Western youth, students?

We must be ashamed for some in the West, when UNESCO honors the creator of the barbaric Russian system of tyranny, the perpetrator of genocide, Lenin, as a "humanist". The followers of this "humanist", and acting completely in his spirit, are depriving Valentyn Moroz of his freedom for 14 years, are slowly

poisoning the food of Kandyba, Horyn and Lukyanenko in the concentration camp, about which they themselves complained in their letter to the UN, the institution of Western shame, where the Russian cannibals have their own privileged position. Where then should the martyrs and fighters for human rights write? The UN, with the United States at the head, proclaimed itself the defender of human rights and — as a mockery — also of national rights.

The German bishops protested against the trial of the Basques, but why have the bishops of the West so far not protested against the martyrdom of Zarytska, Moroz, Karavanskyi and Velychkovskyi? Against the murder of heroic painter Alla Horska in Kyiv in 1970? We are not questioning the Basques' right to freedom and self-determination, but why a double standard? Is it because the Pyrenees can be crossed freely, while it is impossible to get to Kyiv for "an on-the-spot check"? But facts are facts. Zarytska, Didyk, Husyak and Karavanskyi have been suffering for 25 years. The Russians do not deny this fact, but rather confirm it. They are laughing cynically when nobody protests even against the murders on the Berlin Wall. The left-oriented segment of youth and older people conceals this, underrates it, as something of secondary importance in order not to "disturb" the peace of graves.

Luckily there is another segment of Western society, another segment of youth, another segment of fighters for the values of the Occident, who are raising their voices. The Flemish Committee for East European Affairs, the Flemish student organization, the Japanese youth headed by Mr. Kuboki, who are reviving the traditions of the samurai and the kamikazes, the supporters of McIntyre in the USA, the fighters from WACL, APACL and EFC are taking up in their respective countries the vanguard of struggle against the successors of Peter I-Catherine II-Lenin-Stalin, against Brezhnev and Co., against the Russian imperialists of all colors. The renaissance is beginning. The young generation is being shown the truth by the fighters and intellectuals from Ukraine and other subjugated countries who place human dignity and national rights in the center of attention and who suffer for this but do not submit. They are usually accused of fabricated "crimes", that is not the things for which they are really fighting, in order that even harsher sentences could be passed on them. But the world knows for what they stand: *for human rights and the rights of the nation.*

The world of those who betrayed the ideals of the West, or the principles of the Orient — of the samurai and the kamikazes, is slowly withering, while *a new world is being born — our world.* Heroic Christianity, militant patriotism, liberation nationalism, human dignity and worth — mean something to us and to those who are on our side. We call on the young people: *become the vanguard of the great process of renewal and fearless struggle against the forces of Russian darkness, whose father for the last fifty years has been Lenin.* Protest by deeds against the sentencing of Moroz, Karavanskyi, Kandyba, Lukyanenko, Zarytska and all those who stand for truth and rights.



## "The Lances Unlifted, the Trumpet Unblown . . ."

### The United States and the Captive Nations

The present state of U.S. policy towards Captive Nations — that is, the result of this policy — can best be summed up by noting two recent documents.

The first is "U.S. Foreign Policy — 1969—1970 — A Report of the Secretary of State" (Department of State Publication 8575, General Foreign Policy Series 254, March, 1971 — GPO, Washington, D. C. 20402, § 2.75).

The letter of transmittal in the front, from Secretary of State William Rogers, dated March 26, 1971 and addressed to J. William Fulbright and Thomas E. Morgan, Chairmen of Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees, respectively, says, "This report on the course of our foreign affairs surveys the policies we are following and reviews the manner in which we are carrying them out." It is the latest and most comprehensive, as well as authoritative, U.S. pronouncement on this wide topic.

Two sections — "Soviet Union" and "Other Eastern European Countries" (Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania) cover pages 25—33 inclusive. The two most significant remarks, for our purposes, come in the conclusion of the section on the Soviet Union (p. 29):

*"Our constant effort will be to distinguish areas of threat from areas of possible negotiation. The effort to contain the danger and press toward possible areas of negotiation is protracted and difficult, but we have no doubt we are going in the right direction. . . ."*

and at the beginning of the section on "Other Eastern European Countries" (p. 30):

*"Serious problems remain, but the foundations are gradually being laid for better relations."*

Indeed. Let's go on to another observation. Mark Hopkins, specialist in Soviet

and East European affairs, and a writer for the *Milwaukee Journal*, had this to say in a *New Leader* article entitled "The 24th Party Congress — Charting the Soviet Course" March 22, 1971:

*" . . . According to the British Institute of Strategic Studies, the USSR maintains 10,000 military advisers in Egypt, 1,500 in Algeria, and 1,000 each in North Vietnam, Cuba and Syria.*

*"Never before has the Soviet Union had so many and such large contingents of troops 'overseas'. Moscow's divisions heretofore have been kept close at hand — 20 in East Germany (the front line against NATO), five in Czechoslovakia (since 1968), four in Hungary, two in Poland. The spreading out coincides with an expansion of the Navy, and not only in the Mediterranean. Last spring's exercise 'Okean', involving 200 warships in all oceans, underscored Soviet intentions to construct a naval force fully befitting a major merchant marine power.*

*"These developments make the Soviet Union far more capable of foreign interventions today than under Khrushchev. Brezhnev would, it seems, be less willing to back down in a situation like the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. At the same time, increased Aeroflot routes and new trade and cultural agreements — all the paraphernalia of global influence — have helped transform the USSR into an authentic superpower. . . ."*

Mr. Hopknis noted that very probably this would be the last Party Congress for Brezhnev (as well as Suslov, Podgorny, Kirilenko and Pelshe; their average age is close to 67 and would be nearly 71 when the 25th Congress convenes in four years).

*"So, in what may be his final grand moment, Brezhnev will chart the path to a greater Soviet Union. It will almost certainly be lined with the virtues of hard work, dedication, patriotism, and a con-*

stantly renewed vigor against imperialism and bourgeois ideology. These do not constitute an authentic Stalinism by any means, but they suggest a future guided by values that seemed to have worked under Stalin. Or, to put it another way, a return to the values that Brezhnev and the other senior members of the Soviet political establishment — the one in four — were imbued with during the Stalinist era.”

Mr. Hopkins was confirmed, rather chillingly, by James Reston in the *New York Times*, March 31, 1971:

“He (Brezhnev) wants ‘the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes’ — that is to say the final dismemberment of the old Western empires and the abolition of the old imperialism, but not the dismemberment of the new Communist empire or the new Communist imperialism.”

Chalmers Roberts in the *Washington Post* for the same date saw it more clearly yet:

“In sum, the Soviet position as stated by Brezhnev comes through as firm and confident, based on newly acquired military muscle, in comparison to President Nixon’s worries about Soviet intentions worldwide and about a retreat from overseas responsibilities by Americans here at home.”

One thing must be made clear, in contemplation of these statements. In the modern world, no citizen of a powerful nation can take, without reservation, and assume, without questioning, that what is said for consumption at home and abroad reflects with total accuracy the line of official thinking.

For instance (while I may be privately distressed by and sometimes publicly in sharp disagreement with) what is said by the Administration (and admittedly at times what is done) this does not mean I think the President has directed or has any intention of directing, dismemberment of our security apparatus and leave us solely at the mercy of our avowed enemies.

For we are still the country of Teddy Roosevelt — “Speak softly and carry a big stick” — and, unilateral disarmers aside, to me there is something definitely

comforting in the thought that the missile silos are armed and ready to go.

We do not have, for instance, a President today who will rush in unprepared for the sake of momentary glory, or on the chimerical wave of heady exhilaration that surely must come with assuming that office.

The late John Kennedy learned — in a very hard way, indeed. Much had been rumored and whispered about what really went on between JFK and Nikita Khrushchev at the 1961 Summit Meeting in Vienna. Some truly chilling things had come to my ears — not from official sources, I must add — but I tend to discount such things, as does anyone who has been a minimum of 10 days in Washington.

Confirmation, of a sort, appeared on September 1, 1970. I cite two headlines about the incident here, as an interesting exercise in how lead headings on newspaper stories can confuse: *The Christian Science Monitor*, for that date, heading an AP release:

KENNAN SAYS KENNEDY WAS TONGUE-TIED WITH KHRUSHCHEV  
*The New York Times*, same date, a special to the NYT:

ROLE OF KENNEDY IN 1961 ASSESSED then, in smaller print:

Kennan Says He Failed in Talks With Khrushchev.

Fail, indeed. Kennan’s words were rather harsh — from the *Monitor* story:

“I think they thought this is a tongue-tied young man who’s not forceful and who doesn’t have any ideas of his own. They felt they could get away with something.”

“... who doesn’t have any ideas of his own.” Well, it doesn’t seem we have progressed too far. And sometimes, what passes for “ideas” among the so-called opinion makers would earn any undergraduate student a failing grade if he were to put them on an examination paper.

The 100th anniversary of the birth of Nikolai Lenin was marked in various parts of the world. The columnist Joseph Kraft was not responsible for the headings



over his column on April 21, 1970 — the *Baltimore Sun* had it read:

#### LENIN ALSO HAD HUMANIST SIDE

and the *Washington Post* was content with

#### LENIN LEFT THE SOVIET UNION LEGACY OF POWER AND CULTURE.

But Mr. Kraft was certainly responsible for the content of his column. I could not believe it then — I find it harder and harder to believe every time I read it. Consider:

*"...the legacy of Lenin has not been iron rule alone... he had loved Tolstoy and admired Beethoven. He had been in touch with the great humanists of Socialist thought — with Jean Jaures in France and Auguste Bebel in Germany. He was accustomed to argue in terms of reason and self-interest. He had hated cruelty and suffering. And so, unlike Hitler and the destructive ethic of the Nazis, he transmitted to the Communist world the ideals of equality and progress and peace. . . ."*

Then we have a couple of paragraphs that do admit that good ideas haven't prevailed. "In direct tests of strength, the good guys have almost always been routed." And, for an example, the sentence following: "Stalin beat down a far less malign set of leaders heading up in Trotsky." Trotsky's shade must have shaken and howled with laughter, if an asbestos copy of the column ever reached it. Stalin's, no doubt, growled "*Durak!*"

Kraft concludes with this:

*"But there are moments of Soviet evolution when accommodations can usefully be made — in arms control, in trade and cultural exchange. And by seizing these moments and making the most of the possibilities, this country can promote the kind of slow change that leads for a favorable resolution of the dualism implicit in the legacy of Lenin. It can promote a mellowing of Soviet power."*

Let's go back for a moment to Mr. Hopkins' perceptive article in the March 22, 1971 *New Leader*:

*"It has always been the expectation, if not the intent, in the West that detente*

*would mellow Communist regimes. Differences in the Kremlin over the likely effects of detente have produced warnings in the Soviet press of a grand conspiracy to sap Soviet resolve — employing, for example, the 'convergence' theory and the lure of commercial agreements with the West."*

I must also add this: the same day Mr. Kraft's column appeared in the two papers mentioned, a story in the *New York Times* was headlined: SOVIETS ASSAILED FOR 'PSYCHIATRIC' IMPRISONMENT.

The special story, datelined out of London, April 20, began with this paragraph:

*"A grim portrait of the plight of Soviet Russian political prisoners who are forced into psychiatric hospitals was published today by Amnesty International, a respected British-based private organization."*

A grim and fitting counterpoint to the moon-struck Mr. Kraft. To the best of my knowledge, no one else noticed the hideous incongruity. At least, if they did, it was thought better not to comment on it. Might disturb the 'mellowing' process, you know. But I would commend to the esteemed Mr. Kraft, who put such store in "cultural contacts" (as do many in our own State Department; \$ 2 million was in State's FY 1970 budget for cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union) the recent reports from Mexico.

Nineteen urban guerrillas, supposedly sent to study in Moscow, but actually trained in terror tactics in North Korea, have been arrested. The minister counselor of the Russian Embassy in Mexico City (its former press secretary) was kicked out of Argentina in 1958 and from Brazil in 1963 for intervention, in his more accurate role of KGB agent, in internal affairs of both countries. The Mexican-Russian Institute for Cultural Exchange, which granted the scholarships, is financed and directed by the Russian Embassy.

A look at U.S. policy towards Captive Nations, which of course is the theme of these lines, cannot, I believe, be complete

without the foregoing. It has been necessary to set the stage to show exactly where we are, and I must admit the picture is not comforting.

We do not seem to have progressed one inch. We seem to still be guided by the idea that the 'mellowing' is at hand; that some sort of millenium in international relations is almost upon us, where "the war drums sound no longer, and the battle flags are furled" and, accordingly, we will not make any effort to use the leverage we have, either for direct action or mobilization of world opinion.

I must add, however, that as far as world opinion goes, that is worth just as much as whoever is on the receiving end cares to make it. For one, I could never understand what in the world public opinion polls taken abroad had to do with the conduct of foreign policy of the American Republic. This was quite an issue in the 1960 Presidential elections, as we all recall. I thought the issues were addressed to the American electorate, and, given the widespread franchise, I did not think it extended to the point where a Bengali mule-driver's thought of the day should have a bearing on domestic American balloting. For myself, I rather doubt that it did. And I would like to see such nonsense ended, for all time.

The Russians show no hesitation whatsoever at exploiting any sign of disaffection or disunity they see in this Republic for their own uses. I will not venture to hazard any guesses as to what degree it is encouraged or financed by Communists; probably the true, exact figures never will be known, but I am certain there are those who have a pretty good idea.

Until 1961, the United States was moving ahead — slowly, to be sure, but definitely moving — in the direction of continuing to keep the hot glare of world publicity turned upon the Captive Nations of the Soviet bloc. It was much in the spirit of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's statement in 1959 that:

*"... many nations throughout the world have been made captive by the imperial-*

*istic and aggressive policies of Soviet Communism, and the peoples of the Soviet-dominated nations have been deprived of their national independence and their individual liberties."*

President Kennedy's tongue-tied fumbling with Nikita Krushchev in Vienna in 1961 ushered in a different age — an age where the Soviet Union felt it possible to go on the initiative in a deadly and ominous manner indeed. The Berlin Wall and the Cuban missile crisis will probably be ranked by future historians as being the signposts that marked the Russian turn towards out-and-out offensive tactics toward the West.

We crawled in the face of both. That, also, will be noted by future historians — approvingly, if Russian, deprecatingly, if written by American — and late in 1962 took one further groveling slide in the dust of abnegation that should rank right along with Berlin and Cuba as hideous examples of succumbing to threats.

On December 20, 1962, the U.S. delegation to the UN moved to eliminate from the docket the Sir Leslie Munro reports. For over three years, the Soviet Union had pressed to achieve this, for the reports were nothing less than heavily-documented studies on the continuing Russian persecution of the Hungarians.

Sir Leslie Munro, of Australia, had been appointed by the UN to chair the investigation. His evidence, carefully assembled, had showed that Hungary was not in any sense of the word a free country, but was totally controlled by the Kremlin, with heavy concentrations of Soviet troops on hand to make it stick.

Carrying this tactic closer home, the Administration opposed — successfully — all attempts to establish a "Special House Committee on Captive Nations." Such a Special Committee in 1952 had disclosed the truth about the Katyn Forest murders, during World War II. To date, I must add, establishment of this Committee has not yet been achieved. But we are still trying.

*(To be continued)*



## **Legitimacy or "Provincial Cruelty"**

(The Trial of Economist Stepan Bedrylo)

On June 20, 1969 economist Stepan Bedrylo had been arrested in Kyiv and sent to the investigation prison of the Lviv KGB. Stepan Bedrylo was born on January 2, 1932 in the village of Bartativ, Horodets district of the Lviv region, in a peasant family. His father, a political prisoner, died in 1952 in one of the Stalinist camps in Kazakhstan. In 1957 Bedrylo finished the Lviv Agricultural Institute. He worked as an agronomist, a geodesist. In 1959 he moved to Kyiv, had been a staff member of the Scientific Research Institute of Agriculture, then worked in the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy, where he did post-graduate work in agricultural economy. In July 1969 he was to have defended his candidate's dissertation at the Economics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR.

S. Bedrylo was accused of "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation"! (Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR). The inquiry was conducted by the Lviv KGB investigator Malykhin (a Russian, who in 1965—66 was in charge of the Mykhailo Horyn case). Nothing had been found during a search in S. Bedrylo's house in Kyiv. The KGB agents searched the house of his mother and sister in Bartativ three times, without any results, looking for film and photo reproductions, and turned up the whole garden, without paying damages to his mother for the lost crop. The mother was told by the chief of the Lviv KGB-South, that the KGB would not like to hand over Bedrylo's case to the court, for in camp he will yet become a real enemy. If S. Bedrylo would repent and tell who gave him underground documents, he would allegedly be released. In September 1969 S. Bedrylo was confined for three weeks to the prison ward of the Lviv psychiatric clinic, from where he was again

transferred to the investigation prison. S. Bedrylo's trial was held on January 5—7, 1970. S. Bedrylo was charged on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR with circulating the works, "Report from the Beria Reservation" by Valentyn Moroz, "Internationalism or Russification?" by I. Dzyuba, articles "In Memory of a Hero" (a three-page article on the self-immolation of Vasyl Makukh with the photograph of the deceased) and some petition to P. Yu. Shelest (exact text unknown). All these documents were classified as slanderous by the court. A private conversation with friends about Russification, and a letter to his sister, sent by mail and not intended for circulation, were also used to incriminate him. (Inclusion of a chance conversation and a private letter in the accusation is an unprecedented phenomenon in recent years). The trial was conducted by judge Lyubashchenko and the state prosecutor Bolochagin (recently sent to Lviv, who does not even speak Ukrainian). S. Bedrylo was defended by a well-known Russian lawyer, Vladimir Borisovich Romm. The trial was illegal for, contrary to Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR, it was held behind closed doors. The Lviv residents and S. Bedrylo's relatives, who were present in the corridor of the court, submitted a petition to the court to permit them to attend at least the reading of the sentence, but received a negative reply. To preserve a semblance of "legality" (in all cases without exception court sentences are pronounced publicly), before the reading of the sentence 4—5 workers of the oblast court from adjoining offices and two militiamen from among those who were diligently guarding the approaches to the court room were brought into the hall. The following witnesses were examined at the trial:

1. Yaroslav Hrechukha — a Lviv engineer, about 40 years old, a KGB provocateur. In 1967 he himself brought a microfilm of "The Report from the Beria Reservation" to the KGB and said that he received it from Bedrylo. Of course, after this the KGB ordered the surveillance of Bedrylo. At the trial he confirmed that he received "The Report" from S. Bedrylo.

2. Bohdan Chaban — an engineer, recently finished the Lviv Polytechnic Institute, works in Lviv. He was arrested prior to the arrest of S. Bedrylo, confined for six months of investigation, and was released and reinstated in his job after repenting and promising to supply the necessary evidence against Bedrylo. At the trial he confirmed receiving the above-mentioned documents from Bedrylo and accused Bedrylo of allegedly putting him on the road to criminality. As a matter of fact, he was the only witness acceptable to the court and responsible for the arrest of S. Bedrylo, for Bedrylo was arrested on the basis of his testimony. (A two-year-old denunciation by Y. Hrechukha did not give a right for an arrest and trial).

3-4. Nadiya Hnatyuk and Kunynets — graduated with S. Bedrylo from the agricultural institute, work in Nesterov near Lviv. S. Bedrylo happened to meet them on Khreshchatyk (the main thoroughfare) in Kyiv and was astonished that they are conversing in Russian. He allegedly tried to convince them not to succumb to Russification (the conversation was of course overheard by the KGB agents). This kind of evidence was supplied by these witnesses both during the investigation and in court.

5. Ivan Koval — also finished the agricultural institute with S. Bedrylo. At the preliminary hearing he said that S. Bedrylo talked to him about Russification; at the trial he fully retracted his testimony.

6-7. Mykola Doroshenko and Yurko Olshanskyi — witnesses from Kyiv, S. Bedrylo's co-workers. They also gave only positive testimony, spoke in best terms about S. Bedrylo.

8. Vira Bedrylo — the sister of the de-

pendant, a teacher. When her testimony from the preliminary hearing was read to her in court, she protested against the fact that investigator Malykhin had falsified the protocol of the inquiry. In the protocol under her name it was stated that Stepan had contacts with nationalists, talked to her about Russification, and that she was restraining him. Stepan's letter to his sister from Moscow also figured in the trial. In it he wrote about his conversation with one Soviet general who said: "There has never been and cannot be any Ukraine". In his letter Bedrylo expressed indignation at the rampant chauvinism of some Russians. Witness Vira Bedrylo asked the court: Is this indignation perhaps unjustified? — for which she was promised to be dismissed from work.

Attorney V. Romm really defended S. Bedrylo during the proceedings, refuted the testimony of a number of witnesses, tried to prove the absence in the actions of the defendant of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation with a set aim to undermine or weaken the Soviet government. In the concluding remarks, which lasted 40 minutes, he demanded the dismissal of the case because of lack of substance to the crime and the release of the defendant. In his final word on January 6th, the prosecutor demanded 2 years of severe regime camps. On January 7th S. Bedrylo delivered his final remarks in which he defended his views, denied the testimony by witnesses and did not consider himself guilty. After this judge Lyubashchenko read the verdict of the court, in which Stepan Bedrylo was sentenced to 4 years of camp with severe regime. The verdict was a complete surprise to all. In a private conversation the attorney spoke about "provincial cruelty", about the fact that in Moscow they would not try at all on the basis of such meager charges. He also said that instances when the court gives more than is demanded by the prosecutor occur once in ten years and that he is going to file not only an appeal, but also a complaint as to the manner in which the court proceedings were conducted. Lviv

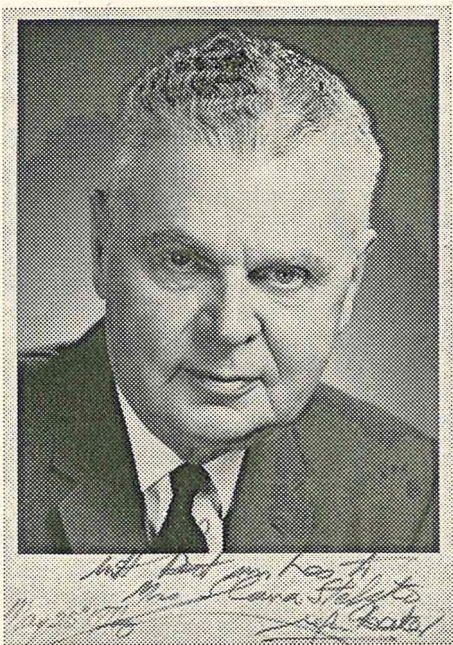


residents who are familiar with S. Bedrylo's case explain the harshness of the sentence by several reasons: revenge for S. Bedrylo's high-principled posture during the investigation and in court; the attempts by judge Lyubashchenko, who conducted a political trial in Lviv for the first time, to show her unfeminine firmness and professional fitness to conduct such extra-legal

*Ukrainskyi Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald), a clandestine periodical published in Ukraine*

cases, of which in Lviv there are going to be plenty and on which it is the easiest to make a career for herself; some speak about the general tendency in Ukraine to punish the "nationalists" more severely, even for conversations and private letters. Stepan Bedrylo is in very poor health: earlier he had tuberculosis and was treated for a disorder of the nervous system.

## J. Diefenbaker for Ukraine's Right to Independence



In connection with the USSR visit of Canadian Prime Minister P. E. Trudeau, the former Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker said at a press conference held in Winnipeg on May 17, 1971 that Mr. Trudeau should impress upon the Russians the need for living up to the principles of the United Nations Charter which permit people like the Ukrainians, the Balts and others the right of self-determination.

J. Diefenbaker hopes that Prime Minister Trudeau will support the matter of opening the Canadian Consulate-General in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, to make it possible for Ukrainian Canadians to visit relatives in Ukraine.

At the same time Mr. Diefenbaker criticized the new Canadian census forms in which the question "are you a Canadian?" has been omitted, and in the reference to the "native language" English, French, German, Italian and others have been listed without mentioning Ukrainian by name. This in Mr. Diefenbaker's opinion is "a direct slap in the face for people of Ukrainian ancestry", who have "made a tremendous contribution to Canada's growth . . ." By passing over the Ukrainian language, Mr. Diefenbaker said, the present government of Canada wants to please the Soviet Union where the Ukrainian language is not recognized.

As a point of information we shall add that the above-mentioned questionnaire mentions Ukrainians by name in question 15 dealing with ethnic origin and in question 17 dealing with the language most frequently used. In question 16 under religious denominations "Ukrainian Catholic" Church is listed, while "Greek Orthodox" is mentioned without the addition of "Ukrainian".

## The Paris and the Tbilisi Communes

March 18, 1971 was celebrated in France as the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune. At that time the Communists, filled with indignation, marched past the Wall of the Executed at the Père Lachaise Cemetery. But at the same time it did not even occur to anyone that this day also marked the 50th anniversary of another outrageous execution, an execution of free Georgians by the Red Army troops of the Russian Communist Party.

This rare coincidence of two sad anniversaries, which occurred fifty years apart, was appointed by history to be a rousing symbol for us so that we would be prepared for the fact that the Time of Contempt can always approach us and roll away.

The repression of the Commune was terrible, but at least it was realized in the name of Order and Reaction. And still, the executioners of the Georgians considered themselves heirs . . . of the Communards. Yet, all those who shot the Georgian workers belonged to that category of people who carried out executions in Poznan, East Berlin, Budapest, Prague and Gdansk, that is, policemen and soldiers of the Russian Order and Reaction, who carried the Red flag, as if pure Versaillesians disguised as revolutionaries, in short murderers and impostors.

"I am here to bring you discord", was said by one philosopher to his fellow citizens. Had he lived today, he would have had to say: "I am here in order to remind you". For these Communist tyrants have no better ally than the amnesia of nations. Therefore, let us refresh their memory.

On May 26, 1918, that is six months after the Bolshevik coup d'état disbanded the democratically elected parliament and consolidated Lenin's power, Georgia — a country with very ancient and versatile culture, which has nothing in common with Slavism — declared its independence. Ideological slogans propagated by the Bol-

sheviks, in order to bring popular masses to their side, solemnly declared that all foreign peoples who were forcefully taken by tsarism can secede from Russia completely freely. This promise was reiterated here in every which way by the friends of Lenin, as an assurance of Lenin's ardent and noble anti-colonialism. The foreign peoples of Russia in their simplicity believed that promise: Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia. And they really declared their independence from Russia.

At the very beginning it seemed that this promise would be respected. Free countries elected their governments democratically and were recognized by all foreign powers. France greeted independent Georgia especially warmly.

The Tbilisi government thought that it would please the new rulers in Moscow, for it was genuinely socialist: most of its leaders fought shoulder to shoulder with various Marxist factions to topple tsarism. Many outstanding Georgian revolutionaries found their way to the highest institutions of the Bolshevik Communist Party, of whom one, Stalin, had won fame. However, Lenin was not a genuine anti-colonialist. He simply wanted to deprive the White armies of their influence. And when he felt safe on that score, the Red Army attacked Georgia, as a vulgar colonial army, without any declaration of war and with unusual cynicism. Hence at the time when the independent Georgian state in no way threatened the Russian government, the latter began anew to occupy Georgia with fire and sword. The whole Georgian nation rose up against this and began to fight against the Russian aggressor with unusual courage. But after a month-and-a-half struggle without any mercy from the side of the Georgian elite, Georgia had to capitulate in view of the large number and terror of the Russians.

The government of free Georgia migrated to France, which gave it political



asylum. At the same time the Georgian Embassy was accredited in Paris until 1932. How few Frenchmen still remember this!

Repressions which followed in annexed Georgia have outdone even the cruelty of our Versaillesians. This was no longer a single wall, but hundreds of walls of those shot, before which the Georgian women did not stop to wail... A certain "Commissar for Nationality Affairs" — and this post was created by Moscow allegedly to help foreign peoples to develop their autonomous culture — has won fame for his cruelty carried out to such a degree that even Lenin had to classify his conduct as "shamefully brutal". And this commissar had only begun his first armed acts there. He was even a member of the nationality whose aspirations he had crushed so brutally. Besides being a rifleman and murderer, he was *one of the collaborators* of the Russian occupation army. His name was Joseph Visarovich Stalin.

The struggle of the Georgian army ended on the sad day — March 18, 1921. However, the resistance — whether open or disguised, whether sharp or chronic — from the side of the Georgian people *never* ceased. The revolts of 1922, 1923 and 1924 followed. This last revolt extended to the entire country. Stalin crushed it with such great brutality that only in 1956 were the Georgian people able to rise against Russia on a large scale. It was still necessary to purge periodically the Georgian Communist Party itself, then the intelligentsia, the students and syndicates because of "nationalist tendencies". The purging was accomplished by Stalinist methods (a shot in the head), and later (after Stalin) with the help of deportation to the forced labor camps or confinement to insane asylums.

The first lesson which we can draw from these sad, but proud, events in Georgia is that there are no limits to the insolence of the Communist parties. These parties, which condemn colonialism and imperialism louder than anybody else, turn out to be masters of the greatest imperialism and colonialism wherever they come to power.

The second lesson is the political approval of Russia, which we notice on the side of Western governments. Fifty years of uprisings inside the Soviet Russian empire prove that a defeatist spiritual state cannot be imposed on the peoples of Eastern Europe at all. Only the Pontius Pilates of Paris and Bonn can be charged with it. With a trembling voice and the hand on their heart they constantly preach about our duty to practice solidarity with the underdeveloped countries. But is not our duty of solidarity with the subjugated countries far more pressing?

Should not the democrats, who are so sensitive when it comes to the concept of independence, express their solidarity with a long martyrdom of the subjugated peoples and declare our "Nyet" on the outside — high up — which these peoples cannot say "down below" — at home?

Yes! It is our greatest duty to support at least morally unvoiced or strong, *but constantly present*, opposition, which the subjugated peoples have never stopped manifesting to their Communist rulers. Not to turn our most powerful weapons against the Kremlin, that is not to express our solidarity with the victims of other countries far and wide, is indeed an unforgivable sin. All the more unforgivable, for if there is any *weak internal front*, it is to be found sooner in the USSR than here. Instead of one ally which the Soviet regime finds here (and with the help of such an expensive apparatus!) we have a HUNDRED there, who are ready to defend our cause: FREEDOM.

To annoy the leaders of the Kremlin on a volcano, which has never died down and which is smouldering inside, is therefore the sole way of stopping aggression on the outside and thus of preventing war. The subjugated peoples are at the same time our most reliable and most valuable ally. Therefore to render moral support is in fact our most effective weapon.

I would like to emphasize that we, whom some would like to discredit as "systematic anti-Communists", can only be proud of that label, for we are doing this

in beautiful surroundings. In fact, *the most systematic anti-Communists are the peoples of the Communist states*. And it can only be an honor for us, if we try to maintain constant ties with them.

In fact the free world owes its existence today only to the irrevocable hatred which is constantly being manifested — whether by their silent resistance or in the form of open revolts — to their Soviet Russian

subjugators by the people of Georgia, Ukraine, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland . . . Yes, these nations will bring liberation to the free world along with their own. It is because of this, that after fifty years of the most noble pages which were written by these nations, I feel happy when through our Georgian friends I can greet these people, who, although burdened with a yoke, are giving us daily these wonderful examples of loyalty.

*Dr. Austin J. App*

## **What Has Been Done by the U.S. to Contain Russian Imperialism** (Conclusion)

### **Lingering U.S. Support of Soviet Imperialism**

The secret acceptance of Soviet Russian imperialism and therefore the reason why the U.S. and the Free World keep losing the Cold War is expressed frighteningly in a document of 1963. This was prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; its title was "Controlling the Police in a Disarmed World". It propounded this near treasonable endorsement of Soviet Russia:

"Whether we admit it to ourselves or not, we benefit enormously from the capability of the Soviet System to keep law and order over the 200 odd million people in the USSR and the many additional millions in the satellite states.

"The breakup of the Russian Communist empire today would doubtless be conducive to freedom, but would be a good deal more catastrophic for world order than was the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1918".

(See Dobriansky, op. cit., p. 252)

That is the fatal attitude that secretly infects segments of our American government and press, and which is in effect diametrically opposed to the Captive Nations Resolution and to all the ideals of self-determination and freedom the American people were asked to fight for in World War I and II.

The passage also reveals a typical sophistry and fallacy of argument, in that it equates the monstrous and tyrannical Soviet Russian empire with the former Christian, relatively mild, and geographically small Austro-Hungarian empire. The latter needed no barbed wire entanglements to keep its people from voting with their feet! Its people could move about in it and out of it as freely as in any other Western country. To imply that Soviet Russia is as beneficent as the Dual Monarchy was is dishonest. Furthermore, even the breakup of Austro-Hungary proved so disastrous only because the victors of 1919 did not apply self-determination honestly to all the peoples involved. For example, they forced the Slovaks and the Sudeten Germans into an artificial Czecho-Slovakia and did not allow the Austrians to form even a customs union with Germany.

The lingering American tendency to regard Soviet Russia as a constructive force for law and order has helped to prevent any effective liberation of captive peoples. Another semi-official position paper practically commits America to perpetuate the Soviet Russian empire. Under the Kennedy Administration, during which the Berlin Wall was erected, Walt W. Rostow, who later became White



House Assistant to President Johnson, prepared a paper entitled, "U.S. Handling of Uprisings in Eastern Europe Should They Occur". Dr. Rostow may be considered a predecessor, in fact and ideology, of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's Foreign Affairs Advisor. Incidentally both men had problems getting security clearance. Had Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist patriotism prevailed these men would hardly have become presidential advisors. Dr. Rostow in his paper on East-European Uprisings explained:

"It is U.S. policy to refrain from encouraging or supporting uprisings in the Eastern European satellites. If revolts break out in East Germany or any other satellites we should maintain a hands-off posture and urge our allies to do the same".  
(See *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 3, 1967)

When we couple this with President Johnson's words of October 7, 1966, Soviet Russia is practically assured undisputed control over the captive nations. President Johnson wanted "peaceful engagement" rather than "the narrow concept of co-existence".

He proclaimed:

"Our purpose is not to overthrow other governments but to help the people of Europe achieve together a continent in which the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe work shoulder-to-shoulder together for the common good".

This statement comes close to echoing President Roosevelt's thinking expressed to Cardinal Spellmann, "that in ten or twenty years (the European people) will be able to live well with the Russians".

But of course those of us associated with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations know that wherever Soviet Russian Communism controls any people, there the Soviet Russian tanks and watch-towers and barbed wire furnish the tragic background controlling the lives of the people. Only a determined wish to help the captive nations free themselves and to cause the Soviet Russian empire to go the way of all the empires of history, especially the tyrannical ones, can tilt the Cold War in the Free World's favor.

#### **The U.S. Stood Aside When Captive Nations Revolted for Freedom**

The lingering secret U.S. respect for Soviet Russian imperialism in the wake of the Yalta and Potsdam treaties explains why no support whatever was given to anti-Communist freedom fighters. Whereas America actively helped African liberation movements such as in the Congo, and did not pacifistically shun even to provide military help, it has, true to Rostow's admonishment, refrained from "encouraging or supporting uprisings in the Eastern European satellites". The U.S. did not even seem to give moral sympathy to the East Berlin uprising in 1953. During the Hungarian Revolt, the American people ardently sympathized with the freedom fighters. But the American government, notwithstanding President Eisenhower's previous and subsequent declarations in favor of liberation, offered no help, either material or diplomatic. It might, for example, have recognized Hungary's independence. It did not! Instead, according to well-founded reports Washington advised Tito of Yugoslavia that the U.S. did not favor any regime hostile to Soviet Russia on the USSR's borders. Tito naturally relayed this to Moscow — and the Soviet-Russian tanks within hours rolled in to crush the forsaken Hungarian freedom fighters. Similarly, in the Bay of Pigs disaster, the U.S. deserted the Cuban freedom fighters.

In the Vietnam war, four American administrations have indeed fought to keep South Vietnam from becoming a captive nation, but they have not implemented the Congressional Resolution of 1959 which names North Vietnam as a captive nation to be liberated. Much of the turmoil in America regarding Vietnam is due to this fact. American liberals far from wanting North Vietnam to be liberated, would even surrender South Vietnam to the Vietcong. Most conservatives, the people who voted for Senator Barry Goldwater for President, want victory in Vietnam. They would like to start rolling Communism back by freeing North Vietnam and reuniting all Vietnam in freedom.

#### **Sooner or Later a Policy of Liberation Must Be Implemented**

If in Abraham Lincoln's sense the world cannot forever remain half free and half slave, the Free World and America must give more than lip service to the liberation of the captive nations. When Richard Nixon as Vice President saw the Berlin Wall he said it would be irresponsible for free men, if in the name of co-existence, they would draw a line through the center of Europe and forever condemn into Communist slavery the people on the other side of it.

During the recent Heritage Group (Nationalities) Conference in Washington, October 1-3, the Vice-Chairman of the National Latvian Federation, Mr. Valdemars Korsts, said that Latvians continue to be grateful to the Nixon administration and to previous ones for not recognizing Soviet Russia's incorporation of the Baltic nations into the USSR. To the applause of the 250 ethnic leaders, he added,

"But we should like the Administration, for example, now and then to speak of the plight of the enslaved Baltic nations and encourage their liberation".

The official delegate of the German American National Congress, Dr. Karol H. Sitko, added, "Our relatives behind the Iron Curtain expect us to do something for them".

Official U.S. policy as set forth in the Congressional Resolution of 1959, the best thing the Free World has so far said for the liberation of the Captive Nations, rightly interpreted, demands all possible peaceful efforts, diplomatic, economic, moral, to achieve freedom and independence for the nations under Soviet Russian and Communist domination, not to say tyranny. But something more is needed if this wish is to succeed. This professed policy must be far more effectively implemented.

What is needed is equally insistent U.S. demands for an end to Red colonialism which the Communists, Russian and Chinese, have incessantly directed toward ending Western colonialism. Partly because America viewed it benevolently, their unceasing agitation has since 1945 practically liquidated the British, French, and Dutch empires. In their place are scores of independent African and Asian nations. America and the Free World must direct the same kind of propaganda at the Red colonialism.

They should develop an energetic program of publicizing Communist colonialism and tyranny and appeal to all peoples, in both the free and the enslaved world, to end it. Certainly America and other free nations should put the case against Red colonialism before the United Nations and demand that the idealistic provisions of that charter be applied impartially not only to the West but also to Soviet Russia and Red China.



What is more difficult in the pacifistically inclined West, certainly in the U.S., is a frank recognition that colonialisms seldom end without some threat or recourse to armed revolt by the oppressed peoples. Without it, the American colonies could not have freed themselves. We must not expect liberation otherwise for the nations under the brutal tyranny of the Communists.

The Russians themselves, though they try to brainwash the West with phony pacifism, as a matter of course incite armed revolts in all Western areas they single out for their kind of "liberation". However reluctantly, the West must reconcile itself to this lesson of history that empires break up only after their oppressed populations rise up militarily to fight for their freedom.

There should be at least a tacit understanding that the U.S. stands committed in the case of what Rostow called "uprisings in the Eastern European satellites" and elsewhere to give them full moral support for their efforts to achieve freedom and independence. Furthermore, America should feel obliged to give all material support possible and feasible, and to extend diplomatic support as soon as practicable.

In all commercial relations with the Communist bloc, the U.S. and all the West should avoid appearing to be partners with the unpopular puppet regimes but should obviously direct their aid and trade to benefit the peoples themselves. Where this is not possible, trade with the Red bloc should be renounced.

It is my personal conviction that the confrontation between America and the Soviet Union seems to be inexorably becoming worse and more dangerous. Co-existence is proving a blind alley. A third world war is a real threat. The one and virtually the only sure way of avoiding such a war that I can see is the timely breakup of the Soviet Russian empire from within. The Russians themselves should want all their subjected peoples to be free. The Western and Christian world is morally bound to want them freed. If all honorable people everywhere encourage and foster this independence — if the United States will energetically implement its Captive Nations Resolution — if the spirit of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations becomes universal, then the world can hope for the peace which can only come from justice founded on self-determination and freedom.



*"Free Moroz" demonstration in Kitchener, Canada, May 9, 1971.*

## The Non-Russian Workers in a Common Front

When in 1953—1954 hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian convicts in Kazakhstan, Siberia and along the Arctic Ocean climbed the barricades some of them said: "If only we would be heard in Ukraine. If they would only help us with strikes, demonstrations, revolts."

Today the working classes of the great Ukrainian people — workers, peasants, technicians, creative intelligentsia of the town and village — have come to life again. What had been possible in 1953 in Vorkuta, Kingir, Karaganda and Norylsk, is today reality in Kyiv, Rostov, Rivne. The determination to rise up against the hated Russian-Bolshevik regime of the exploiters is changing into direct action. The Bandera followers of 1953 have not died in vain. The seeds that they had sown are sprouting heroes.

Recently German newspapers have reported that workers' strikes have taken place in Kyiv and Kharkiv in mid-January. Similar reports have come from Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia. The Ukrainian worker has raised his fist and is slapping the Russian overlords across their arrogant snouts. Just eight years ago in 1962—63 the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, an illegal national social party of subjugated Ukrainian workers, was disbanded. Its leaders were Lev Lukyanenko and Ivan Kandyba — both of whom are still confined to the Russian concentration camps. Lukyanenko and Kandyba declared the following in their program: "Ukrainian workers, you must organize for struggle in factories! For social justice and national independence! Drive the Russians out of Ukraine?" — This happened eight years ago. Today political prisoners Lukyanenko and Kandyba are celebrating their triumph.

The workers have risen not in Moscow but in Kyiv, not in Tula but in Kharkiv, not in Gorky but in Minsk. From this it follows that the non-Russian workers of the prison of nations are more courageous, more able to fight and more revolutionary,

for they are fighting for the liberation of their native lands.

In the West, just as in the East, broad circles are conscious of the basic truth that the socialist struggle of the non-Russian peoples is closely linked with the struggle for national liberation. On this basically rests the dialectics of the anti-Bolshevik revolution. Many years ago Diter Friede in Germany, Robert Conquest in England, and more recently Amalrik in the Russian-occupied countries, have expressed the view that the decisive battle will be waged in the non-Russian countries and colonies. Stefan Yovev, a Bulgarian, and Palloci-Horvard, a Hungarian, have followed in their footsteps. Their predictions are now proving to be correct.

First of all economic and social problems, at the head of which is famine, are involved. German newspapers report that in Ukraine, Byelorussia and other countries there is a catastrophic shortage of potatoes, coal, meat and lemons. And the workers know that these shortages are caused by the Bolshevik system. For not this or that minister is responsible, but the whole system. Anyone demanding bread in Kyiv today is also demanding freedom.

This pre-revolutionary situation has been forming for a long time. It was not by chance that Brezhnev visited Kharkiv in April 1970 and called on workers to overcome difficulties. Why in Kharkiv? Because at that very time the capital of Ukrainian industry was on the verge of an insurrection. But Brezhnev's calls remained without results. The "difficulties" remained, for the system remained.

Let us recall that the bloody uprisings of workers after 1956 occurred in the non-Russian countries, in Siberia and in Ukraine — in the summer of 1956 in Donbas, in 1959 in Kazakhstan, in 1962 in Odessa, Novocherkask, Rostov and again in Donbas.

In the near future we hope to find out more on this subject.



## Relatives of Religious Prisoners Meet in Kyiv

On December 12-13, 1970 the second secret meeting of relatives of the imprisoned Evangelical Christians-Baptists (ECB) was held in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. The meeting published 13 important documents — statements, appeals and reports, taking up 55 typewritten pages, which expose the terrible persecution of innocent people by the Russian barbarians. Among these documents are the following appeals: "To All Christians of the World", "To the Secretary General of the UN", "To the President of the World Council of Baptist" and to the leaders of the Soviet Russian government. The meeting informs the whole world about the inhuman and high-handed persecution of Christians in the USSR.

In one of these important documents the second all-union meeting of relatives of the imprisoned Baptists, condemning Russian tyranny, heroically demands complete religious freedom. Considering the importance of this document we are reprinting it with insignificant omissions.

### "To the Government of the USSR

"Do you think, man, that you are going to escape the judgement of God?"

(Epistle to the Romans 2:3)

In 1969 the first all-union meeting of relatives of imprisoned Evangelical Christians-Baptists gave you an extensive analysis of the position of believers in a country where you have the authority as leaders of the multi-national peoples of the USSR. But the harrassment of practicing ECBs had not stopped to this day. From this one can assume that you approve of this witch-hunt.

We would like to remind you that to date, beginning with 1961, 524 persons — among them 44 women, have served or are still serving prison terms in prisons and camps for their belief in God. 8 persons—Church attendants, have not returned home to their families for they were tortured to death for their profession of faith in God during investigations or in prisons.

In the raids by militia and the prosecuting organs 2,840 religious books — Bibles, Gospels, hymn books, etc. — were confiscated from the faithful during searches. Albums, musical instruments and texts with religious contents were also taken.

791 persons spent 15 days in prison each for participating at prayer meetings — altogether 11,865 days. 986 pogroms by militia and the prosecuting organs were held during prayer meetings at which the faithful were beaten. 1,380 persons were called out a total of 8,648 times for questioning. When one adds to this the questionings during the raids, then their number is infinite... 390 children of religious parents, besides being questioned in school, were also questioned and intimidated by the militia and the prosecuting organs. The amount of "fines" for going to meetings totals 94,300 rubles. Dozens of faithful were expelled from universities or were not allowed to enroll in schools for belonging to those believing in God. Everything cited here is only 50 % of all facts about which we received information.

Beginning in 1960 hundreds of articles in central, oblast and regional papers and magazines of the Soviet press showered with insults and mocked the Christian faith, while the believers were portrayed as fanatics, idlers, barbarians, the sowers of dope, hypocrites, obscurants, etc.

Everything mentioned above had been done and is being done with your approval, for the Council of Relatives of Prisoners has sent you 38 special reports, statements and express telegrams in the period from 1964 to 1970, but you have not replied to any of them. This confirms once more your calculated course in the treatment of believers.

No matter how many centuries would pass into eternity from the days of blood-thirsty Nero, humanity shall not forget and shall recall with horror what he did to Christianity, for his deeds follow in his footsteps. We do not wish Nero's "glory" for you. Hoping for better days and a better future for the peoples we are constantly

reminding you of God's will and are showing your real attitude toward the faithful in the true light.

Today, when we have assembled for the second all-union meeting of relatives of the ECB prisoners, 168 of our fathers, mothers, sons, daughters and children are suffering behind prison bars for the Word of God and for the profession of faith in God. All this is taking place in the light of international reassurances about complete freedom of speech, religion, etc. in the USSR.

Prisons and harsh conditions in camps have ruined the health of many believers, and many of them have not returned home. They ended their life behind barbed wire as heroes of the faith. You have erroneously taken the course of liquidation of the Council of Churches of ECB, which you are persecuting severely, and issued orders to arrest brethren: Henadiy Konstantynovych Kryuchkov, chairman of the Council of Churches and Heorhiy Petrovych Vyns, secretary of the Council of Churches. Members of the Council of Churches, S. H. Dubovyi, P. A. Yakymenko and others, have no right to live at home.

The meeting turns to you and reminds you of our positions which we sent you from the first all-union meeting of relatives of prisoners, members of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, who are suffering for the Word of God in the USSR, and are again turning to you with demands of freedom:

1) to profess our faith and equal rights for all the faithful and their children in the questions dealing with individual freedom, in work and in education;

2) to cease the persecution of the Council of Churches of ECB;

3) to release and rehabilitate our relatives;

4) to return the children who have been taken away from us;

5) to return confiscated houses;

6) to return confiscated literature and "fines".

Let the tears of fathers and mothers, the tears of orphaned children and the innocent blood of Christian martyrs remind you of the great crimes on earth, the harassment of Christians, and let them soften your hearts.

Because of the arrest of the chairman of the Council of Relatives of ECB prisoners, our sister Lidiya Mykhailivna Vyns, the address for a reply has temporarily changed. Please send your reply to: Halyna Yurivna Rytykova, Pidhirnya Street 30, Krasnodon, Ukr.SSR.

On behalf of the Second All-Union Meeting of Relatives of Prisoners, Members of ECB Churches, signed: M. P. Klasen, A. D. Fylypova, L. V. Rumachyk, D. V. Holeva, Ye. A. Khrapova."

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Making public one of the 13 documents of the secret meeting in Kyiv the Executive Board of the Association of Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Churches in the USA asks all Christians, regardless of creed and religious denomination, to pray for the martyrs for the faith in Ukraine and throughout the whole modern prison of nations — the USSR.

### **Executive Board of WACL Condemns Russian Imperialism and Communism**

*The Executive Board condemns the barbaric methods employed by Russians at the present time in the persecution of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the laity, cultural workers, intellectuals, scholars and freedom fighters, in general, not only in Soviet Russia but in the Captive Nations, specifically in Ukraine.*

*These lovers of freedom have been deprived of their basic human rights, sentenced to long prison terms in concentration camps or prisons, and to death, and their food has been systematically poisoned.*

*For this and the cruel punishments meted out to innocent patriots, the Executive Board of WACL stands up and condemns Soviet imperialism and Communism.*



## Resistance Movements in "National Republics"

No. 17 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* carries many news items which prove that resistance movements are widespread in the non-Russian republics of the USSR in the recent years. In particular the opposition movement is very active in the Baltic states. On February 4, 1970 the Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR tried three Latvians behind closed doors for anti-Soviet propaganda and possession of firearms. The defendants were: Gunar Berzins, born in 1949, filing clerk; Laimonis Makants, born in 1951, inspector of high voltage equipment; Valerius Liuk, filing clerk.

In the night from the 6th to the 7th of December 1969 they scattered in three areas of Latvia 8,000 leaflets containing criticism of domestic and foreign policy of the USSR, on Czecho-Slovakia, on the Sino-Soviet relations, on the national question. The KGB recovered 3,000 leaflets. Berzins received three years of concentration camp, the other two — 18 months each.

In 1969 the 84-year-old Fritz Menders, one of the founders of the Latvian Social Democratic Party, was sentenced to 5 years in a concentration camp for writing various protest appeals and notes with criticism of Soviet relations, to various international organizations, including the United Nations. After sentencing he was placed in an old-age home in Varkaliany, in East Latvia. In 1970, when his state of health had worsened considerably, Menders was brought back to Riga and released.

When the Baltic states were annexed by the USSR, Menders met the fate of other Latvian Social Democrats who remained in their homeland: they were mostly deported to concentration camps of Siberia — Vorkuta, Karaganda, Kolyma. F. Menders returned to his native land only in 1955 after an amnesty.

On May 18, 1970 Algis Statkiavicius was arrested in Vilnius. Born in 1937, he was employed by the Ministry of Finance (bureau of sociological research). He was

accused of being the author of books "The Critique of the Communist Manifesto" and "Results of Sociological Research in Lithuania." The court declared A. Statkiavicius insane and sent him to a psychiatric clinic for forced treatment. In connection with his arrest, searches were held in the homes of various people, including writer Juzaz Tumialis.

On August 3, 1970 a former economist in the Latvian Ministry of Culture, Lidia Doronina, was arrested in Riga. In the 50s Doronina spent 5 years of imprisonment in concentration camps "for harbouring prominent people from the times of the bourgeois republic." During a search various underground materials, as for instance the "Letter to A. Kuznetsov" by A. Amalrik and "This is how we live" by Soldzenitsyn were confiscated from Doronina. During the investigation Doronina admitted to have circulated Amalrik's essay "Can the USSR Survive the Year 1984?". About 60 witnesses were questioned in her case.

At the end of December 1970 the Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR heard L. Doronina's case. The entrance to the court was only permitted to those who had special passes issued by the party committees. Doronina was sentenced to 2 years of concentration camp.

Only now the arrest of Jacob Odobescu, 71, a bee-keeper on the state farm "Dubosary" in Moldavia has become known. He was arrested in February of 1967 for writing letters to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, Bodyulov, to the President of the Academy of Sciences of Moldavia, Grosulev, to the Moldavian Minister of Agriculture and others. In his letter Odobescu demanded that Moldavian culture be defended against Russification. Aside from this, Odobescu's poetry, sent to the Moldavian national poet Sulak, and leaflets which he distributed under the slogan "Moldavia for the Moldavians, Russia for the Russians" were declared "criminal". The Supreme Court of the Moldavian SSR

sentenced Odobescu to 7 years of a concentration camp with severe regime.

On January 10, 1969 Valeriy Zavyertkin was arrested in Moscow and sentenced to 15 years of concentration camps with extremely severe regime for "planning a conspiracy against the leaders of the party and the state, possession of arms, living under falsified documents." Valeriy Zavyertkin was already tried in 1933 for participation in a terrorist organization.

*Dumitru Danielopol*

## **Poland Is on the Verge of Revolt**

Poland is the country to watch in 1971, say many Eastern European leaders. The riots that broke out on Dec. 14 in the cities of Gdansk, Sopot, Gdynia and other Polish towns have a much deeper significance than the West was given to understand. The pre-Christmas raise in prices that triggered the trouble is considered only the straw that broke the camel's back. The country already was seething with unrest and discontent. This was aggravated by the fact that, while the Poles had great difficulty finding adequate supplies of food on the market, they were loading Polish produce destined to go to Russia.

"The deep gap which exists between the Polish people and the Communist government — a government which they do not consider their own — created under the apparently calm surface of national life an undercurrent of revolt..." said a recent statement of the Polish delegation to the Captive Nations in New York.

This is corroborated by the strong anti-Communist overtones of the riots.

The Communist Party headquarters, for instance, and the militia barracks in Gdansk were set ablaze by the demonstrators; and the Communist headquarters in Szczecin was completely gutted by them.

According to exile sources, the Polish army, which had been ordered by party boss Wladyslaw Gomulka to "shoot to kill", in most cases fired over the heads of rioters with whose plight they sympathized. Gomulka had to restore order with the help

of his Communist militia. Then he was sentenced to execution by a firing squad, but because he was then a minor the sentence was commuted to 10 years under guard. He was tried again in 1952 for anti-Soviet propaganda.

At the end of 1968 Mykola Ruban, a resident of Konotop, Sumy oblast, born in 1940 was arrested. In 1969 the Kyiv Oblast Court sentenced him to 5 years of concentration camps with special regime for founding a "nationalist organization."

of his Communist militia.

The hated security police suffered a considerable number of casualties, reports say. Many were hanged, others were drowned by the angry people.

The trouble was so deep and the danger of a widespread revolution so imminent that it forced the resignation of Gomulka and a large part of his politburo which had been in power for 14 years.

The new party boss, Edward Gierek, has his work cut out, exiles say. Unless he is able to satisfy the people's demands, he will be in trouble.

Gierek, the former boss of the Province of Silesia, is considered a hard-line "non-sense" Communist. He lived for 20 years in France and Belgium and is open to Western ideas, however.

He proved to be a first-rate administrator who managed the Silesian economy sufficiently well to ensure a doubling of the worker's wages and bettering the standard of living at the time when the rest of the economy in Poland was sinking.

The Polish economy needs a drastic overhaul, however.

How far can Gierek go with economic reforms before the Russians step in like in Czecho-Slovakia?

"The Russians will think twice before they march into Poland", one exile Pole said. "We are of a different fiber than the Czechs. We will fight. The Second World War started over Poland. If the Russians march in, they might trigger the third world war."



## Lesya Ukrainka



Lesya Ukrainka is the pseudonym of the Ukrainian poetess, Larysa Kosach Kvitka, who was born on February 26, 1871 in the Volyn Province, Ukraine. She was born into a wealthy family. Her father was a well-known scholar, land-owner, patriot and supporter of Ukrainian independence; her mother was a novelist and a poetess, and her uncle, Mykhailo Drahomaniv, was a professor at the University of Kyiv and later at the Sofia University in Sofia, Bulgaria.

A petite girl, Lesya was stricken with tuberculosis of the bones at the age of 12 and later the lungs. She attended school in Zviahel, but because of her illness was compelled to remain at home where she was taught by her parents and tutors. She received a complete formal education and learned ten languages be-

sides her native Ukrainian (French, German, English, Polish, Bulgarian, Greek, Ancient Latin, Italian, Spanish and Russian).

Three major factors helped to develop her personality, strong character and unique knowledge. 1) The influence of her family and surroundings. 2) The beauty of nature — the Volyn Province. 3) Her illness, which isolated her from people her own age, caused her to live with her books and to base her intellectual and spiritual life on what she read, rather than on what she saw and experienced.

In 1876, when Lesya was 5 years old, a decree was issued by the minister of the Russian empire, Count Valuyev, prohibiting the use of the Ukrainian language and all forms of publication and permitting the use of the Russian language only.

When Larysa Kosach was 12 years old, her first poem was sent to Lviv, Western Ukraine by her mother under the pseudonym Lesya Ukrainka in order to avoid punishment by the Russians.

A strong love of liberty and abhorrence of tyranny and imperialism, a championing of the rights of the common people — these are some of the notes continuously ringing in the works of Lesya Ukrainka, expressed in the form of poems, lyric monologues, dramatic scenes and poetic dramas.

In her works she dealt with various aspects of life of the enslaved nations struggling to protect their ideals and material existence against encroachment by the victorious power. She drew her inspiration from the Bible, from the suffering of the Jewish prisoners after the fall of Jerusalem and during the Babylonian Captivity, from the early Christians and from the struggle of the Scotch to free themselves from the domination of the English kings.

Lesya Ukrainka married Clement Kvitka at the age of 21. Her illness forced the Kvitka family to leave Ukraine, and her life became a journey from hospital to health resort. She lived in Bulgaria, Berlin, Rome, Crimea, Caucasus and Egypt. She died on August 1, 1913 in Suramy, Caucasus, and is buried in Kyiv.

At the time of her funeral, thousands of Ukrainians came to pay tribute to Lesya, but the Russian police intervened and prohibited many from viewing her burial. They considered her funeral a protest against Russian occupation because her works were prohibited in Ukraine.

Her writings were published in 12 volumes in Western Ukraine and republished in the free world. In the Russian-occupied Ukraine her works are being published, but with a Communist interpretation and condensed into 10 volumes. Some of her famous works have been translated into English, Bulgarian, Lithuanian, Polish and Russian.

Professor Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University stated, "Lesya Ukrainka, a poetess of rare scholarship, with an expert's knowledge of poetical techniques, familiar with the principal European languages and literature, an unbounded imagination, keen psychological insight, and a power and vigor of expression not surpassed by any woman writer who has made a name for herself in Western literature. This is not fulsome praise, but sober fact; hence she is worthy of study by all who take any interest in the achievements of another race."

On the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lesya Ukrainka, the entire Ukrainian nation is paying tribute to her as a great Ukrainian modern poetess, one of the famous Ukrainian trio — Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka. Her writings represent the true spirit and determination of the Ukrainian nation.

## AF-ABN Hold Convention in New York

On May 1—2, 1971 the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN) held their convention in New York's Hotel Commodore. It was opened and chaired by Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgaria), Chairman of AF-ABN, with the Presidium: Mr. Charles Andreanszky (Hungary) — vice-chairman, Mr. Mario Aquilera (Cuba) and Mr. Aristide Nikolaie (Rumania) — secretaries, as well as the President of ABN Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Editor-in-Chief of *ABN Correspondence*, who were given a standing ovation by those present.

After the reports by the Chairman, Dr. Ivan Docheff, the Chairman of the Political Council, Mr. Charles Andreanszky, and the Secretary General, Mr. Michael Spontak (Ukraine), who also delivered the financial report, which were accepted without any changes by delegates of 12 nationalities, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, representing

the Central Committee of ABN, was asked to speak. She conveyed the greeting of the Central Committee and informed about the activities of CC ABN and its participation at international anti-Communist conferences in Europe, Asia, Australia and North America. Then followed the reports of AF-ABN branches in Chicago (Mrs. Ulana Celewych), Rochester (Prof. B. Hubka), Washington (V. Mayewsky), Cleveland (J. Bosielevic), Los Angeles (N. Kirigin). The reports were interrupted by the arrival of Mr. Laszlo Pasztor, Director of the Heritage Division of the Republican National Committee, and Dr. Karol Sitzko, editor of the *Washington New Approach*.

Four committees were elected: Resolution — C. Andreanszky, Dr. A. J. App, A. Nikolaie, Mrs. S. Stetsko and Mr. Kirigin; Organizational, Program and Planning — Dr. S. Halamay, Dr. Anatol Pleskaczewski, Col. Nazarenko; Statutory — Dr. T. Kru-



pa, Mr. Andreanszky and Mr. Aquilera; Nomination — A. Nasic, Mr. Lipping, A. Andonoff, M. Spontak and W. Kollacks.

In the evening a banquet was held with the participation of over 250 people. It was addressed by many prominent personalities, among them Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Dr. S. Sai Pen, Director of East Asia Research Institute, who represented Nationalist China, and representatives of various national organizations. Entertainment was provided by the Byelorussian trio "Kalina", the Rumanian trio and the Ukrainian bandura player Mr. Yurkevych.

On May 2nd the convention continued with the business session at which committee reports were presented and certain resolutions and decisions carried out.

The new officers of AF-ABN were elected as follows:

*Presidium:* Dr. Nestor Procyk (Ukraine) Chairman; Miro Gal (Croatia), Dr. Gabor De Besenny (Hungary), John Kosiak (Byelorussia), Dr. Austin J. App (Germany), Dr. George Paprikoff (Bulgaria), Dr. Theodor Krupa (Ukraine), Capt. Zoltan Vasvary (Hungary), Capt. Ante Doshen (Croatia)— Vice Chairmen.

*Executive Board:* Dr. Ivan Docheff — Chairman; Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Mr.



*At the AF-ABN Convention. From l. to r.: Dr. Ivan Docheff, Pres. Y. Stetsko, Mr. Cruz Cobos, Mrs. S. Stetsko, Mr. M. Aquilera.*

Michael Spontak, Mr. Mario Aquilera, Mr. Anthony Nasic — Vice Chairmen; Dr. Anatol Pleskaczewski — Secretary General; Vern Michael — Recording Secretary; Michael Kokka — Treasurer; Mrs. Ulana Celewych — Director of the Women Section; Askold Skalskyi — Public Relations and Information.



*Board of Directors:* Azerbaijan — Rahim Baba-Uhlu; Bulgaria — Col. Richard Raicheff, Nikola Stoyanoff; Byelorussia — Vladimir Pielesa, Peter Sawczyc; Cosackia — Col. Nikola Nazarenko, Feodor Streshchak; Croatia — V. Kutzina, Dr. Ante Bonifacic; Cuba — Pablo Perez, Oswald Ruiz; Estonia — Col. Elmer Lipping, Edward Derrik; Germany — Erich Ionssen, Alphons Bayersdorfer; Hungary — Bela Roka, Tibor Hejja; North Caucasus — Capt. Nasan-Bey Arslan Bek, Izmael Ramazan; Rumania — Aristide Nikolaie, Ramazan; Rumania — Aristide Nikolaie, Prof. George Botosany; Ukraine — Dr. Stepan Halamay, Dr. Alexander Sokolyszyn.

*Branch Representatives:* Chicago — Walther Kollacks, Mrs. Dorris Koltek, Washington, D. C. — Volodymyr Mayewsky, Dr. Karol Sitko; Cleveland — Dr. Bohdan Futey, G. Petroff; Rochester — Prof. B. Hubka, Joseph Yurkus; California — T. Pavic, Peter Radielovic; New York — Mrs. Daria Stepaniak.

In the afternoon a panel discussion was held, moderated by Mr. Andreanszky.

## Executive Board Meeting of WACL/APACL

On March 19—20 in Manila Philippines, a joint meeting of the Executive Boards of the WACL and APACL had been held. Twelve of the 13 members of the E.B. of the WACL and nine of the 10 members of the APACL were present, representing national Chapters and Organizations of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, North America, Europe, the Captive Nations, the World Anti-Communist Youth. Also present was a delegation of PACOM (the Philippine Chapter) headed by Hon. Ramon D. Bagatsing, aptly assisted by Col. Ernesto P. Golez, Secretary General and members of the National Executive Preparatory Committee for the 5th WACL Conference, presided by the Hon. Jose J. Roy.

Before attending to the Conference the participants made calls on the Hon. Jose B. Laurel jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the Philippines; the Hon. Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic and the Hon. Gil J. Puyat, President of the Senate.

The President of the Republic, Ferdinand E. Marcos, graciously received the participants in the Malacañang Presidential Palace, expressing his appreciation for their activities and reiterating to them the ample assurance given to the Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang about his anti-Communist position.

Also Secretary of Foreign Affairs Hon. C. Romulo, as well as the Speaker of the House, Hon. J. Laurel, and the President of the Senate, Hon. G. Puyat, welcoming the delegates had expressed their sympathy for the aims of the WACL and APACL, their gratification for the dedication of their members and had pledged their support for contributing to the success of the annual conferences, the 5th WACL and the 17th APACL, to be held in Manila next July.

The meeting of the WACL/APACL joint Executive Board was opened by the WACL Chairman, Hon. Osami Kuboki, who expressed appreciation to all the dele-

gates who were present in Japan last September and had contributed to the success of the 4th WACL Conference. He exhorted everyone to renew his pledge of dedication to the cause of freedom, justice and victory over Communism, expressing the earnest hope that all freedom loving people and nations would join forces to help overcome the threat of Communism in the world.

Congressman Cornelio T. Villareal delivered an address of cordial welcome to the members of the Executive Board on behalf of the Philippine Government and of the Filipino people. The Honorary Chairman of WACL Dr. Ku Cheng-kang next gave his address thanking the Philippine Government and the Filipino people for the vital role and contribution they are playing in thwarting the possible threat of Communism, not only in Asia, but throughout the world.

A report on the preparations for the 5th WACL Conference was rendered by Senator Jose J. Roy, Chairman of the Philippine National Executive Preparatory Committee which is actively and enthusiastically attending to the preparation of the Conference to be held in July.

Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez, Secretary General of the WACL, and Col. Do Dang Cong, Secretary General of the APACL, introduced their respective reports. Dr. Hernandez, reminding the participants that his term expires on July 31st, after having said how much he had enjoyed his work as Secretary General of the WACL and having assured that he will participate in all manner or means in its affairs even pleaded in favour of an effective and strong presence of the Secretariat because only by this the League can function properly.

Information was given to the Executive Board by Prof. David Rowe (USA) that as per communication from Mr. John Fisher, President of the American Council for World Freedom, at the recent meeting of the ACWF Board of Directors it had



been unanimously voted to apply for membership in the WACL/APACL.

This application, as well as those of the Foreign Affairs Circle (U.K.) and from former Minister Dr. Oberländer for the group he is reorganizing in the Federal Republic of Germany, were submitted for consideration and unanimously approved.

The meeting then discussed various points connected with the next WACL/APACL Assemblies. The theme of the 5th WACL Conference to be: "Save freedom — act now!", and of the 17th APACL to be: "Free Asians, unite!". Program and details were discussed at length and agreed upon.

At the meeting the problem of the possible site of the 1972 WACL/APACL Conferences was also discussed. After having taken into consideration the pros and cons offered by various possibilities, it was agreed that the Board approves in principle that they should be held in Toronto (Canada) and that Mrs. Slava Stetsko be authorized to make enquiries with the proper authorities concerned in Canada, to establish the necessary contacts and tentative arrangements and that she would report about her findings in July at the Manila Conference.

Then the Board discussed and approved the final communique and the following:  
a) Resolution to urge Asian Nations to stand firm against the Chinese Communist

regime and North Vietnamese Communist regime;

b) Resolution to support the forays of the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam into Laos;

c) Draft of a resolution submitted by ABN to be referred to the Resolution Committee of the Plenary Session in July 1971, condemning Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism.

Closing remarks were given by Hon. Ramon D. Bagatsing, President of the Philippine Chapter of WACL, who expressed his deep appreciation for the attendance of members of the E. B. coming from such distant localities situated in various continents, and reiterated the invitation to the forthcoming July Conferences so that these may turn into the most successful events. After he had expressed his thanks to entities and individuals who have given their moral and spiritual support to the Philippine Chapter and to the Filipino-Chinese one, and had praised national Chapters, organizations and various members throughout the world for the role played in the fight against Communism, the meeting was adjourned.

During their stay in Manila the members of the Board have deeply enjoyed the friendly atmosphere and the splendid hospitality offered by Filipino personalities and by the Philippine Chapter.

*Ivan Matteo Lombardo*



Participants of the Executive Board Meeting with *Foreign Affairs Secretary Carlos P. Romula*. (Manila, March 19, 1971)

## The Achilles' Heel of the Russian Empire

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow took place in the atmosphere of a pre-revolutionary situation in the more important non-Russian parts of the empire. These colonial countries, the potential embryos of future anti-Russian revolutions are — by the way — Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

In Ukraine, dissenting and nationally and revolutionary-minded young intellectuals are suffering persecution of the Stalinist dimensions. One of these representatives of the young generation in occupied Ukraine asked the Dutch authorities for political asylum on March 25, 1971. 19-year-old Evhen Demchenko, a native of Kyiv, belonged to a group of selected activists, who were sent on a study tour of South America. In Amsterdam Demchenko fled the ship. Before the international press he declared that Russian Communism was outdated and that he was completely disenchanted by it.

All signs point to the fact that the internal situation in the Russian empire is in the state of stagnation and intensified reaction. Without radical changes there is no future for Ukrainian youth. Yes, countless young Ukrainians are thinking just like Demchenko. He planned his escape from the prison of nations for a long time, and his systematically hypocritical conduct in the Komsomol was intended to help him to escape.

Demchenko's words have historic significance, for they completely confirm our analysis. Ukrainian workers have a similar attitude to Demchenko's in relation to the Russian rulers. Their conduct is characterized by boycott and resistance. At the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Shelest confirmed this indirectly when he said that in many branches of heavy industry "serious shortages" exist. Not even a third of machine construction corresponds to the demands of the empire. Also in the construction field and in agriculture serious shortcomings are present.

Hatred toward Russia is becoming more and more acute in Latvia and Lithuania. In Moscow this is called "nationalist thickheadedness". August Vos, the secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, writes in the Moscow *Pravda* that Latvians are resisting the industrialization of their native land because they fear that this will cause an influx of Russians. The party *gauleiter* of Lithuania, Antanas Snieckus, complained in the same vein at the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania in March 1971. In other words, the Latvians and Lithuanians are against Russian domination and Russification of their native land.

On the occasion of the centenary of the Paris Commune on March 18, 1971, the Communist Chinese newspapers launched a sharp attack against militarism, imperialism and capitalism of the Russian ruling clique. The Russians reacted very nervously and branded Mao "an anti-Communist of the narrow bourgeois type." Moscow declared that the aim of this campaign is to further aggravate the relations between Russia and Red China. The Chinese Communists failed to send a delegation to the recent Communist Party Congress in Moscow.

The Bolsheviks were attacked just as sharply by a Czech socialist, Edward Goldsticker, today an emigre in England. Goldsticker, a Jew and a friend of Dubcek, predicts an "explosion" for the Russian empire which is going to be precipitated by the Russians by the Stalinist repressions. In his interview in the Hamburg periodical *Spiegel*, Goldsticker expressed the view that the new Russian tsars scorn the people and exploit these "ignorant people" for the interest of their domination. In the so-called Soviet Union the same conditions prevail as in the reign of the Romanovs. Workers, peasants and young people are the private property of the ruling class, i. e. the party and the bureaucrats. Literally he said: "These are conditions which are leading us back to slavery."

Herman Pertzgen, a liberal German expert on the East, who works in Moscow



as a correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* points to the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire in his commentary. He says: "In some national republics, in the Baltic states, in Ukraine and in Moldavia there are particular difficulties. This was the opinion of various speakers at the Lithuanian Party Congress, who said that bourgeois propaganda and ideo-

logical deviation are turned against the friendship with the Russian people."

What does this mean? Russia's friendship with her colonies is today a macabre phantom, an empty utopia in which neither the Russians nor the subjugated peoples believe. Instead of friendship only hatred and a passionate desire for revenge are visible.

## Coincidence?

In May of 1919 at Düsseldorf, Germany, the Allied Forces obtained a copy of some of the "Communists' Rules for Revolution". Nearly 50 years later, the Reds are still following the rules. As you read the first, stop after each item and think about the present day situation where you live — and all around our nation. We quote the Red Rules:

A. Corrupt the young; get them away from religion. Get them interested in sex. Make them superficial; destroy their ruggedness.

B. Get control of all means of publicity, thereby:

1. Get people's minds off their government by focusing their attention on athletics, sexy books and plays and other trivialities.

2. Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial matters of no importance.

3. Destroy the people's faith in their natural leaders by holding the latter up to contempt, ridicule and obloquy.

4. Always preach true democracy, but seize power as fast and as ruthlessly as possible.

5. By encouraging government extravagances, destroy its credit, produce fear of inflation with rising prices and general discontent.

6. Form unnecessary strikes in vital industries, encourage civil disorders and foster a lenient and soft attitude on the part of government toward such disorders.

7. By spacious argument cause the breakdown of the moral virtues, honesty, sobriety, continence, faith in the pledged word, ruggedness.

8. Cause the registration of all firearms on some pretext with a view to confiscating them and leaving the population helpless.

How many of these rules are being carried out in this nation today? Or is it just a coincidence?

(This is a reprint from the Waterville, N.Y. Advance as published in the Southway Post 144 News in December)

## **Franz Josef Land and Its Position in International Law**

One of the usurpations carried out by the Soviet Union and forgotten by world public opinion was in Franz Josef Land.

Franz Josef Land is a group of 85 islands in the northern Arctic Ocean, north of Novaya Zemlya and east of Spitsbergen. It is situated between the 80th and 83rd degrees of north latitude. It has a total area of 18,939 square kilometers (6,400 square miles.) It has heights of up to 750 metres.

This group of islands was discovered on August 30, 1873 by the second Austro-Hungarian North Pole expedition led by Julius von Payer and Carl Weyprecht; it was placed under the sovereignty of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and named after the Emperor and King then reigning.

Austro-Hungary acquired Franz Josef Land, which previously belonged to no state and had been unknown to anyone, legally. It became part of its territory according to the generally accepted principles of international law. No government protested against the expansion of the sovereignty of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to this group of islands. No one attempted to dispute its possession of these islands either.

After World War I, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was dissolved, it was forgotten to solve the question of the future ownership of Franz Josef Land. It was not solved by the Peace Treaties ending the first world war either.

Even if the question of the future ownership of Franz Josef Land wasn't solved after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, it in no way means that this territory did not at that time belong to anybody. Since Austro-Hungary had acquired this land legally and had never renounced its claim to it, this group of islands has since then belonged to Austro-Hungary's successor in law. This successor in law is formed by the nations of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and their states.

The position of Franz Josef Land under international law is comparable to that of an undistributed inheritance under civil law. In the same way that a not yet distributed inheritance is the common property of its heirs, Franz Josef Land is a condominium of the nations of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The annexation of Franz Josef Land by the Soviet Union carried out in 1928 does not alter anything in this legal position, since this annexation was contrary to international law. It was in defiance of international law, since the nations of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or their legal governments had not renounced their claims to this territory. They gave no subsequent approval to this annexation flouting international law either. It can therefore only be described as a usurpation, from which no legal rights can be deduced.

In order to camouflage the illegality of this annexation, Soviet Russia renamed Franz Josef Land "Lomonosov Land". This arbitrary renaming after the founder of the Russian literary language was designed to arouse the impression that this group of islands had always been in the possession of Russia since their discovery. This had however no historical basis. Mikhail Lomonosov (1711—1765) had nothing to do with Franz Josef Land; indeed he knew nothing of its existence. He died more than a hundred years before the discovery of this group of islands.

Soviet Russia possesses Franz Josef Land, like many other areas, only *de facto*, not *de jure*. As long as the present relations in world power last, this discrepancy between the legal and the actual position cannot be removed. Only a dissolution of the USSR can create the practical conditions necessary for this.

After a dissolution of the USSR, Franz Josef Land should be divided proportionally among the successor states of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and all those states which legally possess parts of



this territory. The direct and indirect successor states are in this case: Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Slovakia and Slovenia. The other states, which legally possess parts of the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, are (in order of their share of territory): Rumania, Ukraine, Poland, Italy and Serbia. These states, with the exception of Italy and Austria, have been under Communist government for decades. Most of them have been in the Soviet Russian sphere of power too. Their formal sovereignty is, however, — theoretically— recognized even by their Communist rulers. In practice at the moment they possess only a limited sovereignty in accordance with the Brezhnev doctrine.

A different solution of the problem of Franz Josef Land would not be in accordance with the principles of international law. Neither the right of self-determination of the nations nor the resolution of the United Nations on de-colonization could be applied in this case, since Franz Josef Land was never settled at the time of its illegal annexation by Soviet

Russia, and the few people who live there now are only members of the Russian occupying power. Therefore it is not they but the nations of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy who are entitled to dispose of rights over Franz Josef Land. The conditions necessary for the free expression of their will, however, will only exist after their liberation.

Benesch, Kurt: *Nie zurück! Die Entdeckung des Franz-Joseph-Landes (Never Back! The Discovery of the Franz Josef Land)*. Vienna-Munich, 1967.

Eksler, J.: *U kraya zemli. Arkticheskiy pokhod "Sedova" (On the Border of the Earth. The Arctic Expedition of "Sedov")*. Moscow, 1930.

Horn, Gunar: *Franz Josef Land. Natural History, Discovery, Exploration, and Hunting*. Oslo, 1930.

Payer, Julius: *Die Entdeckung des Kaiser-Franz-Joseph-Landes. Die österreichisch-ungarische Nordpolarexpedition 1872-74 (The Discovery of the Emperor Franz Josef Land. The Austro-Hungarian North Pole Expedition 1872-74)*. Leipzig, 1929.

### **Ukrainians of Southern Australia Protest against Russian Colonialism**

On April 4, 1971 Ukrainians of Southern Australia marched through the center of Adelaide to Elder Park where a protest rally was held. They were demonstrating against the cruel and inhuman persecution by the organs of the Russian occupational government and the Communist Party of the Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Initiated by the Anti-Bolshevik League, the rally was prepared by the Citizens' Committee and supported by the general public.

The march was headed by leading members of the Ukrainian community, members of clergy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and invited guests, among them Senator to the Federal Parliament I. T. Cain. They were followed by school children, members of the Association of Ukrainian Women, then the residents of various suburbs, both Ukrainians and Australians. The march was closed by the

formations of the Ukrainian Scouts and the Ukrainian Youth Association in uniforms with their flags. Dozens of signs bearing slogans, pictures and cartoons were carried by the demonstrators. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed to passers-by.

The rally was opened and directed by Mr. Yu. Sobol, the head of the Ukrainian Student Association. The main addresses were delivered by Senator Cain, who outlined the Communist threat to Australia and the way to combat it, and Mr. I. Mykyta, who described the present conditions in Ukraine, giving examples of arrests and persecution of the Ukrainian patriots. Short speeches were then delivered by representatives of the Estonians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Poles and the Australian Democratic Labour Party.

The event was widely covered by the press and television.

## Thousands Demonstrate in Defense of V. Moroz

### Toronto

On May 9, 1971 an impressive candlelight manifestation was held in Toronto, Canada. It was sponsored by the Association of Ukrainian Students in Canada (SUSK), which for months now is waging a nationwide campaign to free Moroz and other Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR, calling to life for this purpose the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. Over 5,000 Ukrainians and members of other ethnic groups, in particular the Balts, attended the demonstration and signed petitions to Prime Minister Trudeau.\*)

After the singing of the Canadian National Anthem the manifestation was opened by Mr. B. Maksymets, chairman of the Toronto branch of the Committee of Ukrainians of Canada (KUK), who outlined the purpose of the demonstration: to demand that Prime Minister Trudeau bring these matters to the attention of the Soviet Russian Government during his trip to the USSR. Deeply moving was the moment of prayer for the persecuted Ukrainian people and their Church in the USSR, for the return of freedom and the release from prisons, concentration camps and places of banishment all imprisoned Ukrainian patriots. The prayer was led by H. E. Isydor Boretskyi, the Ukrainian Bishop of Toronto.

Greetings from the Mayor and the City Council of Toronto were conveyed by City Councilman Tony O'Donohue, who said that the City Council expresses its solidarity with the just demands of Ukrainians to the Federal Government in Ottawa. The same type of reassurances were expressed by Hon. I. Yaremko, Provincial Secretary and Minister of Citizenship, on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Government of Ontario.

The main address was delivered by Prof. V. Tarnopolskyi, Dean of the Law Faculty at Windsor University. From the standpoint of international law, which through the resolutions of the UN guarantees the

freedom of the individual and the nation, he demanded that the Canadian Government take steps to obtain the release of V. Moroz. Other speeches were delivered by students Marko Boytsun, chairman, and Orest Novakivskyi, member of the Committee for the Release of Valentyn Moroz.

At the end resolutions were read in Ukrainian, English and French urging the Canadian Federal Government to send a formal protest to the Soviet Government on the subject of the persecution, arrests and sentencing of the Ukrainian intellectuals, to demand from the Soviet Government the release of Valentyn Moroz, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi and other Ukrainian patriots unjustly convicted in the USSR, and to bring this matter up at the UN General Assembly as the trampling of human rights in Ukraine.

### New York

On May 1, 1971 a large demonstration in defense of Valentyn Moroz was held before the UN Headquarters in New York. It was organized by various Ukrainian youth organizations and attended by some 1,500 persons, predominantly young people. The demonstrators distributed leaflets, petitions to the UN and a special issue of the *Ukrainian Weekly* dedicated to V. Moroz. Placards with inscriptions "Freedom for Valentyn Moroz", "Freedom for Ukrainian Political Prisoners" were dominant. Members of other ethnic groups, expressing solidarity with Ukrainian demonstrators, also took part in the demonstration.

The rally was addressed by Joseph Lysohir, President of the World Congress of Ukrainians; Petro Diachenko, representing SUSTA (Congress of Ukrainian Student Associations of America), Ivan Vasylyk, representative of SUMA (Ukrainian Youth Association), Ivan Kolasky, a former member of the Communist Party of Canada and the author of two well-known books

\*) For text of the petition see pp. 36-37.



"Education in Soviet Ukraine" and "Two Years in Soviet Ukraine", and Orest Tsap, chairman of the Ukrainian Students' Club at Rutgers University.

The demonstration was widely covered by the press, radio and T. V. Radio stations "Voice of America" and "Radio Liberty" were represented by special correspondents.

Three Ukrainian students made an attempt to raise the Ukrainian flag on the premises of the UN, but were prevented by the police. Their action however caught the attention of numerous tourists.

At three o'clock the demonstrators began a march through the streets of New York from the UN to the USSR and the Ukr. SSR Mission to the UN, distributing English-language publications on Moroz as they went along. In front of the Mission the demonstrators were addressed by Congressman Hamilton Fish, Osyp Zinkevych, editor of *Smoloskyp*, and Columbia University professor, Dr. Volodymyr Odainyk. Later the participants were addressed by a young Jewish student who expressed his solidarity with Ukrainian demands.

At the end of the demonstration the Red Soviet flag was burned.

### London

Over 3,000 Ukrainians, supported by Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians and Albanians, gathered at Speakers' Corner and marched to the Russian Embassy on May 22, 1971, to protest against the persecution of the Ukrainian people by the Russian imperialists and at the same time to demand the release of Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainian political prisoners languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps.

The demonstration was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee, which together with the Ukrainian community at large distributed 200,000 leaflets, published by the Ukrainian Information Service, 10,000 large and small-size posters and 60,000 stickers, and collected signatures on petitions the UN Human Rights Commission and the UN Secretary-General U Thant.

Besides about 40 flags, the demonstrators carried countless signs with pictures of V. Moroz. There were three floats — one carrying an iron cage with a man inside symbolizing the Russian prisons and concentration camps, and Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainian political prisoners; the second depicting Ukrainian women prisoners doing hard labor at a concentration camp under the supervision of Russian KGB agents; the third carried a living portrait of the Crucifixion of Ukraine.

The rally at Speakers' Corner was opened by Mr. Julian Zablockyj, Chairman of the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. The main address was delivered by Mr. Volodymyr Mykula. Other speakers were Mr. R. W. Wanston, Chairman of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society, L. Buller, on behalf of the British "Democratic Alliance", Mr. Syavkovich, the Byelorussian representative, Mr. T. Zarins, the Latvian representative, and Miss Yarusme, representing youth organizations of the subjugated peoples.

From there the demonstrators marched through the main streets of London to the Russian Embassy, where they remained until late into the night, singing patriotic songs, distributing leaflets and talking to passers-by. Large numbers of police from London and the vicinity were mobilized to guard the embassy grounds.

That evening the BBC radio carried reports of the demonstration in English, Polish, Russian and other languages. It could be seen on British television and news of it appeared in the London and the regional press. Voice of America as well as West European radio stations and newspapers also reported it.

The demonstration actually started at 10:30 a.m. the day before, when members of the Association of Ukrainian Students from London began the 24-hour picketing of the Russian Embassy. At 6:20 p.m. 14 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association, one for each year of V. Moroz's prison term, wearing Ukrainian national costumes and chained together, also began the 24-hour picketing.





*Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) demonstrating in defense of Valentyn Moroz and thousands of other political prisoners, Kitchener, Canada, May 9, 1971.*

#### **Kitchener**

On the initiative of the Ukrainian Students' Club at the University of Waterloo and with the support of the Ukrainian community, a demonstration was held in Kitchener, Ont., Canada on May 9, 1971. It was attended by over 300 people. The demonstrators marched through the streets of Kitchener to City Hall where they were greeted by Mayor McLennan. They carried signs and placards demanding freedom for Valentyn Moroz and for all the imprisoned and guiltlessly exiled. Rev. Ya. Chyzh read a prayer especially prepared for this occasion. Then the demonstrators were addressed by Mayor McLennan, and students Lev Mykytchuk and Maria Barabash, who outlined the purpose of the demonstration.

The local press, radio and television carried favorable reports on the demonstration.

#### **Winnipeg**

On the same day the committee of youth organizations under the leadership of SUSK (Association of Ukrainian Students of Canada) and sponsored by KUK (Committee of Ukrainians of Canada), Winnipeg Branch, staged a demonstration in front of City Hall for the release of Valentyn Moroz. Over 400 people participated in the protest. They were addressed by Councilor S. Rebchuk on behalf of the Winnipeg City Council, B. Hvozduych on behalf of the students and A. Yaremovych on behalf of the Winnipeg Branch of KUK.

In both demonstrations the participants adopted appropriate resolutions and sent a telegram to Prime Minister Trudeau urging him to intervene on Moroz's behalf during his trip to the USSR and Ukraine.



### **Mass Campaign against Red Army Choir in England**

Beginning with March 18, 1971 countless demonstrations of Ukrainians were held throughout England against the visit of the Red Army Choir from Kyiv. The Ukrainian liberation movement assumed a sharp attitude to the Bolshevik propaganda tour. Demonstrations were held before and inside concert halls. Appropriate literature prepared by the Ukrainian Information Service was distributed everywhere. Sometimes it also got in the hands of the choir members, contrary to the wishes their NKVD guardians. There were also arrests. One Ukrainian from Blackpool chained himself to a chair in the concert hall. The police had a great deal of trouble trying to cut him loose.

The English public watched the demonstrations with great interest. Dozens of newspapers across England, including such well-known ones as *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* carried extensive and shorter reports on Ukraine, and the demonstrations themselves, publishing pictures and the contents of leaflets. *The Daily Telegraph* informed about Valentyn Moroz and the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals by Russia. *The Yorkshire Post* said that "the Ukrainians' resentment to the Red group is quite understandable."

### **Week-long Demonstration against Red Army Ensemble**

The Red Army Ensemble, which is presently touring England, appeared in Leeds the week of April 19—24, 1971. On this occasion the local members of ABN, in particular Ukrainians and Lithuanians, staged a week-long information campaign and demonstrations to tell the English people the truth about the Russian crimes toward the subjugated peoples.

On Sunday night ABN stickers were pasted throughout the theater where the Ensemble was to appear and in hotels where they were to live. 18,000 leaflets were distributed throughout the week. 170 letters containing information material were sent to English institutions, newspapers, radio and television stations. Every

evening hundreds of demonstrators, with anti-Communist and anti-imperialist signs, picketed the hall and chanted anti-Russian slogans. On several occasions the local demonstrators were reinforced by Ukrainian demonstrators from Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Keighley and Todmorden, and a 200-strong Jewish group.

### **Demonstration in Sheffield**

On May 3, 1971 Ukrainians from Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Mansfield, Scunthorpe, Dinnington, Doncaster and Sheffield staged an impressive demonstration against the emissaries of the Russian imperial army from the so-called "Kyiv Command". Perhaps the City Hall auditorium had never seen such a sight: over one hundred demonstrators, several dozen policemen and those wishing to hear the concert, hopping like rabbits through the ranks of the demonstrators to the hall amidst shouts and laughter of the protesters.

The choir members arrived way before the concert was scheduled to begin. The demonstrators were not there yet. They were greeted by Y. Deremenda, Chairman of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, with a patriotic speech. After this they did not come outside but probably heard the chants "Red, Red out".

As part of the demonstration, the choir of the Ukrainian Youth Association of Scunthorpe, wearing Ukrainian national costumes, gave a concert of their own on the steps of the concert hall. The passers-by stopped to hear them and at the same time read the signs and leaflets. Most of them sympathized with the protesters. One Scotchman encouraged the demonstrators by saying: "Russia should be defeated, driven out of foreign territories, her lands divided among neighbors and the culprits punished by an international tribunal." Other young people distributed leaflets within a mile radius of the hall, putting them in mail boxes and on parked cars. After the demonstration they marched through the center of town to their buses carrying placards. Poles, Jews, Czechs and Slovaks also distributed leaflets, but the Ukrainian group was the most active. Two

young Ukrainians disrupted the concert by jumping onto the stage and shouting "Russians get out!" and scattering leaflets. Somebody even knocked out "by accident" the copies of the *Daily Worker* from the hands of the vendor and the wind scattered them all over the street.

### **"Red Army, Get Out of Ukraine!"**

"Kyiv vs. Moscow" and "Red Army, get out of Ukraine" were the slogans under which the members of the Ukrainian Youth Association from Manchester, Oldham and Ashton demonstrated against the Red Army Ensemble which appeared in Manchester, England from April 26th to May 1st, 1971 at the Manchester Opera.

The members of the choir began to talk to the young people gathering below, but as the demonstrators unfurled their signs with inscriptions "Kyiv vs. Moscow", "Red Army, get out of Ukraine" and another huge one depicting a concentration camp with barbed wire around it, a watchtower over the camp with the red flag and a Russian holding an automatic, with the inscription "Freedom for Ukraine", they received orders from their KGB guards to

get away from the windows. This did not discourage the demonstrators, who assembled and began to sing patriotic Ukrainian songs. Another group of demonstrators with placards distributed leaflets at the entrance to the hall. Yet another group entered the hall. Manchester youths hung huge signs in Ukrainian in front of the first balcony and began to throw stink bombs. This caused a disturbance in the hall and the secret police agents led the youths away. A group of girls who were throwing down leaflets were also forcibly removed from the hall.

The young people did not leave the concert site for several hours. They walked under the hall's windows, sang the Ukrainian Insurgent Army songs, tore down posters advertising the Red Army concert and in their place pasted a placard depicting a Red soldier with a bayonet who is shouting at Ukraine and Europe.

Besides this large-scale demonstration on April 26th, the young Ukrainians distributed leaflets on April 28th and appeared again en masse on April 30th. Almost all national and local papers carried favorable reports on the demonstration. The BBC news also reported the demonstration.

## **10 Years of Concentration Camp**



Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian seaman who on November 23, 1970 attempted to flee a Soviet fishing boat to the American Coast Guard Cutter off the American coast, received in Vilnius a 10-year term in a concentration camp. The whole free world talked about the brutal conduct of the American officers who handed Kudirka over to the Russian sailors, who beat and tortured him. Rear Admiral W. Ellis, who gave the order to return Kudirka to the Russians, and F. Brown, the captain of the American vessel, were ordered by President Nixon to resign.

Kudirka will always remain a symbol of freedom in the hearts of Lithuanians and all the other subjugated peoples.



## Pope Paul VI Refuses Ukrainian Cardinal to Visit Faithful in Canada

*We have received word from the Holy See that His Eminence Yosyf Cardinal Slipyi, the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, has been refused permission to visit his faithful in Canada on a tour of spiritual recollections. His Eminence Cardinal Slipyi was expected to arrive at Toronto International Airport at 2:50 PM on Friday, May 28th. Despite extensive preparation by the welcoming committee and heartfelt expectation of thousands of faithful, Maximilian Cardinal de Furstenberg, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Eastern Churches, informed Cardinal Slipyi on Wednesday May 19th that the Pope refused to grant him permission to visit Canada for the following reasons.*

*The first reason quoted was the intensive action taken by the Ukrainian Catholic faithful in recent years throughout the Free World demanding more church autonomy through a Ukrainian-rite Patriarch. Under this system the Patriarch and the synod of bishops would constitute the higher authority for all affairs of the Ukrainian church, including the nomination of bishops. Cardinal Slipyi, who holds the title of Archbishop Major is regarded by Ukrainians as the logical choice for Patriarch.*

*The second reason cited was the mass protests recently held in North America against the illegal appointing by the Vatican of two bishops in the United States without the consent of the legal Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This is a violation of the historical rights and canon law of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as set by the Union of Brestj (1595—96), as well as by the Vatican II's Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches.*

*This recent action on the part of the Vatican is in our opinion a culmination of a series of moves by the Vatican to ruin the autonomy of our church, and to ultimately liquidate it through assimilation into Roman Catholicism. It ceases to be merely a question of religion, particularly when one considers that a similar policy of systematic destruction of the Ukrainian culture, national and political rights, together with the Ukrainian Catholic Church of 8 million was embarked upon by the Soviet Russian atheistic regime in Ukraine 25 years ago. A similar fate fell upon the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church of 35 million.*

*One trembles at the realization of the tragic irony that after a complete annihilation of the Ukrainian churches with hundreds of thousands of martyred clergy, bishops and faithful, the sole remaining survivor of the hierarchy Yosyf Cardinal Slipyi, despite 18 years of hard labor in Siberia, cannot visit his people by the will not of a totalitarian atheistic regime but that of the highest spiritual authority of the Universal Catholic Church.*

*In the past few hours thousands of telegrams have been sent by Ukrainian organizations as well as individuals in protest to this arbitrary action taken by the Pope.*

*This presumably last chance to visit his people cannot be so cruelly denied to an 80-year old living martyr for Christendom.*

Secretary (Chairman of the World Conference of the Ukrainian Students)  
O. Romanyshyn

Welcoming Committee Chairman  
(Appointed by Bishop Isidore Borecky —  
Toronto Eparchy)  
Dr. N. Kushpeta

## **"Free Moroz" Campaign Continues**

Below we are publishing the letter to UN Secretary General U Thant on which signatures are being collected by the Ukrainian Student Organization of Mykola Mikhnovskyi (TUSM) in Chicago, Ill. and the petition to Pierre E. Trudeau, the Prime Minister of Canada, on which signatures are being collected by the "SET THEM FREE" Committee in Defense of Human Rights. In addition to the cover letter, the petition gives a list of 37 Ukrainian prisoners of conscience in the USSR and photos of 10 Ukrainian political prisoners, presently incarcerated in Russian prisons and concentration camps.

*The Honourable U Thant  
Secretary General of the United Nations  
United Nations  
New York, N.Y. 10017  
Your Excellency:*

*I am concerned with the growing persecution of Ukrainian writers, students and intelligentsia by the government of the USSR.*

*Ukrainians are sentenced to long years of imprisonment for defending the right of the Ukrainian people to choose their own way of life and to national independence, for voicing their protest against Russification and against the planned destruction of the Ukrainian cultural heritage.*

*We urge you to defend the Declaration of Human Rights which is constantly violated by the government of the USSR and to voice your protest against the inhuman treatment of many non-Russian nationalities enslaved in the Soviet Union.*

*We ask you to explore all possibilities to urge the Soviet government:*

- 1. to review the case of Valentyn Moroz sentenced on November 20, 1970 to nine years of imprisonment for his beliefs and convictions; to review the cases, of Ukrainian writers Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, Ivan Sokulskyi, Mykola Kulchynskyi, Mykhaylo Maslyutko, Zynoviy Krasivskyi and Mykhaylo Horyn; to review the cases of Ukrainian lawyers Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukyanenko, and of all other political prisoners and to permit them an open trial in the presence of United Nations representatives;*
- 2. to grant amnesty to Ukrainian women, members of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II — Katheryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husyak who already spent over twenty years in solitary confinement and concentration camps;*
- 3. to give Ukrainians and other nationalities in the USSR the same political, national, religious and cultural rights which all nations possess or should possess according to the Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.*

*Respectfully yours,  
Signature*

*Rt. Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Parliament Hill  
Ottawa 1, Ont.  
Sir,*

*In the past two decades, Canada has emerged as an active and respected member of the international community, particularly through its participation and initiative in the United Nations. Our country's stand in the promotion of peace, freedom and human rights has been positive and consistent. The ratification of the Declaration of Human*



rights by Canada must be regarded not merely as a confirmation of abstract ideals, but as our commitment to the realization and propagation of these principles at home as well as abroad.

As Canadians we are concerned with the open violation of basic human rights by the USSR, also a signee to the Human Rights Declaration of the U.N. We are particularly alarmed by the flagrant repression in Ukraine, where thousands of Ukrainians from all walks of life have been condemned to long prison terms and executions for having exercised their rights of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, of assembly and of meetings, all of which are also guaranteed in the constitution of Ukrainian SSR (Art. 105) and USSR (Art. 125). The persecution of subjugated nations, religious institutions, the sentencing of individuals to hard labour camps and death without due public judicial process constitute extreme violations of human rights. This can not be overlooked and tolerated by us as responsible members of the international community.

We urge that you, on behalf of the people and Government of Canada, voice our protests and use all possible channels to ensure the observance of the Declaration of Human Rights. We particularly request that during your forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union, you raise before responsible authorities the question of the imprisonment of Valentyn Moroz and Svyatoslav Karavanskyi. After having been released from prison, both have again been incarcerated in violation of Soviet law for acts of conscience which are described and guaranteed by the U.N. Declaration as basic human rights. Their sole "crime" was to have Ukrainians and other nationalities aspire towards political, economic, religious and cultural justice.

As Canadians concerned about international justice and the role Canada should continue to play, we petition you to bring to the attention of the USSR that the imprisonment of V. Moroz and S. Karavanskyi is a violation of the USSR's agreement with the international community.

Signature

*The Daily Telegraph* of April 4, 1971 carried an article on Valentyn Moroz by its correspondent David Floyd. Floyd reports that over 100 Ukrainian professors, teaching at American and Canadian universities, sent a letter to the UN Secretary General U Thant in which they request the UN to demand an investigation of the Valentyn Moroz case, who was convicted to 14 years of severe regime in the Russian concentration camps. The author reminds his readers that Moroz had already been sentenced in 1966 to 4 years of imprisonment. His crime is — the defense of Ukrainian culture.

The trial of V. Moroz is only a fragment of the systematic persecution of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Because the government of the Ukr.SSR had signed the Declaration of Human Rights, the UN should investigate in detail, how has he violated the said Declaration. Valentyn Moroz is the author of "The Report from the Beria Reservation" in which he describes the con-

ditions in the Russian extermination camps and prisons. His works are soon to be published in English by the MacMillan Publishers.

Among other things, the letter of the Ukrainian professors says: "As free men, we are protesting against violence perpetrated on Valentyn Moroz as a man and are demanding the return to him of his human rights. As Ukrainians, we are protesting against persecution and extermination of Ukrainian cultural workers and scientists and are demanding that they be given legal guarantees for free cultural and scientific work."

The Polish newspaper *Dziennik Polski* of April 12, 1971, published in London, writes about the same thing on the first page.

In the USA the letter-writing campaign to the UN in defense of Valentyn Moroz has already reached 10,000. In the city of Cleveland alone members of SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and Plast (Ukrain-

ian Scouts) have collected 3,000 signatures.

In Canada 100,000 signatures have been collected as of the end of April.

Archbishop Mstyslav, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, sent a special letter to U Thant in this matter.

On March 5, 1971 the Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned Writers at the International PEN Club sent a letter to the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR demanding a review of V. Moroz's case and his retrial at open court proceedings.

V. Moroz — says the above mentioned letter — was tried for works, which had

never been published. The PEN Club feels that the reopening of the proceedings will reestablish the confidence of writers and intellectuals in the legal proceedings of the Ukr.SSR., provided the new trial will be an open one.

The letter was signed by Mrs. Rosemond Leman — Chairman of the Committee, and David Carver — Secretary General of PEN Club.

The case of V. Moroz and other imprisoned intellectuals was also raised on the floor of the US House of Representatives and the Canadian Parliament.

### Young Americans for Freedom in Defense of V. Moroz

On March 26—28, 1971, at East Brunswick, New Jersey, more than 220 Chapters, representing the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and the District of Columbia convened to deliberate future programs. This region represents one third of all YAF members and has almost 20,000 young people on its rolls.

YAF — or Young Americans for Freedom, is an organization dedicated to preserve the traditional values of America by making the membership aware of the dangers the New Left and the radical movement pose to our American way of life.

Nestor Procyk, Jr., a student of Canisius College, Buffalo, N.Y. attended this Convention as a delegate from the Buffalo Chapter. He prepared and submitted a resolution calling upon the assembled to aid and support those Ukrainians who resist Russian tyranny and suffer jail sentences as a result. He was supported by the Chapter's Chairman Jim O'Brian and the newly elected Director of Mid-Atlantic region, Ron Robinson to get the resolution passed. Some three hundred delegates adopted the resolution published below unanimously, with slight changes, on March 28, '71.

*Whereas, the Soviet Union is a member of the United Nations and therefore supposedly recognizes the basic rights of humanity, and*

*Whereas, Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian intellectual, in practicing his right to free*

*speech, was recently sentenced, in a secret trial, to nine years of hard labor for allegedly conducting "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", and*

*Whereas, the same Valentyn Moroz, having already served four years in a Russian concentration camp for his Ukrainian patriotism was again sentenced to nine years, contrary to Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Communist imposed Constitution of the Ukr.SSR which stipulates punishment for similar crimes not to exceed seven years, and*

*Whereas, besides Valentyn Moroz there are countless more named and unnamed Ukrainians who daily risk their lives for the same principles that were laid down by the American Declaration of Independence, and*

*Whereas, Soviet Jews have not been permitted to immigrate freely to Israel, and*

*Whereas, all minority nationalities have had their cultural heritage submerged by the Soviet state,*

*Therefore be it resolved, that the 1971 Mid-Atlantic Conference of the Young Americans for Freedom condemns Russian Communist totalitarianism in its systematic, premeditated and malicious persecution of national pride, religion and culture throughout the Soviet Union, earnestly urging all members of YAF and all Americans to dedicate themselves to the cause of freedom for all peoples, for all nations, for every individual in the Soviet Union.*



## News and Views

### A Guerrilla Padre Killed by Comrades

The spearhead of subversion in Latin America is constituted, as some Communist magazines admit, by clerics of the new generation. They are being educated according to new theologies, such as the so-called "Theology of Violence" or "of Revolution". Thus, throughout the whole continent groups of "rebel padres" are forming, such as "The Priests for the Third World" in Argentina or the "Golconda Group" in Colombia. They freely defend violent action in order to establish a socialist society, which, according to what they say, would "agree more with man's dignity."

After the recent scandals in Sao Paulo involving the Brazilian Dominicans, who led their own guerrilla chief (Marighela) into a trap forced by police, one of these priests, Frei Tito de Alencar, was ransomed by the terrorists by kidnapping the Swiss Ambassador.

Now the news reaches us that one of the 3 padres of the "Golconda Group" that had joined the Communist guerrillas has been killed by his own comrades. It is Father Manoel Peres, who had become a member of the Communist "National Liberation Army". According to the generally well informed sources of the Colombian press, this priest was executed by his comrades after having been pronounced guilty of "individualism" for having complained of the small rations he had received.

On the other hand, one more priest, by the way a foreigner, is in hot water with the Brazilian police. It is Father Giulio Vicini, an Italian, who was caught red-handed when carrying lots of subversive materials, in the company of Miss Iara Spadini. Availing himself of his function as responsible for the publications of the student's club of the Catholic Uni-

versity, he would use his mimeograph to print violent pamphlets calling the workers to revolt. Father Vicini is being tried by the Military Court and legally aided by the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo. (TFP)

### Swedish Film on Betrayal of Baltic Prisoners

Back in 1946, the Swedish Government extradited to the Russians 146 Baltic soldiers. Among them were nine Lithuanians, 130 Latvians and seven Estonians. This betrayal of political refugees remains a black spot on Sweden's conscience. Some call it the biggest political scandal in Swedish modern history. The bitter debate generated by the betrayal continues to this day.

Two years ago, a young Swedish writer of Maoist persuasian, P. O. Enquist, tackled the subject in his voluminous novel *The Legionnaires*. The novel served as a basis for a film, *Baltut Laemningen* (Betrayal of Balts), directed by Johan Bergenstraahle. Premiered in 1970, the film is a more objective depiction of the tragedy than the novel, although it was still criticized by the Balts in Sweden.

The film was not received well by the Swedish public. Some complained about the overabundance of suicide scenes; others avoided the film because of the painful memories it evoked. Professor Gunnar Myrdal, a self-declared humanitarian guru, went on television to defend the crime of the Swedish Government. He was sharply rebuked by Professor Per Wieselgren (*Dagens Nyheter*, October 17, 1970).

The Russians tried to use the film for their own propaganda purposes and sent a radio and TV crew from Riga to Stockholm. But the Maoist tendencies of the film left them cool.

There is a rising pressure in Sweden for the publication of all acts and documents dealing with the betrayal of the Balts.

(ELTA)

## MVD Fears Revolts

In the fall of last year the MVD\* troops held their maneuvers near Moscow. They proceeded under the motto: "Quelling of a Revolt in a Camp with 1200 Inmates." The scenario went about like this: the camp was in turmoil, screams were heard, fists were shaken. On a given signal armoured cars forced their way into the crowd and cut it into three parts. Troops jumped out of cars and threw tear-gas grenades. They were followed by dogs. Well-trained dogs threw themselves at the rioters from behind, bit into their necks and tried to force them down.

The final chapter of the action was the "capture of the rebels". Metal cages with automatically closing doors moved in on the rebels. Several people were trapped in each cage. During the maneuvers about 50 people had been caught.

It is worth mentioning that about one hundred officers and generals of the MVD and the KGB watched the maneuvers. At the maneuvers' end a banquet was held.

This short and dry report gives rise to many thoughts and needs a special explanation. Such maneuvers are a preparation for the struggle with an internal enemy of the state. And although Bolshevik propaganda has been shouting for a long time that in the USSR there is allegedly no capitalist "class enemy", such an enemy is the entire population of the subjugated non-Russian nations. The Communist doctrine and practice has given rise to a new conflict — the struggle with the regime and the oppressors.

Second, having overcome fear, local revolts, and even a revolution in the USSR, can become reality. If the maneuvers near Moscow were designed to quell camp revolts, then they are primarily intended to be used for crushing revolts in concentration camps, as had been the case in Vorkuta. Henceforth the KGB and the MVD are also afraid of uprisings among the population, which in the past have included demonstrations in Novocherkassk and Donetsk.

\* Ministry of State Security

The service of terror in the USSR does not have confidence in the army, which refused to shoot at demonstrators in Novocherkassk and in the concentration camps. Aside from this, police detachments can also be used against uprisings in the satellite states, for, as had been the case in Hungary during the 1956 Revolution, the military units of the USSR did not want to fire at the insurgents.

The training of MVD troops against future national liberation uprisings within the USSR and in the satellite states is a calculation based on a real peril. This also contradicts the naive view of the West that allegedly the Russian empire has been consolidated and can be a promising force against the Chinese threat.

We do not know whether the Soviet press reported on the progress of the maneuvers. If it did then with the aim of frightening or even causing a panic.

The MVD is making preparations in order to be ready to stem in the bud disturbances, uprisings and national liberation revolutions, and to prevent them from developing fully or spreading. And events in the USSR, in particular in the subjugated countries, are developing so that the internal conflict in the USSR can come before an international conflict. However, the quelling of revolts can also apply to various anti-imperial demonstrations, as had been the case in Novocherkassk, which resulted in several hundred dead.

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### Communist Spy in Radio Free Europe

A certain Andrzej Czechowicz, an officer of the Polish Communist Secret Service, was an employee of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe in Munich during the period 1965—1971. Not long ago he returned home to Poland. On March 10, 1971 Czechowicz stated at a press conference in Warsaw that he left Poland in 1962 with the assignment to collect information on Radio Free Europe for the Polish Secret Service.



## German-American National Congress Opposes Brandt's "Ost-Politik"

February, 1971

The President of the United States of  
America

The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The German-American National Congress, Inc. (D.A.N.K.) is the largest German-American organization in the United States. The D.A.N.K. is a non-partisan political and educational organization.

Its goals embrace:

- a) To strengthen American democracy, morally, spiritually and economically.
- b) To unite and coordinate the efforts of its participating groups toward promoting a nationwide campaign for the defense and extension of our freedom heritage.
- c) To educate for Americanism and against anti-Americanism through appropriate education materials promoting the people-to-people co-operation and friendship between the citizens of both countries. (The security of the United States through strengthening NATO is one of our objectives.)

Representing the German-American National Congress, Inc., with the unanimous consent of its leadership, we feel that it is our responsibility to communicate to you our grave concern over recent political developments in Germany and Europe. Numerous organizations representing millions of concerned German citizens, confirm reports of our overseas study groups:

1. The anti-American propaganda in West Germany reaches proportions of great multitude.

2. It seems that the new "Ost-Politik" of the present West German regime promotes outbursts of anti-Americanism. Press and news media reports are tailored to discredit the United States. Their biased reporting seems to have the approval of the present government of West Germany.

3. The statements of The President of the United States are tailored or quoted out of context. Continuously, we must listen to the West German news media in various languages, misrepresenting the si-

tuation in the United States and even undermining the importance of NATO.

4. Alarming news involving subversive activities within the structure of the West German officialdom are documented and are published in the German magazine *Deutschland-Magazin*.

In view of these and other facts, we are concerned that the ratification of the Bonn-Moscow, Bonn-Warsaw treaties can result in a sell-out not only of Germany but also of Europe. These treaties are a flagrant violation of the German Constitution and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. If ratified, the United States and its security will be in jeopardy.

The people of Europe would be open prey to Soviet Russian imperialism.

The German-American National Congress feels that the European political situation and especially the future of the German people are at stake. The rapid deterioration of the will to resist Soviet Russian threats can only be stopped through an action by the President of the United States.

Recent statements of former U.S. Senior Diplomats like Averell Harriman, Arthur Goldberg and others endorsing the West German "Soviet West Politik" including the recognition of the "DDR" "Deutsche Demokratische Republik" — "German Democratic Republic") create in West Germany the impression that the United States administration approves the sell-out of freedom in Europe.

The information gap created by the biased news media in the United States and overseas produces this conclusion.

Proven by past experiences, we appeal, to you, Mr. President, to appoint a Congressional investigation committee so that the scope of the up-coming events will be fully known to the American people and the result of the investigation will be reported to the people of Europe.

Our organization and our German-Americans and other ethnic representatives are well qualified and willing to supply the

evidence and to appear as witnesses. We, therefore, repeatedly endorse the Resolution unanimously passed by the advisory council of the Republican National Committee, Heritage Group Division of October 3, 1970 on Moscow-Bonn Treaty.

#### **On Moscow-Bonn Treaty:**

*Whereas*, the Moscow-Bonn Treaty draft aborts the Potsdam Agreement as the basis for a peace treaty between the victors and Germany; and

*Whereas*, it fixes in a treaty the division of Europe by an Iron Curtain, of Germany, and of Berlin; and

*Whereas*, it presumes to prohibit even the advancing of claims for any territorial changes in all of Europe, including the countries enslaved by Communist Russia; and

*Whereas*, it sanctions and ratifies the expulsion of native populations to circumvent their self-determination;

*Whereas*, it makes available to Soviet Russia on credit the advanced technology and vast industrial potential of West Germany, and

*Whereas*, it recognizes the Status Quo in Europe,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED FOR THIS CONFERENCE TO GO ON RECORD —

*That* the Moscow-Bonn Treaty be regarded as ill-advised, as disproportionately

#### **Commemoration of Slovak Independence Day**

On March 20th, 1971 in Lakewood, Ohio, the Slovak League of America, Northern Ohio District, organized a celebration on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of Slovakia's Declaration of Independence (March 14th, 1939). The celebration was opened by Mr. Andrew Pavelchak, President of the Slovak League of America, Northern Ohio District. The welcoming address was held by Rt. Rev. Theodor Kojis, OSB. The principle speakers were Mr. Paul C. Falat, President, Slovak Catholic Sokol, and Mr. John C. Sciranka, Editor, Slovak Catholic Sokol News.

favorable to Soviet Russia with no visible benefits for Germany; and

*That* it conflicts by implication with the U.S. Congressional Resolution of 1959 making it U.S. policy to work for the "freedom and independence . . . for all the captive nations of the world"; and

*That* it is an unwarranted ratification by an international treaty of Soviet Russia's hegemony over Eastern and half of Central Europe; and

*That* it is so constituted as necessarily to weaken NATO; and

*That* it is a usurpation by the Soviet Russian government and the West German government of rights and obligations reserved for all the Big Four until a peace treaty to be negotiated between them and a German government representative of all of Germany.

We, with relief and great satisfaction, took notice of your letter to the Director of the Heritage Groups Division — Republican National Committee, Mr. Pasztor.

We trust that your influence and action will prevent the dangers which are so devious.

Dear Mr. President, in this crucial time and days of decision, we pledge to you our fullest endorsement and cooperation.

Respectfully,  
(Signed) WALTHER A. KOLLACKS  
National President of D.A.N.K.  
National Chairman  
All German-American Conference

#### **Fees for Exit Visas Increased**

In the USSR the fees for permission to travel to the "capitalist" (non-Communist) states have been increased from 40 to 400 rubles per person. The above pertains only to short-term visits, for emigration from the Soviet Union is prohibited as the matter of principle. Persons who wish to visit anyone abroad receive the exit visa only in the event that a member of their family, for example, the wife or the children, remain in the Soviet Union, to make sure that the person travelling abroad will return home.



# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## ALBANIA

### The Struggle Against the Religions

After having seized the properties of the churches and the mosques, closed their schools and printing presses, after having deprived the clergy of all means of living, the Communist party was expecting a natural extinction of religions.

But, seeing that this natural death was not coming as fast as he had hoped, Enver Hoxha, by following the example of the Chinese cultural revolution, unleashed a merciless war against religions and traditions. Today there is not even a single church or mosque in our country. Between 1967 and 1969 the clergy of all religions was sent to centres of forced labour.

This radical atheism, had never been applied in any other Communist country, not even in Mao's China.

(The Albanian Resistance)

### Promises of Bread

In spite of its being nearly thirty years in power the Communist regime has not as yet been able to reach the level of bread grains production necessary for the country's needs. This is really disappointing for an agricultural country like Albania.

In 1960 Mehmet Shehu admitted that there was not sufficient bread for the people and that this gap would be filled during the current five year plan.

In 1970 Enver Hoxha made the same promise stating that during the 1971—1975 five year plan shortage of bread would be solved with home production.

The fact is that shortage of bread is always on the order of the day among the "marvellous achievements" of the Communist regime. Until now this problem has been solved by mixing wheat flour with 70 % of potato flour.

(The Albanian Resistance)



## BOHEMIA

### Stalin's Monument Put Up Again

In the town of Rymarov in the Czech Socialist Republic, the town council had decided to restore Stalin's monument, which had been allowed to fall into disrepair during the Khrushchev era. At the same time it had been decided to send a message to the garrison of Russian army units stationed in the vicinity.



## BYELORUSSIA

### Peasants Strike for Church's Reopening

At the end of October, 1970, the imperial regime decided to do away with the church in the village of Zarechanka (formerly Balya Kostelna), Grodno oblast, Byelorussia. The church was closed, or rather it was converted to a granary. The church furnishings were carried away.

Then the peasants declared that "they cannot live without the church" and for three days did not show up for work and kept their children home from school. The teachers were forced to milk cows. Students from Grodno were sent to help on the collective farm. But they also refused to do the work of the religious peasants.

The chief of the Oblast Executive Committee Molochko was forced by public pressure to revoke his decision and to order that the church be cleared of grain, that the removed church furnishings be returned and that the church be opened for services again. This is how the subjugated Christian peoples are actively fighting against the atheistic Russian carpetbaggers.

## East Germany

### Refugees from East Germany

Since 1956 10,573 members of the "National People's Army" have fled from the Russian-occupied zone of Germany to the free part of Germany. This equals the full war strength of five brigades of the "National People's Army". If one is to believe the free press the "army" of the occupied zone of Germany today numbers 92,000 men in the Army, 21,000 men in the Air Force and 16,000 in the Navy. To this can be added 21,000 members of the military police force and 52,000 men in paramilitary formations.

The most refugees fled in 1957, a total of 2,706. In recent years their number declined considerably for the guarding of the frontiers from the side of East Germany has been intensified correspondingly. This also includes the terrible Berlin Wall. Nevertheless in 1970 63 military men managed to escape to the West. Here we are not talking about the civilian population, who are fleeing in increased numbers in spite of the danger to their life and maiming by landmines and bullets of the border guards.

### Lost a Leg in an Escape to Freedom

On April 12, 1971 a 19-year-old mechanic and his friend fled from the Russian-occupied zone of Germany to the free part of Germany. As he crossed over the boundary line a mine exploded and tore off his right foot. As is well known, mines are hidden along the demarcation line on the Russian side to prevent the people from fleeing this Communist paradise.

With the help of his companion, who with his last strength managed to lift up a metal fence on the line of demarcation, both refugees crawled to the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany. There the seriously wounded man was taken to a hospital. His right shank had to be amputated. His companion suffered a shock as the result of the ordeal and also had to go to a hospital.



### A Drastic Increase in Apartment Rents

On July 1st the rents in Hungary will be abruptly *trippled*. From that time on the rent for the apartment with all comforts (that is with a bath and toilet) will be 6 forints per square meter. So as not to overburden the larger in space old apartments the following ceilings were placed: a one-room apartment up to 50 m<sup>2</sup> — 300 forints a month; a two-room apartment up to 80 m<sup>2</sup> — 480 forints; a three-room apartment up to 100 m<sup>2</sup> — 600 forints; a four-room apartment up to 120 m<sup>2</sup> — 720 forints. For comparison, let us mention that a well paid skilled worker in heavy industry receives about 2,200 forints a month. Therefore in the future he must spend a quarter of his salary for an apartment.

Such portion of pay to be spent on rent is comparable to the conditions prevalent in the West. However, so far apartment rents in Communist countries were very modest, while the prices of food and clothing unusually high. It follows that a marked worsening of the Hungarian standard of living will ensue.



### Measures against "Bourgeois Nationalism" Demanded

"Nationalism and anti-Soviet spirit continue to present a problem for Latvia" was stated in one of the reports delivered to the Latvian Communist Party Congress. The report demands "stepped up measures against deviating ideological statements" and announces "initiatives for the strengthening of friendship between the Latvian and the Russian people". The First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party stated that "certain Party organizations do not make the necessary political vigilance the order of the day and this fact is being exploited by the bourgeois-nationalist elements."





## LITHUANIA

### Lithuanian Freedom Fighters in Mordovia

An Italian organization "Europa Civiltà" has obtained information about three Lithuanian patriots who are held by the Russians in the concentration camps of Mordovia for a long time.

The first is *Paulaitis*, a doctor of philosophy and a gymnasium teacher at Jurbarkas, who was very active in Catholic church organizations. During World War II he was a member of the underground independence movement, and in 1946 he also joined a Lithuanian insurgent unit. He was the chief of information on the staff of the Keistut detachment. In April 1947 he was caught by the occupying forces. He was released in 1956 as the result of an amnesty and took up residence in Kaunas. There he renewed his nationally-minded political activity. In 1967 he was rearrested and again sent to the extermination camps.

The second is *Petras Paltarokas*, the leader of the Lithuanian anti-Russian insurgent movement which was active in the Birzai, Joniskis and Sjaulai regions. He was captured by the invader in an underground hideout in Riga. He allegedly maintained contacts with Lithuanian organizations in the USA through writer V. Kauneckas.

The third prominent Lithuanian who was deported by the Russians is *Balys Majauskas*, also a leading member of the Lithuanian nationalist underground.

In *ABN Correspondence*, No. 5, 1970, we reported, on the basis of information supplied by the above-mentioned Italian organization, about a number of prominent Baltic and Ukrainian freedom fighters, revolutionaries, who have been imprisoned by the Russians. All these reports reveal in greater detail the fact that the national liberation struggle has been and still is conducted in all the nations subjugated by Russia and that the Russians have deported to prisons and concentration camps large numbers of people active in the liberation movements of these peoples. Their prisons

and concentration camps are the best proof of a united front of all the subjugated nations in their struggle against Russia and for their own sovereign states.



## RUMANIA

### Iron Curtain Still Cuts Rumania from the West

In the past few years Bucharest has shown some independence from Moscow in foreign affairs but the legitimacy of this pose is highly questionable. It could have been fabricated on orders of the Kremlin.

It serves the Soviet Union to have a "maverick" satellite, if only to nourish the Western dreams of "detente" and to encourage capitalists to invest in Eastern European economies.

There is no evidence of internal social, political or economic reform in Rumania. In fact, its ties with the Soviet Union have been strengthened in the last few months. Joint Soviet-Rumanian companies (Sovroms), which proved so disastrous to Rumanians after World War II, are about to be revived.

Red Boss Nicolae Ceausescu, who first declined to allow Rumania to enter the Moscow-sponsored International Investment Bank, has been forced to relent. Bucharest accepted membership in January.

Always a tough police state of the Stalinist type, recent draconian security laws give the regime even tighter control over Rumanians and foreigners alike. They can be prosecuted for the smallest offenses. No criticism of the regime is tolerated. Censorship is as strict as ever; listening to foreign broadcasts is not allowed.

Travel restrictions for Rumanians to the West are rigid. Requests from Americans for passports for their Rumanian relatives are usually ignored or granted with great reluctance and after long delays. Hundreds of such pleas have been languishing for years in the American Embassy in Bucharest.

The Iron Curtain still cuts Rumania from the West. Some observers see what

might be cracks, but those cracks must open into broad highways of free exchange before the Bucharest regime is considered truly independent.

*Dumitru Danielopol*



## SLOVAKIA

### Former Slovak Diplomat Dies

On January 15, 1971, a former Slovak and writer, Mikulas Gacek, died in Slovakia. Prior to the outbreak of the war between Soviet Russian and the Slovak Republic (1941) he served as a cultural attaché in the latter's legation in Moscow. As the Russian Red Army occupied Slovakia in the Spring of 1945, Mikulas Gacek was kidnapped to the USSR and was held there in a concentration camp for over ten years.

### International Communist Student Congress in Bratislava

In February 1971 the 10th Congress of the Communist "International Union of Students" (IUS) was held in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. This Congress was dominated and guided by the Russians. The Russians resorted to all possible tricks in order not to let it out of their hands organizationally. They were afraid namely that otherwise also those Communists who were not obedient to Moscow would have their say at the Congress.

Some delegations were sent back immediately upon their arrival at the Bratislava airport. Others were permitted to find a hotel for a short time, but still before the Congress was scheduled to begin were asked to leave the country, or were subjected to police provocation and chicanery.



## UKRAINE

### The Russian Terror Rages On

On May 27—31, 1970 the Kyiv Oblast Court tried and sentenced *Andriy Koroban* on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to 6 years of imprisonment.

A. Koroban was born in 1930 in Vasylkova near Kyiv. As far back as 1950, at the age of 20, and being a student at the Kyiv teachers' college he was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for writing an anti-Stalinist article. He was released in 1956 and taught in the Drohobych region for some time. In September 1969 he was arrested again. A. Koroban was allegedly working on a large work entitled "On the Question of Ukraine's National Independence", and was supposed to have written articles "Shevchenko and Ukraine", "The Foundations of Marxism and the Essence of Bolshevism", as well as "Propaganda and Agitation in the System of Bolshevism". The chief reason for the arrest and conviction of A. Koroban was the program of social reforms and the solution of the national problem in the USSR, which he allegedly prepared.

At the beginning of June 1970, *Ivan S. Suk*, a lecturer at the Medical Institute and an M. D. candidate, was arrested in Donetsk. I. Suk is about 45 years old. He was allegedly on friendly terms with Kyiv writers. In connection with I. Suk's case searches were made in the homes of Donetsk litterateurs Mishchenko and V. Zakharchenko. During these searches the KGB agents supposedly found "The Chronicle of Resistance" by V. Moroz. Protesting against the KGB arbitrariness, the young poet Vasyl Stus wrote special letters to O. Honchar, F. Ovcharenko and O. Lyashko.

In June 1970 the home of *Viktor Ivanysenko*, a prominent literary critic, candidate of Philology and senior staff member of the Institute of Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, had been searched. According to a denunciation, Ivanysenko was allegedly in possession of underground publications, while his wife, also a staff member of the Institute of Literature, was to have retyped them and kept them hidden at the place of work. During the search the works by Soldzhenitsyn and a number of underground articles in Ukrainian and Russian have been found. Ivanysenko was expelled from the Party.



The Kyiv publishing house "Molod" has suffered many blows in recent years. Earlier *I. Dzyuba*, *Yu. Badz* and others were removed, and in 1969 the publishing house's director *Bohdan Chaikovskiy* and his assistant *Vil Hrymych* were removed for "liberalism".

A collection of poetry "The Principality of Grasses" by a young poet *Petro Zasenko* an employee of "Molod", and published by "Molod", was taken off the market and confiscated, and the poet himself was dismissed from work.

In the publishing house "Dnipro" a collection of translations from French poetry was omitted from the plan only because the foreword to the collection was written by *Mykhailyna Kotsyubynska*.

In Dnipropetrovsk a defamation campaign against the already convicted young poets *Ivan Sokulskiy* and *Mykola Kulchynskiy* is still being waged. Driver *Oleksander Kuzmenko*, who collects *Shevchenkiana*, has become the object of attacks.

In Lviv local students, lecturers, writers and even workers are constantly being called out for questioning by the KGB. Under the threat of repressions they are made to pledge not to tell anybody about this. During one such questioning a KGB agent beat up *Lida Danko*, an evening student of the Philologic Faculty.

In Lviv the Russian hooligans beat up *Lyubomyr Mazurak*, a Ukrainian from Poland, who in the evening strolled through town with *Lesya Stadnyk*, a student at the medical institute with whom he was acquainted, and talked with her in Ukrainian.

The wife of *S. Karavanskyi*, scientist, micro-biologist *Nina Strokata* is under heavy pressure. Demands are made upon her to renounce her husband.

In 1969 two young boys with higher education — *Levko Horokhovskiy* and *Mykhailo Symonchuk* — were sentenced in Ternopil to 4 years of imprisonment.

At the end of May 1970 the Supreme Court of RSFSR heard an appeal in the case of *S. Karavanskyi* by his attorney *V. B. Romm*. The court fully confirmed the verdict of the Vladimir Oblast Court

(April 1970), according to which *Karavanskyi* is to spend 30 years in prison, as the result of both sentences.

It was revealed that among the criminals in various concentration camps of the USSR there are many "penitents". "Penitents" are a religious group, made up mostly of Greek Catholics, who refuse to work for the state, if this state is not Ukrainian, in order to do penance for the national misfortunes of Ukraine.

The following Ukrainian political prisoners were brought to the concentration camps in Mordovia: *Stepan Bedrylo*, *Ivan Sokulskiy*, *Mykola Kulchynskiy*, *Mykola Kots*, *Volodymyr Vasyenko*, *Oleksander Nazarenko* and *Vasyl Kondryukov*.

### Terror and Arrests in Ukraine

In January 1971 a local teacher named *Pastukh* was arrested in the town of Buske, in the Kamyano-Buske region. His case is still under investigation. He is being accused of anti-Soviet propaganda, but in reality he is being persecuted for his own views which do not fit into the framework of the party and the KGB directives.

On June 28, 1971 *Mykhailo Horyn* should be released from prison after having spent six years in prisons and concentration camps. Almost all former prisoners remain without a permanent place of residence for at least six months. During that time the authorities and the KGB pursue those released from prison and accuse them of "idleness". The result is that they are ousted from larger towns and are denied the opportunity to receive a residence permit. As a rule intellectuals are not accepted to their former posts. In most cases they work at inferior jobs, as manual laborers, at the railroad, etc.

It is worth mentioning that during the trial of *Valentyn Moroz* the prosecutor put the case before him as follows: If *Valentyn Moroz* will agree to cooperate with him, the sentence will be considered null and void. In reply *V. Moroz* said that he is not going to do a dirty job like that.

In February 1971 a three-day trial of the former member of the OUN (Organi-

zation of Ukrainian Nationalists), SB (security service) commandant of the Vyshnivets district command *Yuriy Petrovych Boychuk*, alias "Zirka", was held in the Ternopil Oblast People's Court. He was accused of killing in 1943 14 Soviet partisans from the S. A. Kovpak detachment, which was advancing north from the Carpathians. He was further accused of annihilating the sectional representative of the district detachment of the NKVD, V. P. Vakhrushchev, agents M. V. Basyuk, V. M. Savych, L. P. Koshak, driver P. N. Babiy and other collaborators and militarymen.

Yuriy Boychuk was tried on the basis of the following articles: Article 56, Section 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR — "betrayal of the fatherland", Article 58, Section 1 — "terrorist acts", Article 60 — "subversion", Article 62, Section 2 — "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and Article 64 — "organizational activity,

directed toward the carrying out of particularly dangerous criminal acts."

The prosecutor was L. H. Zhurbenko, the oblast prosecutor. L. H. Katsnelson was the defense lawyer.

On the third day the verdict was reached. Yuriy P. Boychuk was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment which was to be served in the correctional-labor colonies of severe regime, with the confiscation of all property belonging to him and a 5-year exile after the completion of the term.

Last year 10 million rubles were found to be "missing" from the so-called state bank in Kyiv. The money was being kept in a vault. The investigation did not turn up any traces of burglary. Hence the money vanished "miraculously". In order to cover a 10-million loss the workers and collective farmers had to work longer hours and to return their earnings to the "state".

### 50th Anniversary of Georgia's Conquest Commemorated

On March 19, 1971, the Georgian Association in France held the extraordinary General Assembly to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Russian invasion of Georgia. The meeting was presided over and opened by Mr. L. Zourabichvili. Other speakers were Mr. N. Tsuntsadze, former Minister of Education, Col. N. Tokhadze, Mr. P. Sardjveladze, Mrs. Kavtaradze, Mr. Sharia (who chose freedom in Paris in June 1970) and Mr. Kapiani. The participants adopted a resolution, which in part stated:

"In expressing its profound indignation, the Commemorative Assembly calls the civilized world to witness its protest against the fact that Moscow (obeyed by its devoted local authorities) dares to raise

to the rank of "National Day" of Georgia, the very date of her invasion, and further dares to call her present state of subjugation — FREEDOM, thus hurting deeply the dignity and spiritual culture of our people, with cynicism unknown to this day in the history of civilized nations.

"The Assembly notes with satisfaction that in spite of the policy of reprisals pursued by the occupying power and the obstacles laid by it, the cultural life of our people has remained unhindered in every field. We owe this solely to the high level of national awareness of the rising younger generation, and the outstanding effort it has made."

The proceedings were broadcasted by Radio Liberty behind the Iron Curtain.





**"Mother"**  
*Painting by*  
*† Alla Horska*  
*and*  
*Panas Zalyvakha*

### **In Memory of Alla Horska**

Alla Horska, 41, a prominent Ukrainian artist and cultural leader has been mysteriously murdered on November 28, 1970 in Vasylkiv near Kyiv. In 1962 she was one of the organizers of the Club of Creative Youth which was disbanded in 1964. One of her last acts was to write a statement of protest against the illegal sentencing of Valentyn Moroz. Although the authorities did everything to conceal the date of her funeral, the burial was nevertheless attended by some 150 people. Those attending the funeral have now become the latest victims of persecution by the Russians.



300 young Japanese went on a hunger strike in Tokyo to protest against the admission of Red China to the U.N.

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## ALLA HORSKA



Hero and martyr murdered by KGB, on November 28, 1970 in Wasytkiw (near Kyiv)

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# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

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## Pre-Revolutionary Era

The USSR is now living through a pre-revolutionary era. On the one hand there is the moribund regime whose arteries are becoming ever more stiffened, change for it is becoming ever more difficult, and on the other hand there are growing numerous forces radically opposed to the present regime and the entire Bolshevik Russian imperial system.

There can be little doubt that the policy of the so-called peaceful co-existence and talks about limitation of armaments, reduction of tension in Europe etc. are but tactical Russian manoeuvres to disarm and disorient the adversary. Moscow's ultimate aim, the spreading of its domination throughout the world, remains intact, it will have to cause further conflicts in future, and provide also opportunities for revolutionary uprisings within the Russian empire.

The period since Stalin's death has witnessed the increasing differentiation as regards ideologies and policies of the ruling Communist parties both in the USSR and the satellites, which overgrew into divergencies, the drifting away from Moscow's leadership and even open enmity and hostilities. Apart from Yugoslavia, China and Albania, North Korea and North Vietnam, at one time or another critical situations have developed in the relations between the USSR and the client regimes in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary and others. The invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 was the most blatant example of direct suppression by the Moscow dictators of the slightest attempts at loosening their heavy-handed control over the satellites.

The deviations of the political line pursued by the satellite communist parties from the line laid down by Moscow, are conditioned above all by the powerful spontaneous pressure building up among the masses of the subject peoples demanding national independence and real freedom for the individual. The communist regimes in those countries are willing tools in the hands of Moscow imperialists, but at the same time they have to reckon with the nationalist sentiments of the overwhelming masses of the population, and occasionally stray too far away from Moscow's lead only to be brought back sharply to heel. There is no doubt that given appropriate opportunity, these nations would rise in spontaneous revolutions to overthrow the present unpopular dictatorial regimes imposed on them by Moscow's diktat.

Since late 1950s the clandestine "self-published" literature has been growing among the intellectual and student circles. All of it is critical of the present regime, which is condemned for its dictatorship, oppression in the political, cultural, religious, economic and other fields. Solutions offered for the future differ, however, to a considerable extent between various authors and various groups of people represented. The main difference lies between the Russian opposition groups and the opposition and underground movements in the non-Russian national Republics of the USSR: Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic States, the Caucasian countries, Turkestan etc. While all the underground writers stress the necessity for the safeguarding and implementation of real human rights in the USSR in all their manifestations, the Russian authors see the future as merely

democratisation or liberalisation of the present regime or the present empire, preserving its colossal structure intact. The non-Russian authors, on the other hand, stress the national oppression in the present USSR and demand, above all, national liberation and independence of the subjugated peoples as the most important guarantee of the realisation of human rights and democracy.

It is a most important feature of the recent decade: the growth of the realisation among the non-Russian nations subjugated in the USSR that the national idea is the most potent force able to arouse men for the struggle against a totalitarian imperialist regime for the rights of man, too.

The aims of the liberation movements of the enslaved nations are conditioned by: a) traditional background of revolutionary struggle and realisation of the great traditions — historical and cultural; invincible will of each nation to live its own independent life; b) world-wide victory of the national idea; disintegration of almost all the empires of the world, which mobilises morally and ideologically the nations enslaved within the Russian empire; c) insurmountable contradictions within the Russian empire.

In Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Armenia, Estonia as well as in Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany, Rumania and Croatia, national-liberation struggle is growing in strength on the basis of traditional national and religious ideas.

All the indications show that at the present time there is taking place a spontaneous eruption of a spiritual force enveloping all the subjugated nations — the elemental volcanic force of traditional spiritual values, faith in God and belief in national destinies, original and unfalsified, an invincible urge to realize profound human aspirations of freedom, justice, honesty, truth, national and individual rights and obligations. This elemental force cannot be halted by any prohibitions and persecutions by the rigid, rotten regime, built on lies, falsehood and perversion of truth, terror and compulsion. Sooner or later it will erupt in armed revolutionary struggle for independence of nations and freedom of individuals, and our task is to hasten the victory of this struggle by giving it every assistance from the Free World.

## **“CULTURAL REVOLUTION” IN RUMANIA**

(Bucharest/FRP). In a lengthy speech to the Rumanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu heralded a Rumanian version of “Cultural Revolution”. The aim is to reinstil communist puritanism and discipline in all sectors of Rumanian society.

According to Ceausescu, the party is compelled now to revive the Stalin bred agitator and go back to the old-fashioned proletcultism. Youth will be compulsorily forced into unpaid “patriotic” work on construction sites, in industry, agriculture and town embellishment. All departments of the Ministry of Education will be “reinforced” with party workers in order to strengthen party ideology in schools and universities and will be directly subordinated to the propaganda section of the Communist Party.



## Russians Exterminate Ukrainian Cultural Leaders

### The Brutal Murder of Alla Horska

On November 28, 1970, the Ukrainian paintress and community leader, Alla Horska, had been murdered under dubious circumstances.

Alla Oleksandrivna Horska was born on September 18, 1929 in a Russified Kyiv family. She graduated from the Kyiv Arts Institute. In the beginning of the 1960s she became actively involved in the process of national revival, which gripped the younger generations of the creative Kyiv intelligentsia. She began to use the Ukrainian language. In 1962 she became one of the organizers of the well-known Club of Creative Youth (disbanded in 1964). She took part in the organization of literature and art evenings, circulation of underground works, collection of mutual assistance funds, etc.

In 1964 together with artists Lyudmyla Semykina, Panas Zalyvakha and Halyna Sevruk, A. Horska made the Shevchenko stained-glass window in the vestibule of Kyiv University. The window depicts an angry Shevchenko, who with one hand is embracing a mistreated woman-Ukraine, and with another, highly raised, is holding a book. The stained-glass window bore the inscription: "I shall glorify these small dumb slaves, I shall put the word on guard beside them" (the photo of the stained-glass window had been published in the "Ukrainian Calendar" for 1965, published by the Ukrainian social and cultural society in Poland). The window had been brutally destroyed, while Alla Horska and Lyudmyla Semykina were expelled from the Artists' Union of Ukraine. During the investigation of their "case" they conducted themselves with dignity.

### Alla Horska Will No Longer Be with Us

Alla Horska also signed collective petitions: a request to be permitted to attend political trials, a protest against the prohibition to the convicted artist Panas Zalyvakha to paint and others.

After her expulsion from the Union she was forced to look for work out of town, creating together with other artists a number of monumental and decorative complexes in the Donbas. She was reinstated into the Artists' Union.

Even in these years Alla Horska did not shun civic activity. In 1967 she went to Lviv to the trial of Vyacheslav Chornovil and then together with a group of Kyiv residents participating at the trial wrote a protest against the illegal character of the trial to the republican institutions. In 1968 she signed a well-known protest of a large group of Kyiv residents against the violation in the USSR of the principles of socialist democracy and the norms of so-

cialist legality. During the pogrom brought about by the signing of this statement, officially called "anti-Soviet", out of a group of artists only A. Horska, L. Semykina and H. Sevruk remained uncompromising until the end, for which they were again expelled from the Artists' Union.

In July 1968, Alla Horska, together with Lina Kostenko, I. Dzyuba, Ye. Sverstyuk and V. Nekrasov wrote an open letter to the newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina* in connection with the appearance there of a slanderous article by O. Poltoratskyi.

In 1969—70 A. Horska supported the appearances by Valentyn Moroz, even his article "In the Midst of Snows", which was received unfavorably by a portion of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. (In the V. Moroz "case" there is on file a postcard from A. Horska, confiscated during a search, where she calls V. Moroz "a flower in the midst of snows" because of his civic acti-

vity.) Called out for an interrogation by the Ivano-Frankivsk KGB in the summer of 1970, she refused to give any kind of testimony against Moroz and ridiculed investigator Baranov (calling him "Comrade Baran" (ram) and so forth.) Several days before her death, she expressed sincere regrets that she did not go to Moroz's trial at Ivano-Frankivsk and wrote a statement of protest to the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR on the illegality and the cruelty of the verdict (it is unknown whether she had time to send it).

A characteristic fact: *when Alla Horská was lying murdered in the cellar*, (but none of her friends knew about it as yet), in one of the Kyiv scientific research institutes a lecturer (or, even, an employee) of the Oblast Committee of the Party said before a collective that the "nationalists" have changed tactics, are organizing "gatherings" at homes and workshops of artists and in this respect named the apartments of sculptor I. Honchar and Alla Horská.

*Alla Horská had been murdered on November 28, 1970 in the house of her father-in-law in the town of Vasylkiv near Kyiv.*

The funeral of Alla Horská was set for December 4th. On that day people arrived from other towns, the Kyivans came. Unexpectedly, allegedly in the interest of the investigation, the funeral was postponed to December 7th, a Monday. On the day of the funeral, in Alla's mournfully decorated workshop her friends arranged a posthumous exhibition of her works. Hundreds of people went through the workshop.

A permit for the burial of Alla Horská at the Baykovyi cemetery, obtained by I. Franko's granddaughter, Z. T. Franko, had been annulled — and Alla was buried at the newly-established cemetery — a vacant plot of land outside the city. None of the relatives or close friends was allowed to see the body of the murdered; the coffin

was not allowed to be opened. It was not even allowed to bring the closed coffin into the house or the workshop of the artist.

Although the coffin was transported very quickly from the workshop to the out-of-town cemetery, nevertheless approximately 150—200 people gathered there. Concluding a short speech made up of general phrases, the official representative of the Artists' Union wanted to end the eulogizing at this; however he was prevented from doing this. Several words of farewell were said by teacher Oleksander Serhiyenko; critic Yevhen Sverstyuk read the obituary; Vasyl Stus read a poem dedicated to Alla; Ivan Hel delivered the eulogy on behalf of the people of Lviv.

On December 8th a memorial service was said in one of the Lviv churches for the murdered Alla Horská. On the 40th day after her death Alla's friends arranged the traditional commemorative ceremony.

Sometime after the funeral, somebody began to spread a provocative rumor in Kyiv that Alla Horská was killed by the "nationalists" themselves, because "she had known too much". At that time the assistant prosecutor of the Kyiv Oblast came to Lviv, called out I. Hel for an interrogation and threatened him with a severe punishment for "spreading rumors" that Alla had been killed for her ideological convictions. In reality, in I. Hel's speech there was only a general phrase about the vagueness of circumstances and reasons for Alla Horská's death.

For participating in the funeral of Alla Horská and for speaking at the cemetery teacher O. Serhiyenko had been illegally dismissed from work, while I. Hel received a reprimand at work.

*(Ukrainskyi Visnyk, No. IV)*



## "The Lances Unlifted, the Trumpet Unblown . . ."

### The United States and the Captive Nations

(Continuation)

Why all of this? In all my years in the Congress of the United States, one of the most incredible and startling suggestions I ever read in my life was contained in a study made for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and filed by President Kennedy in the second annual report of this agency to the Congress of the United States. It is quite true that this statement was never announced as official policy, and with a desire to be charitable, I cannot bring myself to make the accusation that it ever was official policy. But something very close to it must have been the guideline:

*"Whether we admit it to ourselves or not, we benefit enormously from the capability of the Soviet police system to keep law and order over 200 million-odd Russians and the many additional millions in the satellite states. The break-up of the Russian Communist empire today would doubtless be conducive to freedom, but would be a good deal more catastrophic for world order than was the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1918."*

For some reason, we seem to shrink from use of the words "colonialism" and "imperialism" — except when we abjectly apologize for them when someone else makes the accusation against us, or some other nation of the West. In the name of abolishing colonialism we were first out of the box after World War II in the race to grant "independence" to manufactured states all over the world — most of them in Africa. If anything is upon our heads, it is the hideous tragedies of the Congo, and, not too far in the past, the Nigerian/Biafran affair.

Now the Soviet Union itself makes no effort to conceal the fact that it is far from being a homogeneous country. A recent Soviet publication stated:

*"The Union of the SSR is the model of a multinational State. (Italics added.) Several scores of nations, nationalities, and national groups populate it: Russians represent 60 percent, Ukrainians — 20 percent and Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Tadzhiks, Kirghizs, Turkmenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Moldavians, Karelians and other peoples — 20 percent."* (From Peaceful Co-Existence — An Analysis of Soviet Foreign Policy, by Wladyslaw W. Kulski, p. 393; Kulski cited here *Spravochnik Propagandista i Agitatora*, 7.)

Kulski goes on to point out Lenin's attitude towards "this mosaic of peoples" (Kulski's term) in 1917:

*"He was not a gravedigger of the Russian Empire when he said on May 12, 1917:*

*"Why should we, the Great Russians, who oppress a greater number of nations than any other people, refuse to recognize the right of secession to Poland, Ukraine, and Finland? . . . To fortify internationalism it is necessary to insist in Russia on the freedom of secession of the oppressed nations, and in Poland to stress the freedom of union. The freedom of union assumes the freedom of secession."* (Ibid., p. 395 — Lenin quote from *Sochineniia*, XXIV, 265.)

Mr Joseph Kraft, admirer of the great humanist Lenin, who liked Beethoven, please copy!

Whether Lenin realized the immense difficulty of achieving this is unknown. But it is a stark matter of simple truth that in its barely over fifty years of existence, the Soviet Union has seen more international stress and strain than any other nation-state in recorded history.

It is a little hard to believe, but not until very recently was there available a good, comprehensive work in English that

catalogued this frightful record. *Opposition in the U.S.S.R. — 1917—1967*, by the French journalist and historian Roland Gaucher (Funk and Wagnalls, New York) has suffered the usual fate of a book that reminds us of unpleasant things taking place (or that have taken place) within a country that is our sworn enemy. The columns of the book reviewers are full of praise for weighty and ponderous tomes and the U.S. press (a good chunk of it, at least) stands exposed as failing victim to incredible gullibility in spreading the totally false allegation that a war of genocide is being conducted against the Black Panthers. But Gaucher is ignored.

Gaucher's "catalogue" of a half-century of Bolshevism is impressive:

*"A civil war without quarter and with innumerable atrocities, the cause for millions of deaths, for hundreds of thousands of orphans left to their own resources, and followed immediately by the mutiny of Kronstadt; the annexation of Georgia by armed force in 1921 and the smashing of a revolt there in 1924; the suppression of revolts and guerrilla warfare in Turkestan, Tadzhikistan, and Bashkiria; the long war against the kulak (preceded by many acts of terrorism against members of the party) that also claimed millions of victims, was accompanied by tremendous religious persecution and created an appalling famine; the purges of the party, the army, the national minorities, the non-party members, which undoubtedly affected further millions of citizens; the defections in the Second World War that gave birth to Vlasov's army, the savage combats of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian guerrillas; the deportations of whole populations — the Chechens, the Ingushi, the Kabardians, the Volga Germans, etc.; the new purges that were imminent when Stalin died."* (p. 524)

In contrast, let's consider a book dealing with the Soviet Union that met a happier fate — Senator J. William Fulbright's "Old Myths and New Realities" (Random House, 1964). On page 67:

*"It is possible, I believe, for the West to encourage a hopeful direction in Soviet policy. We can seek to strengthen Russian public opinion as a brake against dangerous policies by conveying accurate information about Western life and Western aims, and about the heavy price that both sides are paying for the cold war. We can make it clear to the Russians that they have nothing to fear from the West so long as they respect the rights and independence of other nations. We can suggest to them at every possible opportunity, both by persuasion and by example, that there is no greater human vanity than the assumption that one's own values have universal validity, and no enterprise more certain of failure than the attempt to impose the preferences of a single society on an unwilling world. And finally, we can encourage them to recognize, as we must never fail to recognize ourselves, that adventures born of passion are soon severed from their lofty aims, turning idealism into barbarism and men into demons."*

Fulbright's meanderings are full of holes, as only those could be of a man whose only two words in his entire diplomatic lexicon are "negotiation" and "compromise", and who steadily plods on, dealing in the most incredible collection of inconsistencies and false premises in the U.S. Senate. Not totally unchallenged, I might add. The name of the Senator escapes me, but I was told of a comment on the Senate side of Capitol Hill when Fulbright's latest book, "The Arrogance of Power", appeared. "Well, since Bill wrote it, it should have been called 'The Power of Arrogance'. There's no one more arrogant over here than he is!" Needless to say, this did not make the reviewer's columns, either.

Senator Fulbright is not alone in clinging to that dangerous and totally wrong theory of foreign relations that goes something like this: If only we can keep on talking to them, and keep in touch, things will be all right. Sort of a people-to-people approach, on a grand scale, you might call it. The hideous fallacy of this is quite



evident in the American Civil War. No bloodier conflict was waged in the entire 19th century. No two opposing sides had had closer touch, and contact, either before or during it.

I titled this "The Lances Unlifted, the Trumpet Unblown..." We have refused, as a general rule, to make proper and total use of potential allies where they appeared, in order to gain an advantage over a known and constant enemy. Refusal to deal with the German underground movement during World War II is a case that comes to mind. Opinion still differs over the motives or inherent value of the "Kreissau Circle" but the stark fact is that there was no encouragement whatever tendered towards a very strong and alive anti-Nazi, anti-Hitler bloc within the Third Reich — and less help. Anthony Eden was almost antagonistic to the idea; Allen Dulles, operating out of Geneva, was sympathetic but could get no backing from FDR.

Shocks and after shocks continue to rumble through the monolithic Soviet empire. In late 1969, a document signed by "Voter Anton Koval" came out of Ukraine and, as was noted at the time, carried forward a brand-new wave of dissent in the Soviet Union.

*"This wave goes beyond protests of the last few years against secret police violations of theoretical legal rights to question the basic structure of the Soviet political system."*

(Henry S. Bradsher, *Washington Evening Star*, August 3, 1969)

The letter noted civic punishment inflicted on those "who have not committed any state or social crimes" — iron-clad centralization of power in the Soviet Communist Party leadership; requested abolition of the Ukrainian KGB; ending exploitation of the Ukraine; criticized the wage gap (higher than in Western countries); asked release of thousands imprisoned "because they expressed and disseminated their political, philosophical or religious convictions" and noted that some of the articles in the criminal code which had sentenced them violated the USSR

Constitution, and said persons guilty of crimes during Stalin's rule should be persecuted.

The scale of Soviet dissent is widening. The U.S. was accused primarily for being responsible in an article by Semen K. Tsvigun, first deputy chairman of the KGB. Appearance of this was noted as unusually significant; it is rare for a top secret police official to speak so frankly and openly.

And a major effort is now underway against such dissent. The community of dissenters is shrinking, as they are shipped off to slave labor camps, or mental homes, and the latest wave of arrests began just one day before the 24th Party Congress opened in Moscow. Another prominent victim was Vladimir Bukovsky, who faces a 7-year prison term for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Anthony Astrachan, commenting on this in the *Washington Post*, April 3, 1971, said:

*"His arrest appears to be a dramatic illustration of what party leader Brezhnev meant Tuesday when he told the Congress that the party and government were taking steps 'to strengthen legality and law and order, to educate citizens to observe the laws and rules of Socialist community relations.' ... some observers consider that the dissidents keep the possibility of change alive, and that this alone is more than the authorities will tolerate. ..."*

And, surely, the spectacle of the playwright Andrei Amalrik continues to haunt the Kremlin. "Will the USSR Survive Until 1984?" asked Amalrik in his blockbuster of an article that reached the West in 1969. His conclusion was that it would not:

*"I have no doubt that this great eastern Slav empire, created by Germans, Byzantines and Mongols, has entered the last decades of its existence."*

(*Survey*, Autumn, 1969, p. 78)

Amalrik postulates eventual fall on a war with China, at which time, along with other internal stresses, the Soviet Union will succumb to:

*"... extreme intensification of national-*

istic tendencies among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, above all in the Baltic countries, the Caucasus and Ukraine, and thereafter in Central Asia and along the Volga. . . ." (Ibid., p. 77)

Gaucher treated the non-Russian peoples' situation carefully and sympathetically in his book but had harsh words for the West (well-deserved, I might add). I wish to cite them in conclusion:

*"The attitude of the West is hardly helpful to the growth of the struggle against the system. . . . It is extremely difficult for subversive movements to build organizations if they have no solid bases abroad. In this respect the international situation appears to be definitely unfavourable to the enemies of the system. . . ."*

*"... the struggle for national independence is a reality that has manifested itself all through the history of the twentieth century. The separatist forces appeared when tsarism fell and again during the Civil War. At that time they were successfully exploited by the Bolsheviks, who were compelled in consequence to make*

*tremendous efforts in order to subdue them. They reappeared during the Second World War and gave birth to fearless fighters.*

*"They provided a basis of organization in the deportation camps. To reject their collaboration, to neglect or minimize their claims, is to ignore one of the essential causes of the tensions in the Soviet Union. . . ."* (op. cit., pp. 521—522)

Here, then, is where we stand today. I do not say we have lost the chance, but we have given no one any reason to believe we wished to take advantage of it. It is still there — and I have no doubt it will always be there in one form or another — but we cannot hesitate, and we must not fail to use it. It may seem repetitious, and at times also fruitless, to keep repeating this, but perhaps the time will come when this is heeded.

Or perhaps the time will come when we find ourselves in a position where we must raise the cry for help. But there would be no one to hear, and no one to heed if they did hear.



#### **The Executive Board of WACL**

*From left to right: Mr. Yoshio Iwamura (WYACL Chairman), Mr. Masatoshi Abe of Japan, Congressman R. Bagatsing of the Philippines, Mr. Tran Van Do of Vietnam, Mr. Tseng Si Poi of China, Mr. Nathan Ross of Liberia, Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr of Thailand, Mr. Y. Stetsko of A.B.N., Dr. Ku Cheng Kang (WACL Honorary Chairman), Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez (Sec. Gen. of WACL), Mr. Tevetoglu of Turkey, Mr. I. M. Lombardo of Italy and Gen. Eung Joon Lee of Korea.*



## "String Up the Communists!"

Opposition — Strikes — Revolt: Stages in the Anti-Imperialist Liberation Struggle of the Present as Seen in Ukraine and Poland

At the beginning of February 1971 headlines were made in the West German press by Helmut Bärwald, caused by his resignation from the Party Committee of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The 42-year-old politician, born in East Germany ("GDR"), which he had to leave secretly to avoid political persecution, in this spectacular way broke voluntarily with the party in power since autumn 1969, not from selfish or private motives, but for reasons of conscience. Under the headlines "Comrades, I can no longer keep quiet" published in an interview with the Munich popular magazine *Quick*, Helmut Bärwald accounted for his step with the lapidary explanation:

"The present government's policy on the German question and towards Eastern Europe is wrong and in part even dangerous" (17. 2. 71).

Helmut Bärwald was not a "little comrade". For 22 years he had served the SPD in high offices, as a head official. In the last few years he had been an expert on questions concerning all of Germany in the party committee, that is, he was almost a "minister" for German questions in the "party cabinet" of the SPD. He confessed that the party had been for him both a political home and his work. He was also in favour of reconciliation with the nations of Eastern Europe; he was for peace and relaxation of tension, but: "Was it really necessary to sign the Moscow and Warsaw treaties so quickly, so hastily?"

*Recognition of Russian Imperialism: No*

Helmut Bärwald, Social Democrat from East Germany, has the courage to inquire into the meaning, the moral value of the Moscow Treaty. How did the Germans actually get into the position of "confirming in a non-aggression treaty with the Kremlin" what the Russians themselves had

incorporated by force? He names Western Ukraine (1939 and 1944), Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Eastern Rumania. And he condemns the German signature on this treaty with the statement: "Without any necessity the Federal Government by signing the Moscow treaty accepted the imperialist claims of the Soviets to sovereignty over Eastern Europe".

The Social Democrat Bärwald condemns with equal sharpness the appeasement policy of his party towards the Ulbricht Communists. As an expert in this field in particular, Bärwald says: "The relationship between leading representatives of the SPD and the regime in the "GDR" and the 17 million people in East Germany has changed in a most questionable manner".

Helmut Bärwald goes even further: he reveals internal secrets of the SPD leaders. He reports on the dissolution of the Eastern Bureau of the SPD in 1967, which must have pleased Ulbricht most of all. Since 1946 this Eastern Bureau performed the task of maintaining militant contact with Social Democrats under persecution in the "GDR", the function of a party security service in the psychological fight against Bolshevism and Russian occupation in Eastern Germany.

Then in 1967 this Eastern Bureau was liquidated by the SPD itself, in place of which came the "Section for Questions Concerning All-Germany" in the SPD party committee. But even this measure had the character of a retreat, for: "Where a few years before over 30 workers investigated the social situation in the 'GDR' on behalf of the SPD, provided the population of East Germany with objective news from all over the world by means of pamphlets, only six workers were left. And even they are now to take over other tasks: including keeping an eye on the CDU/CSU (!)". (All quotations from *Quick*, 17. 2. 71)

*Who Drove Gomulka into the Desert?*

This sensational interview, this confession of a sincere, anti-Bolshevist, patriotic Social Democrat appeared only some weeks after another sensational event, which had shaken the whole Eastern colonial world: after the December revolt of the Polish dock workers in 1970. This heroic, spontaneous workers' revolt in Poland formed an advance confirmation of the theses, arguments and judgments of Helmut Bärwald.

Why? The Warsaw Treaty of December 7, 1970 between Gomulka and Federal Chancellor Brandt had NOT prevented the Polish workers from wanting to see Gomulka and his Russia-subservient Communist regime hanging from the gallows. And they overthrew the Gomulka regime.

It can be deduced from this that treaties between Western states and Communist countries do NOT remove the causes of the economic, spiritual, political, national final crises in these countries. On the contrary, such treaties intensify these crises and promote the counter-revolutionary process against the dark powers of native Communism and Russian colonialism. In Ukraine and in Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland and the "GDR".

This is also the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the 60 million West Germans, above all of those national-minded, anti-Communist classes, who still see in Russia a terrifying power of darkness. The inarticulated, purely emotional "Russophobia" of most Germans must not be underestimated! The weekly *Christ und Welt* (associated with the Protestant wing of the CDU) gave the most pregnant expression to this "Russophobia" slumbering in the German collective subconsciousness. "But how can a real settlement, a permanent relaxation of tension in Europe be reached, when one of the negotiating partners bases his power to represent on tanks and bayonets?" And finally, as a summing up in the same newspaper: "The example of Poland nevertheless teaches us that a Communist regime can IN NO WAY be stabilized by foreign treaties". Gomulka was driven by his own people into the desert, ALTHOUGH he was able to present the

official recognition of the Oder-Neisse line by Federal Chancellor Brandt as the Polish western frontier.

*Lightning Breaks through the Fog of Lies*

The news of the outbreak of spontaneous revolts at the end of last year in the Polish Baltic ports, begun on 13 December 1970, created a shock in the reports of the West German press. There was no single daily or weekly newspaper in those weeks which did not report the dramatic events in Zoppot, Kattovits, Danzig, Stettin, Stolp and Gdingen.

Like a flash of lightning from a seemingly clear and peaceful sky, the December revolt tore away the fog of lies, of detente euphoria, of artificial optimism, of deceptive quiet. Once again the West German public — scarcely a week after the signing of the Warsaw Treaty between Brandt and Cyrankiewicz — was confronted with the true face of Moscow-orientated Communism: hunger, murder, broken words, exploitation, terror.

On the other hand uncritical tones, falsifying history, were mixed with the commentaries and reports on this subject — in a word — 'Polophile'. Some reporters saw the Polish December revolt as isolated from the other tendencies and currents in Eastern Europe. A martyr's crown was placed on the heads of the Polish rebels. For centuries glorification of Poland has been deep-rooted in certain German intellectuals, tempting them to make one-sided, objectively untrue judgments. This was true in this case also.

*Decision on the Don and the Dniipro*

Few wondered why the December revolt in Poland finally failed, why the Communist Gomulka was followed by the Communist Gierek. The explanation is obvious. The revolt of the Polish workers would have been crowned with success, if at the same time popular uprisings and workers' rebellions had broken out in the other non-Russian countries and colonies in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, from Baku and Erevan, through Rostov and Kharkiv to Riga, Vorkuta, Novosibirsk. They would have set fire to the whole empire, like a national liberation prairie fire.



What many Germans do not know is known to the Ukrainians and with them to the 100 million non-Russians in the USSR: the fate of the Polish workers (as well as those in the "GDR", the CSSR, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria) is decided not only in Warsaw, Stettin, Posen, Kattowice or Danzig, since only violent political, national seismic shocks in the economic and cultural centres of the second largest Slav nation, the Ukrainian, can develop the explosive force necessary to bring down the walls of the Russian Kremlin. And these centres are: Kyiv, Lviv, Rostov, Odessa, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Lutsk, Novo-cherkask, the Don Basin.

This fact is admitted by leading intellectuals themselves, intellectuals who are in bitter opposition to the Communist regime in power. I will mention only the names of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modtselewski, who in July 1965 sent their famous open letter to Gomulka, in which they attacked not only the worker-hostile imperialism of the Russians, but spoke in glowing terms amongst others of the workers' rebellions in the Ukrainian industrial centres, Rostov and Novocherkask, in 1962. Within a few years both Polish university assistants (who belonged to the Polish Communist Party until their first arrest in 1965!) were arrested and sentenced, the last time in 1969 for their part in the student revolt in Warsaw in 1968.

In an illegal document published in German by the Hamburg publishers Hoffman and Camp in 1969, entitled "Monopoly Socialism", both Poles lay their cards on the table and declare: without a revolutionary rising of the Ukrainian workers there can be no victory for the Polish proletariat! The great hope (indeed the only hope) of the Polish, Czech, East German workers was that in the moment of their uprising against the prevailing system the workers in Ukraine, from Kharkiv to Lviv, would block the way to the west of the Russian tanks...

Thus we see, without the Ukrainians it is not possible. The Poles admit it themselves. Only as far as West Germany is

concerned this insight seems to have failed to penetrate. Who was it who placed himself on 21 August 1968 as the first citizen of Moscow in Red Square and said "no" to the occupation of the fatherland of the Czechs and Slovaks? Ivan Dremlyuga, a Ukrainian worker (to be read in the pamphlets of the Polish teacher and Youth Organization leader Ivan Jachimovitsh, who, living in Latvia, joined the resistance in 1969. Some of his leaflets also reached the West and were reproduced in part in the Hamburg *Spiegel*.)

#### "Let Us Rise"

In his leaflets distributed in Latvia Ivan Jachimovitsh turns expressly to the workers of Riga, Odessa, Libau and Reval, closing with the revolutionary cry: "The existing world of slavery is only strong because we are on our knees. Let us rise, get up!"

The Warsaw correspondent of the Munich *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported during the days of the revolt from Poland that the opinion of the taxi-drivers in the Polish capital was clear — there was only one solution — "string up the Communists!"

But what is new in this, what is sensational, specifically Polish? Long before these Warsaw taxi-drivers, the call for the gallows was heard in Ukraine: for the Communists, the imperialists, the Russian exploiters! It was the unforgettable Vasyl Symonenko who already in 1963 — seven years before the Polish December uprising — recalled in his famous Kurd poems that no coexistence was possible with those, the lackeys. The most terrible enemy of the tortured, humbled nations was chauvinism and colonialism — which colonialism was meant by Symonenko we know.

Let us remember Symonenko's poem "The Obelisks", in which the content is of the "Graveyard of Shot Illusions", and where at the end it is related that the curses of the persecuted, of the trodden to death and the beaten-up will crash down on the criminals — one day the hangmen and tyrants will end up in the boughs of the trees, that is, the gallows.

### *Workers Are Patriots*

The charge of holding a pro-Polish attitude made against some German newspapers and periodicals is completely right, for which January 1971 provided incontestable proof. As numerous West German newspapers reported on 26 January 1971, workers' revolts broke out in the middle of January in the Ukrainian industrial cities of Kharkiv and Kyiv, in part organized by former Red Army soldiers of Ukrainian nationality, who had been stationed for a long time in the "GDR".

On 26 January 1971 unrest and strikes were also reported from Minsk, the Byelorussian capital, as well as Smolensk. What is instructive, what is typical for the pre-revolutionary development in the USSR? The workers rose not in Moscow but in Kyiv. Not in Gorky but in Kharkiv. Not in Tula but in Minsk. It may be deduced from this that the non-Russian workers in the USSR are far more courageous, readier for action — and more revolutionary-minded than in Russia proper itself. The reason is illuminating: because the Ukrainian and Byelorussian "proletariats" are also patriots. Because they — in crass difference to the Russian workers — have a two-fold motive: social AND national.

The social liberation struggle of the non-Russian colonial peoples is coupled, is indissolubly and organically connected with the national liberation struggle: this is the sober result. The driving ideological and emotional force is the new nationalism — liberation nationalism. Indeed, in this respect there is a parallel to the Polish rising of December 1970, which also took place under national Polish flags and with the singing of the National Anthem. In this lies the dialectic of the anti-Bolshevist, anti-imperialist revolution in the East: social freedom not without national freedom, and vice versa: national freedom not without social freedom. Those crying today in Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, Novocherkask, Kharkiv, Minsk, Reval or Riga for bread, are also crying for 'freedom'. Both are demanded, desired, struggled for: fatherland and social justice.

### *Not the Minister, the System Has Failed*

The pre-revolutionary situation among the working masses in Ukraine has been prepared for a long time. On 13 April 1970 CP boss Brezhnev stayed in Kharkiv (certainly not by chance!) where he called for a fight against "local unacceptable conditions". Why in Ukrainian Kharkiv of all places? Because already there, eight months before the Polish December rising, this East Ukrainian heavy industrial city was on the verge of a workers' revolt. Brezhnev's appeal remained unsuccessful. The "local unacceptable conditions" remained, because the system remained the same. The officials and ministers come and go, but Russian colonial imperialism remains. This is known by the workers in Ukraine. And it must also be remembered in this connection (not to diminish the heroism of the workers in revolt in Danzig, Stettin and Gdingen, but to put the "Polish December" in the correct historical proportions): the bloodiest, most heroic mass risings in the spirit of national and social freedom took place after 5 March 1953, the day of Stalin's death, in Siberia, in the Caucasus and in Ukraine — in the summer of 1953 in Vorkuta, Norylsk, Karaganda, in 1954 in Vyatka and Kingir, in 1956 in the Don Basin, in 1959 in Temir Tau, in 1962 in Rostov, Novocherkask, Odessa, again in the Don Basin, in January 1971 in Minsk, Kharkiv, Kyiv . . .

### *Where Are the Polish Writers?*

Together with the workers and Youth Organization members the young intellectuals are fighting in Ukraine today. They have formulated their main aim unmistakably: destruction of Russian colonialism and gaining of national independence. Valentyn Moroz, the 35-year-old teacher of peasant origin, condemned last year to 14 years in prison, said in his "Report from the Beria Reservation" (i.e. concentration camps): "I and my friends were condemned for 'propaganda calling for the separation of Ukraine from the USSR'. But Article 17 of the USSR constitution expressly speaks of the right of each republic to leave the USSR. The right of every nation to secession is recognized in agree-



ments on the civil and political rights of man adopted by the 21st session of the full assembly of the UNO . . .”

Whereas in the uprising of the Polish dock workers in December 1970 the Polish intelligentsia in the capital took no part (apart from some glorious exceptions), the Ukrainian liberation struggle bears the mark of a moral and political alliance between the “workers of the fist and the forehead”: proletariat and poets, members of youth organizations and professors, young workers and young poets. It is surely unnecessary in a Ukrainian journal to refer to the following names, which serve as alibi for what has just been said, but nevertheless I haven't the right to pass over them in silence: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Kandyba, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, Mykhailo Masyutko, Valentyn Moroz, Lina Kostenko, Alla Horska, Ivan Svitlychnyi. Here we have them physically embodied, the anti-Bolshevist and anti-imperialist “People's Front” of the “workers” and “intellectual engineers”, to use the terms of the Left! Can Professor Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, Yakir say that of their, the Russian, workers?

The liberation nationalism in Ukraine has long since left the ghettos of the intellectual circles; the working class of the 45 million nation of the Ukrainians is today awake: mine workers, peasants, technicians, dock workers — together in one front with the creative intelligentsia in town and village. What from 1953 to 1956 was already possible in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Kingir, Karaganda, Norylsk, is today reality in Kyiv, Rostov, Rivne, in the Don Basin, on the Black Sea coast, in the North. The will for revolt against the hated Russian Bolshevik regime of exploitation is turning into direct action. Today still opposition, strikes, illegal actions, assassinations, group sabotage, street demonstrations — tomorrow open rebellion, the day after the final stage of pre-revolutionary escalation: revolution.

The “Banderivtsis” of 1953, “revolutionaries of the first hour” in the post-Stalin empire of the Russians, did not die in vain. Their seeds are growing. And their seeds also grew in December 1970 in Danzig, Stettin, Gdingen, Stolp, Zoppot. The seeds of popular revolutionaries. Seeds of democratic nationalists.

### **AF-ABN Cuban Delegation Received by Chairman of U.N. Political Committee**

On June 4, 1971, the AF-ABN Cuban delegation, headed by Mr. Mario Aquilera, and the Chairman of AF-ABN Dr. Ivan Docheff were received by the Chairman of the Political Committee at the United Nations in New York, H. E. Dr. German Navas Carrillo, the Ambassador of Venezuela.

The Cubans had prepared a document of 50 pages describing Red Russian imperialism and the situation in the enslaved countries, in particular Cuba. The document is

of very great significance because of the facts and arguments contained in it. It was presented by Mr. Mario Aquilera.

Dr. Ivan Docheff spoke on behalf of all nationalities represented in AF-ABN in support of the action.

According to the rules of the U.N., the documents is supposed to be distributed to the delegations of all nations represented in the U.N. This is a great achievement for our cause.

## THE REAL RUSSIA

Of itself Russia is not at all a great world power, at least proceeding from its ethnographical boundaries. In substance it is an agricultural country, with few minerals of its own. The Russians always felt cooped up and therefore already in the tsarist period the need was created for enlarging their territory. This could only be done by conquests.

As years went by a chain of countries bordering on Russia from the Baltic to the Caspian Sea and the Urals and further Siberia were conquered and occupied by military force. The countries in question are Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural (between the Volga and the Urals), Turkestan and Siberia (east and west). Formerly all these countries were independent states, with their own governments and all of them have been incorporated into the Russian empire under the name of Union Republics. Their governments are composed of Russians. The Russians want to russify these countries. Stalin desired to exterminate the native populations. Ukraine for example was subjected to an artificial famine, owing to which many millions suffered a grievous death.

At present the Russification of these non-Russian Soviet republics is proceeding in a more refined way. People are now picked out at random by the KGB (secret police) and deported to Siberia. This is hushed up, however genocidal it is. The open places are filled up with Russians. All official positions are occupied by Russians. Russian is the compulsory language, whereas the use of the native language is suppressed. Free exercise of worship is not allowed. For example in Ukraine the whole priesthood has been massacred, whereas the churches have been demolished or degraded to warehouses. Architecturally pleasing buildings from the 11th and 12th century have been senselessly destroyed.

From the economic point of view the

conquest of these countries for Russia was a matter of vital necessity for obtaining raw material. Ukraine (Donets Basin) furnishes 60 % of all Russian coal, Turkestan 9 %. Iron ore comes 60 % from Ukraine and 30 % from Idel-Ural. Manganese 100 % from Georgia and Ukraine. Copper 40 % from Turkestan and Caucasia. Lead 80 % from Turkestan. Zinc 80 % from Caucasia and Ukraine. Mercury 100 % from Turkestan and Ukraine. Sulphur, 80 % from Ukraine, Caucasia and Turkestan. Almost the entire production of oil in the USSR comes from non-Russian soil: Baku in Azerbaijan, Grosny and Maikop in North Caucasia, on the Emba in Turkestan, in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, Idel-Ural and in Ukraine. Finally, as regards agricultural products, 33 % of Russian wheat comes from Ukraine and North Caucasia; 70 % of sugar is produced in Ukraine and 100 % of cotton is grown in Turkestan and Caucasia. Without the raw materials from the conquered non-Russian Soviet republics, Russia has little significance as an industrial state.

Besides the function of suppliers of raw materials, these countries are of great strategical value to the USSR. Through Ukraine the Russians have the disposal of the Black Sea harbours, such as Odessa and in Crimea. From the Black Sea they can reach the Mediterranean through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The transit through these straits carries the risk of a blockade by Greece and Turkey. Therefore the Russian policy is aimed at obtaining domination of these countries. By blackmail and intimidation the Russians try to wrench Greece loose from NATO. After the colonels have taken up the reins there leftist organization in Western countries slander Greece.

Yet in the Mediterranean the Russian fleet feels itself cooped up. In case of war the passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles may be suspended, whereas at



the other side Gibraltar may give trouble. Spain is not allowed to enter NATO, though this would be of great strategical importance to the West. Therefore to the Russians the reopening of the Suez canal is a matter of great concern.

By the conquest of the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) the Russians have the control of several Baltic ports. Formerly they had only Petersburg. However, they no longer have free admittance to the North Sea. They have to deal with the Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, which dominate the passage through Sound, Great and Little Belt, Skagerak and Cattegat. The isle of Bornholm could be an important NATO stronghold; however, the Russians forbid the Danes to use it for that purpose. Like Greece and Turkey, Sweden, Norway and Denmark are under considerable Russian pressure.

The conquest and annexation of the non-Russian Soviet republics have brought the Russians unprecedented success. Still their desire for expansion has not been satisfied. Especially after the second world war they have marched further towards the West. The Iron Curtain now divides Europe into two parts. The aim of the Russians is clear. They want direct admittance to the North Sea and the Atlantic.

As already indicated, the Russians strip the non-Russian Soviet republics of their raw materials, whereas they despoil the satellite countries, that is East Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, of their industrial products. This is real colonial exploitation which has never been seen in the world. The price of the raw material, just as the price of the manufactured goods of the satellite countries, is fixed by the Kremlin, far below the price on the international market. This gives the Russians an opportunity to compete in the West at dumping prices. The result in the West is closing down of factories and unemployment, leading to chaos wanted by the Russians.

From the above mentioned statement of

facts it is clear that the Russian power consists exclusively of theft and exploitation of the conquered and colonized countries plus the slave labour of the population. Without these non-Russian Soviet republics and the satellite countries, Russia would not be a super power, only a third rate power with a population of about 90 million. In order to maintain their position of power the Russians hold their conquered countries firmly in hand and as the final bombshell want recognition of their conquests by Western powers. Chancellor Willy Brandt made the first steps by recognizing the status quo in Europe. The Russians made a step forward again in penetrating into West Germany. Their aim is control over West German industry, especially in the Ruhr area. However, have a look at the map again to see how near the Iron Curtain is at the Elbe to Hamburg, only some dozens of kilometers. And they are dying for a North Sea port, to say nothing of Rotterdam.

By conquest, theft and exploitation of the enslaved peoples Russia has been brought into the position of a world power. And all those misdeeds could be performed without the slightest counter-measures of the Western powers. No hand was raised. Western diplomats and politicians are charged with the negative attitude. Therefore we can show no respect for them. In the course of centuries they have done more harm than good to mankind. From Western politicians and diplomats no relief is to be expected, only worn words. They have blundered and made a mess of it in the last decades. Which of them dare to assault the Russian conquests, theft and exploitation? And it is the same with the ecclesiastical organizations. Do they extend a hand towards the brethren and sisters behind the Iron Curtain who are in dire need? They are like the Pharisees and scribes. Due to the lack of a firm Western stand the Russians get on their high horse and even dare to demand recognition of their theft. It is a recurrence of Hitler's conquests, likewise recognized by a slack lot of diplomats.

During his presidential campaign Richard Nixon said: "We will never write off the millions of people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. Their freedom shall always be our objective." All fine words, but, how are they to be translated into action? The subjugated people will have to manage their affairs for themselves; they must not depend on the West.

It is to be understood that in all the Russian-occupied countries there is a great hatred towards the Russians. In each of these countries there are underground resistance movements. In 1943 these movements were united into the organization called the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" (ABN). The aim of the ABN is the complete dissolution of the Russian empire into its ethonographical parts and the establishment of each part as a sovereign nation. The ABN, therefore, is opposed to any form of Russian imperialism,

whether tsarist or Communist. Nor will it tolerate any form of federation with the Russians because it fears that whatever form it may take, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of Russian hegemony.

Ukraine, with a population of about 45 million, is the economic hub of the Soviet Union. There is no possibility of destroying the Bolshevik empire without severing Ukraine from it. When the time has matured so far that all underground resistance movements come to revolt then the Russian empire will collapse.

An empire which is built upon a volcano of hatred, cannot be maintained ultimately. The resistance is continuously increasing.

THE LIBERATION OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES WILL AT THE SAME TIME BE THE SALVATION OF THE FREE WESTERN WORLD!

### **The British League for European Freedom Received at Foreign Office**

On February 19, 1971, a delegation from the British League for European Freedom visited the East European Department of the Foreign Office in London. The delegation was led by the Chairman Mr. John Graham, with Prof. W. Shayan, the Vice-Chairman, Mr. T. Zarins, the Treasurer, and Mr. W. Mykula, the Secretary, attending. The Foreign Office representative was Mr. C. L. G. Mallaby, with two other members of his department, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Rouse.

The discussion, which was friendly and informal, was based on the memorandum sent by the British League for European Freedom to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, but was extended to many other questions relevant to the memorandum, like the national-

ity question, British external broadcasting, etc.

Assurances were given by Mr. Mallaby that it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to change its position with regard to the territories annexed by Russia in the Second World War, to accept the Brezhnev doctrine, or to give way on West Berlin.

Mr. Mallaby quoted from the Government Defence White Paper CMND 4592:

"There appears to be no incompatibility for the Russians in simultaneously negotiating and exerting the kind of pressures which could severely prejudice East-West relations. It remains to be seen whether the Russians are genuinely interested in the resolution of outstanding major issues or merely in Western endorsement of the *status quo* in Europe on Soviet terms." Ch. 1. p. 3.

*Chairman British League  
for European Freedom*



## Ukrainians in Cannibalistic Captivity

Below we are published a further list of Ukrainian fighters for national liberation, who are incarcerated in Russian prisons and concentration camps.

*Vasyl Levkovych* — member of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), commander of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) military district "Buh", aged about 50, is now in Mordovia.

*Omelyan Polovyi* — an old member of OUN, political prisoner in the Polish times, then an officer in the Ukrainian Legion in 1941, commander of the first military district of UPA "Lysonya" (Ternopil region). He was arrested in 1946, had undergone a very prolonged judicial examination, was given the death sentence, which was commuted to 25 years of imprisonment. He served time in Kolyma, Taishet, and is now in Mordovia.

*Hryhoriy Pryshlyak* — an old member of OUN, subregional chief of the Security Service, arrested about 1948. An active participant of the camp resistance movement of the 40s and 50s. Aged about 60. He had been in Taishet, Kazakhstan and is now in Mordovia. Term — 25 years.

*Yevhen Pryshlyak* — member of OUN, at the moment of arrest a regional chief of SB (Security Service). Arrested in 1952 or 1958. Sentenced to 25 years. Until 1962 he served time in prisons, then in the Mordovian camps. Age — about 60. He is now at Camp No. 17 in Mordovia.

*Vasyl Pirus* — former member of SB, arrested in 1948, sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Served his term in Kolyma, Taishet, now — in Mordovia. He is 50 years old.

*Mykola Levytskyi* — member of OUN, in the second half of the 50s dropped from abroad. Arrested and sentenced to 25 years in 1957. He was born in 1922. He is now in Camp No. 17 (Mordovia).

*Viktor Solodkyi* — member of OUN, arrested in 1948, sentenced to 25 years. In the 50s, he was one of the organizers of the camp resistance movement. He was one of the initiators and leaders of a mass hunger strike in Taishet in the beginning of 1956, in which over 400 persons participated, demanding a review of their cases and the improvement of conditions. As one of the organizers of the hunger strike, he received at that time another 25-year term (five people were tried then, three received 25 years each, two — 10 years each). He served time in Taishet, in prisons (Odessa, Izmail, Tobolsk) and is now in Mordovia. He is about 45 years old.

*Vasyl Pidhorodetskyi* former scout of SB, arrested in 1948, sentenced to 25 years. In 1956 he received another 25-year term, together with V. Solodkyi and others, for the organization of a mass hunger-strike protest in Taishet. He was born in 1925. He is now in Mordovia (Camp No. 19).

*Mykola Onyshkiiv* — former underground member of OUN, arrested in the second half of the 40s, sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Served in Kolyma, Taishet, and now in Mordovia. Aged about 50.

*Hryhor Dubyna* — participant of the OUN movement, arrested at the end of the 1940s and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Served time in Taishet, now in Mordovia. Aged about 45.

*Stepan Palchak* — sentenced in 1961 to 10 years of imprisonment only because he maintained contacts with several participants of the OUN movement who were hiding in a bunker in the Ternopil region. Among them was his sister, Maria Palchak, the only living member of the group, who was sentenced to death by shooting, commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. He is now in Mordovia.

*Oleksander Chuhay* — member of the OUN underground. Arrested in 1948 or 1949 and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. He had been in Taishet, and is now in Mordovia. Aged about 45.

*Volodymyr Ostrovskyyi* — arrested for the second time about 1958, some time after his release. Sentenced to a repeated 15-year term of imprisonment. Aged — over 35.

*Dmytro Synyak* — regional chief of SB from the Hutsul region. Arrested in 1946 (?), sentenced to death by the OSO (three-men tribunal), which was commuted to 25 years of imprisonment.

*Dmytro Verkholyak* — member of the OUN underground, a nurse. Arrested in 1948, sentenced to death, which was then commuted to 25 years of imprisonment. He had been in Mordovia. He was born in 1926.

*Mykola Romaniv* — a former Communist, who then joined the OUN movement, a common peasant. In the underground he had been a regional supplier in the Hutsul region. Arrested about 1952, sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment, he is now in Mordovia.

*Hunda* — 30 years old. He was sentenced for “anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation” (according to another source for “betrayal of the fatherland”) in 1956 (perhaps in 1966?). The term is very long, and needs verification. He is a native of the Hutsul region.

*Ivan Shevchenko* — aged 60, was sentenced for the second time in 1959 for 15 years, having spent some time in freedom. The first time he was tried for his part in the police, but in camps he broke his ties with the police and joined the participants of the OUN movement. He took active part in all camp movements of the 40s and the 50s. The second time he was allegedly sentenced for “nationalistic agitation”. He is now in Mordovia.

*Mykhailo Lutsyk* — regional leader of the OUN youth, from the Boiko region (Sokil region, Lviv oblast). He was first arrested in 1959 or 1960 and sentenced to 15 years. He had been in Vladimir and is now in Mordovia.

*Ivan Ilchuk* — member of the underground, from Volynia, born in 1925. He was arrested in 1948, sentenced to 25 years. He is now in Camp No. 17 (Mordovia).

*Mykola Slobodyanyk* — born about 1909, from Zhytomyr oblast, is imprisoned since 1947 for his part in the police, but in camps he joined the participants of the OUN movement, with whom he took active part in camp protest actions. Term — 25 years.



## The Tragedy of the Estonian People under the Russian Oppression

### **Soviet Russian Occupation of Estonia Is an International Crime**

Since June 16, 1940 the Republic of Estonia is occupied by the armed forces of the Soviet Union. The country was turned into a Soviet Russian colony by installation of a puppet government that is totally controlled and manipulated from Moscow. The oppressed and exploited people of Estonia will never reconcile themselves to the status of a Soviet Russian colony.

Russian colonialism is a strange oddity, especially at a time, when the principles of freedom and self-determination for all peoples in the world have found universal recognition as the guiding idea of this century's international life and are being put into practice in all parts of the world. The Estonian people are fighting and continue to fight for the recognition and application of these same principles in the Russian colonial world. They demand it as the first step toward establishment of a free and independent Estonia. The Estonian people in the free Western world and at home have not accepted the Soviet Russian one-sided violent incorporation of the Republic into the Soviet Union.

In violation of all solemn peace treaties with the Republic of Estonia the Russians invaded the Estonian territory. Shielded by the Russian occupation troops in June 1940 the puppet government was installed by mock elections to one of the two Chambers of Parliament. The Russians showed cynical ignorance of the democratic election process as well as practiced outright terror. On July 21, 1940 the unlawfully established body, the Chamber of Deputies, petitioned the Supreme Soviet with a Moscow-dictated declaration for permission to incorporate Estonia into the Soviet Union. This petition was approved by Moscow, of course. This procedure has no validity according to the Law of Estonia. The legal effect of Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union is thus null and void and has not succeeded in breaking the identity or

the legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia.

The democratic Western powers are well aware of the fact that the Soviet Union infringed on valid treaties and rules of international law in annexing the Baltic states by force. These powers, including the U.S.A., have refused to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic states by force into the Soviet Union. The Baltic envoys in the Western world entered solemn protests against both the invasion of their countries as well as the illegal appointment of new governments and incorporation which followed. Moreover, this attitude was equally strongly shared by the people in Estonia.

### **The Lawful Government of the Republic of Estonia Continues to Exist**

In accordance with Article 46 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia the duties of the President are discharged by the Prime Minister, when the President himself is prevented from discharging them. (Article 46 says in part: If the office of the President of the Republic is vacant or if the President of the Republic in the cases mentioned by law is prevented from performing his duties, the functions of the President of the Republic are exercised by the Prime Minister, while the duties of the Prime Minister are discharged during the performance of the functions of the President of the Republic by the Acting Prime Minister . . . — with the entry into office of the Acting President of the Republic the powers of the last President of the Republic shall terminate . . . )

At the end of August 1940 the President of the Republic, Konstantin Päts, was deported to the Soviet Union by the Russian occupation authorities. Consequently the Prime Minister in the last legitimate cabinet, Jüri Uluots, constitutionally entered into the position of the president. In accordance with the Constitution he appointed a new cabinet on September 18, 1944 and charged this cabinet to take all possible

steps for the restoration of the sovereignty of the Republic of Estonia: to pursue this activity even outside the territory of Estonia, if this should prove necessary. Mr. August Rei, residing in Stockholm, Sweden at that time was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In the last days of September 1944 the Soviet Russian forces reoccupied the territory of the Republic of Estonia and enforced their occupational regime, which exists there to date.

The Prime Minister — Acting President of the Republic of Estonia, Jüri Uluots, escaped into the Free World, but died in Stockholm in January 1945. According to Article 52 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia: "If the Prime Minister and Acting Prime Minister are unable to discharge the duties of the Prime Minister, these duties are performed by the oldest members of the Government of the Republic." The Acting Prime Minister, Otto Tief, who has been deported to the Soviet Union, is prevented from discharging the duties of the Prime Minister. These duties have devolved on the senior member of the Government of the Republic, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, August Rei. On the above consideration, Mr. August Rei, Acting President, appointed a Government of the Republic of Estonia on January 12, 1953. After the death of the Acting Prime Minister of that Government, Mr. Johannes Sikkar, the Acting President, Mr. August Rei, appointed a new Government of the Republic on January 1, 1962 with Mr. Aleksander Warma as the Acting Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

After the death of the Acting President, Mr. August Rei, on March 29, 1963, Mr. Aleksander Warma in his capacity of Acting Prime Minister became Acting President of the Republic according to Article 47 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia. He appointed Mr. Tonis Kint, Minister of Agriculture, to the post of Acting Prime Minister. The Acting President of the Republic of Estonia, Mr. Aleksander Warma, died on December 23, 1970. Therefore, according to Article 46

of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia Mr. Tonis Kint became the Acting President of the Republic of Estonia. He appointed on May 8, 1971 according to the same Article 46 Mr. Heinrich Mark to the post of Acting Prime Minister and Mr. August Koern to the post of Foreign Minister of the Republic of Estonia.

Thus the legal continuity of the institutions of the State has been safeguarded in accordance with the provisions of the Estonian Constitution to effectively carry out the struggle for the rights of the Estonian People and the Republic of Estonia, and to take steps as well as to make arrangements which are exclusive prerogative of the Constitutional Institutions of the Republic of Estonia.

#### **The Russian Attempt to Legalize Their Empire**

For the the second year in a row the Soviet Union is promoting the so-called European Security Conference in order to further the idea of recognizing the present borders of the Soviet Union, including the forcefully occupied Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania — and making these states a permanent part of the Soviet Union as they have done with Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Don Cossack State, . . . a. o. From 1940 to 1945 the Russians annexed 182,400 square miles with a population of 24 million people and during 1945—46 established control in an area of 393,547 square miles with a population of 91.9 million people. The Russian intent is to acquire international recognition of this empire.

The people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania find that the precondition for peace and friendly cooperation in Europe is that the principle of self-determination shall be put into practice also within the "borders" of the Soviet Union. The Baltic peoples appeal to the public opinion and the United Nations and ask that the basic human rights be restored to all people living within the present borders of the Soviet Union and in the countries where the Russians established control and oppressive governments since the Second World War.



## Underground Publication Exposes Russian Terror in Ukraine

Below we are publishing some of the materials from *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (*The Ukrainian Herald*), No. 4, which is circulating clandestinely in Ukraine. So far five issues of *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* are known to exist, but only four of them have so far been received in the West.

### The Persecution of Christianity Continues

In Halychyna the persecution of the remnants of the Greek Catholic Church continues. We are citing two definite facts (the others lack concreteness — names, localities, etc.)

In Sambir, when a Greek Catholic priest, *Osyp Roman*, had been saying Mass in a private house, five people, headed by deputy head of the city council, *Teslenko*, broke into the house just as the Epistle was being read. They dispersed those present, fining some (the younger ones) 10 rubles each.

A mass action of the population in connection with religious harrassment occurred several months ago in the village of *Pyynyany* in the Sambir region. There is no priest in the village, but the people do not permit the church to be closed and converted into a warehouse. On some religious feast, they called in three Greek Catholic priests to say Mass. Having celebrated Mass in church, the priests went to one home for dinner. It was there that the militia, which had been informed by somebody that Greek Catholics "are active" in the village, made a surprise attack. The people, however, threw the militia out the door. Then militiamen and kolkhoz head *Olach* called a military unit stationed nearby, and informed them that enemy spies have appeared in the village.

Put on the alert the troops rushed into the village and surrounded the house indicated by the militia. In the meantime, finishing their dinner, two priests had already gone, while the third one, seeing that the house had been surrounded by the troops and the militia and fearing a beating, locked himself in the pantry. When, breaking windows, they began to get into the pantry, the priest took out his crucifix and began to bless them. The soldiers became embarrassed. Remarks could be heard: "But it's a priest! What kind of a spy is it?"

Angered by the outrage, the peasants assembled, explained everything to the soldiers and with their taciturn consent freed the priest. At the same time they turned over the car of the head of the kolkhoz, and locked the lieutenant, who was commanding the troops, in a stable. The soldiers went to the homes to eat and drink on the occasion of the holy day.

Several weeks later on the basis of false testimony by a certain individual, two or three women were convicted for "the organization of public disorder". One woman was given four years of camps, the other one (or two) two years.

The attacks in the press against the Greek Catholic Church and even against former Greek Catholics who have turned Orthodox have been intensified. Characteristic in this respect is the article by *V. Kostenko* "The Descendant of Father *Soyka*" (*Lviv regional newspaper Vilna Ukraina* for November 3, 1970) about the present pastor of the Transfiguration church in *Lviv*, *Petro Kozytskyi*. The author of the article failed to find any sins in the present activity of *Kozytskyi*, aside from the fact that he "is making heads dizzy" by religious intoxication (which *V. Kostenko* could have written about any priest) and that allegedly for profiteering candles are sold in church (this is also done everywhere). The major attacks on *Kozytskyi* were levelled for his past, for the fact that he had been a Greek Catholic and edited the weekly *Meta* — a publication of the Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church *Andrey Sheptytskyi*. As a matter of fact, for this *Kozytskyi* had served a prolonged term of punishment at one time.

One is alerted in particular by the attacks upon *Kozytskyi's* sons, as an obvious relapse to the Stalinist era, when parents were responsible for the "crimes" of children, and children — for parents'. Their

whole "guilt" is in the fact that wishing to acquire higher education they did not report upon admission that their father was a priest. V. Kostenko proposes that for this they should be thrown out of work.

Unsatisfied with the article by V. Kostenko, at the end of January 1971 the paper published a whole series of responses to V. Kostenko's article entitled "The Treacherous Acts of a Pharisee." There one can read the following:

"Can a Uniate, who has become Orthodox for appearances' sake, be the pastor of

a church near which H. Kostelnyk had died?", or,

"The sons of Kozytskyi have become lecturers, are teaching the sons of workers and peasants. And what can they teach them, having such a teacher as their father? . . . They have no moral right to be the teachers of our sons and daughters, who are studying at the university; they do not merit it!"

In the near future one can expect, of course, reprisals against Kozytskyi and his sons.

### **The Martyrdom of Valentyn Moroz and Terror against the Ukrainian Intelligentsia**

News has reached us from Ukraine that Valentyn Moroz, sentenced in November 1970 to 9 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile, has been transferred to the Vladimir prison, where he is to be held in solitary confinement. On this birthday, April 15, 1971, hundreds, or even thousands, of persons from Ukraine and from various corners of the USSR have sent him birthday telegrams, congratulating him and thus giving him moral support.

When V. Moroz's address became known abroad, many Ukrainians and foreigners from various countries began to send telegrams to Moroz as well, in spite of the fact that his birthday had been in April.

The new address of V. Moroz is as follows: Valentyn Yakovych Moroz, City of Vladimir, OD-1, St. 2, Vladimir Oblast, RSFSR, USSR.

In connection with the conviction of V. Moroz and the action in his defense, which spread to Ukraine as a whole, a new wave of arrests, repressions and harassment of numerous cultural leaders, students, young people, workers and peasants has begun.

Recently teacher *Pastukh* has been arrested under the pretext that he was to have organized assistance for the Ukrainian political prisoners.

*Atena Volytska*, a professor at the Lviv Ivan Franko University, a chemical engineer and a poetess, has been dismissed from the university after an extended ha-

arrassment and interrogation. A. Voltyska, being a professor for more than ten years, was at the same time an organizer of a professional association and had the best recommendations of numerous professors. In spite of this, she was discharged because on the day of V. Moroz's trial she was allegedly in Ivano-Frankivsk and allegedly had signed a letter in defense of the young historian.

In Ukraine the 5th issue of the underground *Ukrainskyi visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald) has made its appearance, in which much attention is devoted to the action in defense of V. Moroz. In this issue of the periodical, which has gained wider circulation than the previous issues, much information and data are given about new repressions and persecutions and the defense of the Ukrainian national rights.

The name of the well-known and talented Ukrainian literary critic Viktor Ivanysenko has been removed from the newest bibliographic directory "The Writers of Soviet Ukraine" (Kyiv, 1970), in spite of the fact that so far the Bolshevik press has not reported on his expulsion from the so-called Writers' Union of Ukraine. Two pages from that directory, which appeared in the edition of 23,000 copies, have been torn out and others have been pasted in their place because Ivanysenko's name had been mentioned there.

V. Ivanysenko was born in 1927 in the



Dnipropetrovsk region. He spent five years in the Red Army. He was a member of the Communist Party. For many years he worked in the Institute of Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR. He wrote many articles, as well as books "The Contemporary Lyro-Epic Poem", "Poetry, Man, Contemporaneity", "Poetry and Communist Morality", "Poetry and the Life of the People", "What Is Lyric", "The Rise of Style".

In recent years V. Ivanyenko opposed repressions in Ukraine and defended the Ukrainian culture. Self-publication materials allegedly found in his possession served as a pretext for his expulsion.

The museum-archives of Ivan Honchar in Kyiv (Kyiv, Novodnytska St. 8½, Tel. 77-33-49), known throughout Ukraine and abroad, had been closed recently and the visits to it were prohibited. The museum's owner Ivan Honchar is under constant surveillance and pressure of the KGB. It is reported from Kyiv that the museum is under a great threat. There are very serious fears that it can be treacherously destroyed, as had been the case already with the

Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR or the archives at the Vydubyt'skyi Monastery.

A well-known young singer Nina Matviyenko is subjected to harassment and persecution. She is prohibited from going abroad, even to the socialist countries, only because she is said to have received a letter from the West.

This year's Easter in Ukraine was marked by the return of the young people, students and intelligentsia to religion, which is considered to be the strongest bulwark of the Ukrainian nation. On Easter day many young people, considerably more than in previous years, wearing embroidered shirts, participated in the Divine Services and the blessing of Easter bread, in spite of the anti-Easter campaign of the regime and the establishment of working "subotniks" and "nedelniks" (work freely given to the state on Saturday and Sunday).

Many artists of the younger generation are drawing on religious life and Christian legends as the subject matter of their works.

### Harassment of Families of Political Prisoners

#### Kyiv

The mother of O. Serhiyenko — pensioner *Oksana Meshko* (spent 10 years in Stalinist camps, rehabilitated) — is subjected to persecution by the KGB. She is well-known for her civic activity, the protests against repressions, in particular against the arrest of V. Moroz.

Lately O. Meshko noticed more often that she was being watched — in the store, in the coffee house, in the trolley bus. The persons who were escorting her tried purposely to be seen by her (for instance, when she was held up in a line, the "escort" without fail peeked through the window or the door impatiently several times).

When it became apparent that O. Meshko does not exhibit any signs of fear, the actions toward her changed a bit.

After one of the rehearsals of the choir "Homin" which works in the club "Khar-

chovyk" on behalf of the republican Choir Association, O. Meshko was stopped by an employee of the KGB and allegedly a worker of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and they proposed to her to have a talk with the director of the club. They dragged her to the office almost by force and began to ask her what is she doing here, what is she by profession, where does she live. After this the club's director said that she "does not like the conduct" of O. Meshko, who allegedly "is trying to win over members of other amateur collectives to that choir of hers 'Homin'", which as a matter of fact does not correspond to the truth.

The director told the choir director Leopold Yashchenko that she will not allow O. Meshko in the club any longer, as "a person having a hostile attitude". As the result of this O. Meshko was forced to leave the choir.

## Lviv

Accounts are also being squared with the wife of the convicted Valentyn Moroz. She is irreproachably working for five years already in the Ivano-Frankivsk Medical Institute, where she is teaching German. After the trial of Moroz, Raisa Moroz was unequivocally given to understand that she is working in the institute for the last year. In the spring a competition is to be announced for the position which is filled by R. Moroz.

The Moroz family had been building an apartment for itself in a cooperative way. By the decision of the general meeting of the cooperative, they were permitted to have a three-room apartment; they paid the necessary sum and had moved in. Now, upon directives of the KGB, they demand of Raisa Moroz to move from her apartment into a one-room one. The head of the cooperative makes no efforts to conceal at the meetings that this is being done because R. Moroz's husband has been convicted for "politics".

### Persecution of Released Political Prisoners

#### The Ivano-Frankivsk Region

The persecution of artist *Panas Zalyvakha*, who in August 1970 returned from a 5-year imprisonment in Mordovia, continues. It has been reported that "public" surveillance has been instituted over Zalyvakha with the prohibition to leave his house from 1 a. m. to 8 a. m., registration with the militia once every two weeks, check ups at home, etc.

At the beginning of December 1970 P. Zalyvakha went to Kyiv to the funeral of artist Alla Horská with whom he was on friendly terms. He notified the militia beforehand of his trip by an application. Nevertheless, he was punished upon his return. Now he has no right to leave the house between 8 p. m. and 8 a. m., he should register with the militia once a week, the militia appears for a check at any time of the day or night.

As had already been reported, after his return from imprisonment, journalist *Vyacheslav Chornovil* could not get any job for a long time; he was not even given the job of a librarian. In the fall of 1969 he got a job at the meteorological station in the Transcarpathian region, but receiving information from the KGB he was illegally fired from there after five months. In the summer of 1970 V. Chornovil worked as an excavator in the archeological expedition in the Odessa region, and in the fall found a job as a weigher at the railroad station in Lviv, with the pay of 60 rubles a month.

But even this "post" somehow did not satisfy the KGB men. In a month, just before the trial of V. Moroz, KGB agent named Svitlychnyi appeared at the station, called the executives of the station and told them that Chornovil is an enemy, who should have been incarcerated for 25 years, but he extricated himself and was jailed for only 1.5 year. He blamed them for employing him without taking notice of the note in his passport about the fact that he had been tried, asked who comes to see Chornovil, who calls him on the phone. The frightened station master expressed his readiness to discharge Chornovil immediately. To this the KGB agent replied: "Do not rush, we will tell you when this should be done."

## Lviv

Over three years after his return from imprisonment, the writer and journalist *Mykhailo Osadchyi* is still being subjected to persecution. At first he was not allowed to live with his family in their Lviv apartment; at night he was "caught" at home by the militia; for several days he had even been under arrest for "passport violations". In recent months he is being persecuted for signing protest statements against the "in camera" case of S. Karavanskyi and the arrest of V. Moroz. M. Osadchyi was called to the oblast committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, where they used coarse language and threatened him.



In August 1970 the sister of Osadchyi's wife, who had passed her examinations and had the necessary number of points had not been put on the staff of the Lviv Polygraphic Institute. It was explained to her that she had not been included because her sister has such a husband, as well as because the first husband of her mother (not her father) had been a Bandera follower . . . The rector of the institute did not yield to the directive of the ministry on the enrollment of the girl. When Osadchyi wrote a protest about these infamies to the oblast committee of the party, they called him out three times and told him that his statement was written in the spirit of the BBC radio-broadcasts and threatened him with a new arrest.

When M. Osadchyi was travelling by bus to his wife's parents in the country, a

KGB agent was placed by him, who at first struck up various kinds of provocative "anti-Soviet" conversations, and then right in the bus, having drunk two bottles of wine, admitted to Osadchyi who he is and why was he sent, and repented before the people for doing such a canine job. When Osadchyi was returning from the village the next day, the KGB agent, having, of course, sobbered up and regretting his frankness, set the militia on Osadchyi. M. Osadchyi was forcibly dragged from the bus in the town of Radekhiv and although they had no claims against him of any kind, they held him for some time in the regional militia (headquarters) threatening to punish him for no apparent reason.

### Repressions against Defenders of Political Prisoners

#### Dnipropetrovsk

In the trucking fleet No. 21—90 the "ideologically harmful conduct" of the driver in that fleet, *Oleksander Kuzmenko*, a witness in the Sokulskyi case, had been discussed. At the trial, Kuzmenko held himself independently and said about the defendants: "They are honest people. I have heard nothing bad from their lips, no political intrigue. If all the people had been like Sokulskyi, we would have Communism" (quoted on the basis of an article by Tsukanov). Not considering himself guilty, he at first conducted himself with dignity at the meeting as well. Tsukanov writes about this in the paper with indignation: "Coming out on the stage, he crossed his hands on his chest in a theatrical fashion and brazenly looked at the hall, as if to say, what do they want from me, what are they accusing me of." But they found something of which to accuse him — of the fact that he knew Sokulskyi, and also of some deeds during the war, when Kuzmenko was 16—17 years old. As a matter of fact, Kuzmenko had been rehabilitated at one time, but today yesterday's rehabilitations

cease to be real. Kuzmenko was even blamed for the fact that he collected materials for the honoring of Shevchenko and Lenin, as if to say that he does not dare do this with his "soiled hands". Kuzmenko was clearly told that jail is awaiting him (in the newspaper article it was stated that at the trial Kuzmenko should not have been a witness but the defendant) and he was forced to repent.

In the second issue of *Visnyk* an open letter to the Dnipropetrovsk newspapers of the Kyiv physician Mykola Plakhotnyuk had been published. This is how F. Tsukanov replied to this letter in *Zorya*: "Recently the editorial mail brought a letter from Kyiv. A certain Plakhotnyuk, a physician by profession, appears in the role of a voluntary advocate of Sokulskyi and Company. I do not know whether Kuzmenko will share with him his impressions of the meeting, whether he will tell him about the voice of the people which he heard (they are friends nevertheless), but we on our part are suggesting this article as our reply to the muffled cry of despair of a nationalist . . ."

## The Balts and the United Church

### *A Friendly Reminder to the Delegates of the 24th General Council of the United Church*

Having confidence in the United Church's regard of itself as an instrument of "involvement and action" in sociological and political affairs, the Baltic Federation in Canada, representing the Estonian Central Council in Canada, the Latvian National Federation in Canada and the Federation of Lithuanian Canadians, formed a Committee to draft an "Appeal" calling for the support of the Baltic States now under Soviet Russian occupation. This "Appeal" was sent to the United Church on June 6, 1967.

On the initiative of the United Church Sub-Committee on the Baltic States, the 23rd General Council of the United Church, in 1968, adopted a resolution commending the Canadian Government for not giving de jure recognition to the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

This resolution however fell far short of other General Council actions condemning alleged "colonialism" and "oppression" in countries outside the Iron Curtain and calling for de facto changes of the status quo there.

Consequently a new "Appeal", signed by the representatives of the said central Baltic organizations in Canada, was submitted to the United Church on May 30, 1970. It requested that a revision of the 23rd General Council's resolution on the matter be made by the 24th General Council in 1971. It also asked for a "Confirmation of Faith" with regard to the universal application of the moral principles professed by the Church. Therefore this, and a new "Appeal" of October 24, 1970, submitted three Resolutions:

1. *Condemnation of the accelerated genocide in peace-time inflicted by Soviet Russian Communists on the Baltic peoples in their homelands.*

2. *Restoration of human rights to the Baltic peoples, including the free exercise of their Christian faith, national independence and self-determination.*

3. *Application of the principle of national independence to all nations within the Soviet Union where the ethnic Russians are in the minority.*

The various United Church Committees have referred the Baltic question to the World Council of Churches, the Canadian Council of Churches and to the U.C. Ottawa Committee on International Affairs without response. We were compelled to feel, that by these means the Church has conveniently avoided making any definite commitment on the troublesome topic.

A step forward is the draft resolution prepared by the Committee on the Church and International Affairs (Rev. Gordon Stewart's, Assoc. Secretary, letter of Dec. 9, 1970). We find that this resolution lays a good groundwork for dealing with problems of religious and political oppression not only in the free world but also in the Communist-dominated countries. If adopted, this resolution will give the United Church a principally balanced opportunity to tackle all areas of oppression. We urge the 24th General Council to adopt this resolution.

*But at the same time the Canadians of Baltic origin — although appreciating the United Church's sympathetic concern and the resulting dialogue on the Baltic problem — still maintain that Christian principles should be boldly stated and applied universally without fear or favour, and that the Christian Church should become the rallying point for the peoples now under Communist oppression.*

In this regard we repeatedly request not to postpone again a decision on the 3 points which we mentioned above. We feel at the moment that our Appeals (since June 6, 1967) are left far behind. We request the Church to express itself in this matter with



the same boldness and determination as in so many other resolutions regarding alleged injustices in the non-Communist world.

*If the Christians are truly brothers' keepers and appreciate the value of free society for all, this is a matter that should receive considerable attention from the clergy and all delegates to the 24th General Council of the United Church of Canada. The inadequacies should be rectified.*

The Baltic Appeal Committee:

*V. Upešlacis, Chairman*

*N. Austrins, Secretary*



\* Kerk anno '71:  
Niemand kan  
twee heren  
dienen (MUT)

## The Hunger Strike of Political Prisoners

In December 1970 on Constitution Day and Human Rights Day 27 political prisoners of the Vladimir prison staged a hunger strike as a sign of protest against the inhuman treatment of prisoners by Russian brutes. The hunger strike lasted for five days, from December 5th to the 10th.

Among the strikers there were persons of various nationalities. To the prisoners from Ukraine belong:

*Mykola Fedorovych Drahach*, a school principal in the Taturyn region of the Odessa oblast, imprisoned for 7 years for establishing the "Democratic Union of Socialists".

*Svyatoslav Karavanskyi*, a prominent Ukrainian patriot, persecuted and tortured by Russian chauvinists.

*Dmytro Kvetsko*, sentenced to 15 years for membership in the Ukrainian National Front.

*Zynoviy Mykhailovych Krasivskyi*, sentenced for 15 years for membership in the UNF.

*Roman Semenyuk*, sentenced to 25 years for membership in the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). In 1965 an additional 3 years were added on by the executioners. (His close and faithful friend, the late Antin Oliynyk had been murdered by the Russian bandists).

*Mykola Andriyovych Tarnavskyi*, deported for 7 years for membership in the "Democratic Union of Socialists".

*Yosyf Tereza*, exiled for 8 years for "Ukrainian nationalist propaganda".

*Yaroslav Lesiv*, sentenced to 6 years for membership in the UNF.

### Russians Snatching Patriotic Girls

In September 1969 the Russian occupying forces arrested nurse Lyubov Nastusenko for spreading "nationalistic propaganda". She has been confined to the criminal psychiatric prison for spiritual annihilation.

# Women In Defense Of Human Rights

## PETITION

*WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, PETITION the International Court of Justice, the International Commission of Jurists, and the International Labor Organization to investigate the plight of political prisoners in Soviet prisons, particularly the cases of the following women presently serving 25-year terms:*

*Mrs. Kateryna Zarytska  
Miss Halyna Didyk  
Mrs. Odarka Husyak.*

*WE BELIEVE that these women (staff members of the Ukrainian Red Cross) who were sentenced by Russian courts for the "crime" of carrying on their duties toward humanity as Red Cross workers — and who have already served 18 to 20 years of their sentences, should be released.*

*WE APPEAL to you to protect and defend these innocent women, and all political prisoners, and to use your moral and practical influence to help bring about their release as quickly as possible.*

\* \* \*

## PETITION

*WHEREAS it is a known fact that the Russian Government (USSR) has occupied Ukraine and a number of other sovereign states and, by force, has incorporated them as so-called "Sovereign National Republics" in an artificial union, creating a vast colonial empire; and*

*WHEREAS this government continues to violate in practice the very human rights guaranteed by the constitutions of these "Sovereign National Republics" as well as by the constitution of the Soviet Union itself, and the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights of which Russia is a signatory; and*

*WHEREAS Russia, to achieve its ultimate goal of world empire, Russian-Communist dominated, is engaged in international conspiracy and is instigating conflicts that create local war situations, thereby threatening world peace and security and violating human rights;*

*WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, PETITION our Ambassador to the United Nations Organization to place on the agenda of the U.N., for full discussion, the subject of Russian colonialism and imperialism, with the objective of taking constructive action toward restoring national and human rights to Ukraine and other nations and people, now unwilling members of the USSR.*

WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION of the  
CANADIAN LEAGUE FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE  
C a n a d a



## The Economic Problems of Turkestan

### Results of the Agrarian Policy of The Russian Government

The efforts of the Soviet leaders to develop the agricultural economy of Turkestan from 1918 to the end of 1963 brought the following results, which in the view of the Soviet Russians are described as a success, although in reality its development has not even kept pace with that in some developing countries:

The measures to increase the areas under agricultural cultivation have been regularly and since 1953 intensively carried out. From the following table, which has been assembled from Soviet sources<sup>1)</sup>, can be seen the area under cultivation and the structure of the agricultural culture:

	1913	1955	1961	1963
Total area cultivated (in 1000 ha.)	8,509.5	14,755	33,041	39,442.6
of which				
a) cereals of all kinds	7,812.3	9,179	24,371	26,693.4
b) technical cultures	697.2	2,369	2,550	2,779.5
of which				
a) cotton	562.0	6,664	2,082	2,225.6
b) other cultures (potatoes, vegetables, fodder e.g. alfalfa)		3,207	6,120	8,969.3

The rise in area devoted to cereal cultivation after 1953 took place in the North (New Land area) and that in cotton in the South of Turkestan in the years 1927-1963.

As a result of the rise in area under cultivation production also had to rise. Thus in 1953 2,865,000 tons of cereal were produced. Only after ten years of efforts could 5,379,000 tons of cereals be produced in 1963. Cotton production rose from 3,427,000 tons in 1953 to 4,919,000 tons in 1963. Although in 1963 the Soviet government introduced 314,000 tractors (each 15 h.p.)

and by reducing the number of collectives (1963: 2,400 compared with 7,163 in 1953) and increasing the number of state farms (1963: 1,729 compared with 527 in 1953) through the organization of CP Central Committee offices to manage agriculture, through the formation of executive committees for agricultural areas and through agricultural production administrative centres exerted an intense control over agricultural enterprises, to increase the productivity of agriculture, yet it did not succeed in reaching this goal.

If one compares the agricultural "productivity" of Turkestan reached under Soviet Russian rule through a centralized planned system and forced labour methods (work norms), with that of some free developing countries, then the agricultural production in Turkestan, the so-called model land of development, lies far behind that of some developing countries. If we take Pakistan, a neighbour of Turkestan, and, for reasons of ethnic relatedness, Turkey, as comparisons, then it is realized that the Soviet agricultural policy in Turkestan can in no way count as a model for such countries. As is known, the area of Turkestan under cultivation in 1963 amounted to 38,442,200 hectares in a country with a total area of 3,973,000 sq.kms. The area under cultivation in Pakistan in the same year amounted to 21,473,000 hectares in a total area of 944,700 sq.kms. and in Turkey 14,358,000 hectares in a total area of 767,100 sq.kms. Thus the area under cultivation in Turkestan was 2,614,200 hectares greater than that of the two so-called developing countries. In 1963 Pakistan produced 15,562,400 tons and Turkey 17,400,000 tons of all kinds of cereals, all together 32,962,400 tons. In Turkestan in 1963 5,379,000 tons of cereals were produced. This then means that in Pakistan and Turkey taken together five times more cereals were produced than in Turkestan, although the area under cultivation of these two countries together was 2,614,200 hec-

tares smaller than that available in Turkestan. If one considers that Turkestan counts as the classic country of artificial irrigation and the climatic conditions are the same as in the countries named, then one can no longer speak of a model development of agriculture in Turkestan. But it is astonishing that the Soviet Russians themselves publish<sup>2)</sup> such statistics on Turkestan and other countries, without realizing that such figures actually prove the backwardness of the agricultural economy in Turkestan, even if its agriculture is more mechanized and the population of Turkestan no less hard working than of the other countries. It turned out that the Soviet Russians placed special value on the increase in cultivatable land, if one does not consider in this the purposeful policy of cotton cultivation. The only success of Soviet agricultural policy perhaps lies in the rise of the hectare yield for cotton cultivation. Turkestan is in fourth place in the world for cotton cultivation (after India, the USA and China), but is in first place in hectare yield with 715 kgs average yield per hectare (1963/64). It must also be noticed that the countries of Pakistan and Turkey rank before Turkestan in agricultural productivity, since they have attained it through bare necessity with free conditions of work, while the agricultural life in Turkestan has lost any individual character. Also production in the two countries was reached without the help of colonists, whereas in Turkestan more than 4 million foreigners were employed in the agricultural economy.

Notes:

<sup>1)</sup> Posevnyye ploščadi SSSR, Vol. 1, Moscow 1957, pages 53-53, 60-63, 116-7; Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1962, Moscow 1963, pages 250-1

<sup>2)</sup> For statistics see: Ežigodnik Bol'soi Sovetskoi Ėnciklopedii, Moscow 1964, for Turkestan pages 124, 129, 167, 171, 174, for Pakistan page 31, and for Turkey, page 367.

## The Effects of Industrialization on the Life of the People

In our previous investigations we have attempted to give a survey of the present development of industry in Turkestan. The Soviet Union has developed an industry here, which is not based on the national life of Turkestan but on the general objectives of the Soviet Russians. This "denational", that is, developed for the benefit of the Russian empire, industry has naturally not failed to have an effect on the life of the people; it contributed to the strengthening of the national consciousness of the people, instead of "denationalizing" it. This happened because:

1. industry in Turkestan grew as a side effect of the industrial sectors determined by the Soviet Russians;
2. the Russians themselves took over complete control of the industry of Turkestan;
3. the privileges of the Russian workers (such as about 30-40 % additional wages as displacement allowance, specially arranged houses, preferential treatment of Russian workers by the Russian industrial officials, Russian as the language of conversation in the enterprises), led to national separation of the newly trained Turkestani workers and the Russian workers in Turkestan.

As far as the training of a working class from the ranks of the Turkestanis is concerned, it could be stated that in fact a new social class, the workers, came into existence, but, since it did not make up even 20 % of the industrial workers of Turkestan, it was not in the position to affect a transformation of social life, since it is in the minority (c. 15 %) compared with the other classes of the nation, indeed even compared with the other Russian workers in Turkestan (c. 85 %). Thus there were, for example, about 2,015,000 workers and office workers employed in the heavily industrialized part of Kazakhstan in 1960 in the non-agricultural sector of the economy (industry, transport, mining, communications, post). Of these only 19 % were Kazakhs<sup>1)</sup>. The question, whether such a small number of workers of local nationality was or is in



the position to alter the way of thinking of a people in accordance with industrial progress, must be answered in the negative, for the Turkestani workers continue to be under the influence of the socially strong class of peasants. Thus, for example, of the Kazakh population in the Kazakh SSR about 65 % (39 % in the collective farms and 26 % in the state farms) are employed in agriculture.<sup>2)</sup>

Industrialization has changed the face of Turkestan. Through the mechanization of agriculture farming has also been modernized, but so far this has not caused the farmers to give up their traditions. Technological civilization merges with the culture of Turkestan, in which the people retain their national consciousness. The process of industrialization led to the realization that the Turkestanis are capable of adapting themselves to modern developments. With this viewpoint, they made efforts to work together in industry, which, however, they have not been completely able to accomplish, since Turkestanis have been incorporated into the industrial process only to a limited extent. Thus some Western experts also are in error in thinking that industrialization has eliminated the barriers between the non-Russian peoples and reduced national consciousness. In reality industry has intensified the national differences between Turkestanis and Russians. The Soviet organs continue up to the present to complain in their press that the Turkestani workers, even when they include some Communists, refuse to live together with the Russians in the so-called "international common accommodation" and to eat together with them in the works' canteens.

Industry has also replaced the traditional work done in the home in Turkestan. This used to consist of making agricultural equipment, household objects, carpets, silk, wool, and cotton cloth, embroidery, leather goods, china goods and porcelain, wood carving, musical instruments, food (vegetable fat, rice and cereal flour).

In three districts of Turkestan (Fergana, Sir-Darya, Samarkand) there were, for example, in 1908 32,045 hand-worked oil-mills, which employed 65,872 people. They

have all been superseded by Soviet industry. Some branches of "home" industry were able to be fully incorporated into industry, such as iron casting, agricultural tools, weaving, carpet-making and production of fat. Carpet-making, wood-carving, the manufacture of national music instruments and embroidery were not completely taken over by industry, even if these sectors of industrial production existed. Thus, for example, in addition to the carpet-weaving factories there are carpet-making collectives, in which about 70,000 people work at the moment. These native industries, however, have lost much of their earlier quality, style and art through the restriction of their free activity. This is an area in which the traditions of the people have suffered considerable damage. Although Turkestan is the centre of carpet-making in the Soviet Union and its carpet-making art is well known (e. g. Bukhara, Teke, Kasak etc.), the population does not have the opportunity to meet their own needs in Turkestan itself. Thus, for example, a Turkestani had to go to Moscow to be able to buy a carpet for a mosque in Tashkent.<sup>3)</sup>

The question of whether industrialization and the change in the structure of the country connected with it has changed the psychology of the people and how the present state of national consciousness in Turkestan is to be measured or to what results the Soviet attempts at creating new formations are leading, is answered by Professor Schlenger from Marburg as follows: "That even a 20 year (now more: author) re-forming of Soviet man has not been sufficient to blur national differences was shown by the war and the events after the war. There is obviously in the character of a people a preservation, rooted in its basic level, of its inborn national consciousness, even in dispersal, in the dissipation of peoples and the industrial atomization of families: it places a psychologically-based lesson of national consciousness (on the basis of Soviet material obtained by observation) before some new tasks"<sup>4)</sup>.

Finally it seems necessary to go into the results of Soviet industrialization policy in

Turkestan. It is well known that industrial installations have increased in the time of Soviet rule compared with Tsarist times. The Soviets portray this development everywhere as a model for the industrialization of developing countries. But one learns from Soviet sources that industrialization lags behind agriculture in Turkestan. Gross industrial production in Turkestan in 1962 had a value of 2,495 million roubles; agriculture 3,489 million roubles, thus 994 million roubles more than industry<sup>5</sup>).

In Soviet foreign propaganda the seeming part of the industrial products of Turkestan in foreign trade takes on a special role. It is claimed, for example, that Uzbekistan produces about 100 sorts of industrial products and exports into 58 countries (18 in Europe, 23 in Asia, 10 in Africa and 7 in Latin America). It may be that these figures are true, but one must first look at the real value of these exports, before one admires the "world-wide importance" of these industrial products in Turkestan. In 1962 Uzbekistan exported goods to the value of 320 million roubles. Of these 11,250,500 roubles were industrial products (machines, fuel, raw minerals, metals) and the rest (308,749,500 roubles) were agricultural products. Of the whole volume of exports, (320 million roubles) goods to the value of 194,586,000 roubles were exported to the countries of the "Socialist bloc"<sup>6</sup>). If one compares the "underdeveloped" United Arab Republic with the Soviet "industrially highly developed" Uzbekistan, then the picture becomes even clearer. In the "highly-developed" Uzbekistan 343,000 tons of steel were produced there in 1963, although industrial raw materials are found in large supplies, while in the "underdeveloped" UAR (Egyptian region), 357,000 tons of steel were produced in 1962. Uzbekistan exported goods to the value of 320 million roubles in 1962, the UAR, however, for 227 million Egyptian pounds (1 Egyptian pound 2.59 roubles), that is, 587,930,000 roubles.

This comparison can justify the idea that Turkestan has continued to remain the raw material supplier of Soviet Russia, since although industrial raw materials are ex-

tracted here, production takes place mainly outside Turkestan. This can be seen clearly even from Soviet sources. A newspaper reports as follows:

"In the Kazakh SSR about 120-130 million tons of iron ore, 100 million tons of mineral oil, 23 million tons of steel and 200,000 million Kw/h of energy can be produced yearly. But Kazakhstan's share in the production of industrial and agricultural products is small. Compared with the industrial products of the Soviet Union, those of Kazakhstan amount to: ore 9.1%; coal 7.2%; energy 3.6%; cast iron 2.3%; cement 5.6%; mineral fertilizers 2.8% and steel 0.5%<sup>7</sup>).

According to the figures given in Soviet sources the iron ore reserves of Turkestan (except Kazakhstan) are more than 8,000 million tons. Here the metal requirements of the industry in 1963 were 1.8 million tons. These were imported from the Urals and Ukraine. The cost of transport was 11.5 million roubles. In 1962 65% of Uzbekistan's coal requirements were met through imports and 52% of mineral oil, although here the necessary raw materials exist in abundance.<sup>8</sup>)

It must also be noticed that Western experts take a critical view of the industrialization of Turkestan.<sup>9</sup>) Their ideas were represented by the Russians as "falsification of the facts of the industrialization of Turkestan"<sup>10</sup>). Here the question may arise why should experts in the West falsify Soviet facts about Turkestan, when the Soviet sources themselves report on realities? Thus, for example, in 1966 Kazakhstan supplied the state with 2,265,700 tons of sugar beet. In the same year it produced 167,900 tons of sugar<sup>11</sup>), although the sugar beet has an increased sugar content on account of strong sun and suitable soil. The Kirghiz SSR supplied 1,763,000 tons of sugar beet in 1965, but in 1966 manufactured 180,300 tons of sugar<sup>12</sup>).

Soviet literature tries to prove that the "economic inequalities and backwardness of the countries of the Soviet orient" have been eliminated through industrialization.<sup>13</sup>) We have already mentioned in various places that extraction of raw materials and



industrial production are not keyed to each other. The increased production of raw material can in no way be regarded as industrial development. It is generally known that the former colonial countries placed special value on the production of raw materials, without adapting industry to this production. Therefore the former colonial countries cannot be regarded as industrial countries.

Soviet sources also hold confusing opinions concerning the training of a national supply of workers as a result of industrialization. Thus, for example, it was given in a Soviet source<sup>14)</sup> that in 1953 there were 71,863 "native workers" in the Kirghiz SSR. These details were seemingly quoted from another Soviet source<sup>15)</sup>. A further Soviet source in its turn made the first details untrustworthy.<sup>16)</sup>

The Soviet economic leaders were and today still are, anxious to maintain the dependence of industry in Turkestan on the whole industry of the Soviet Union. Thus, for example, it could be seen from a Soviet source that for the building of a hydro-electric power station in Toktogul in the Kirghiz SSR equipment had to be imported from every corner of the Soviet Union.<sup>17)</sup> Industrial equipment thus had to travel for between 2,000 and 5,000 kms.

The Soviet leaders obviously want to retain their control over the economy of Turkestan. This can also be seen from the following complaint made by a Turkestani economist, S. Huseinova, on the example of the gas-supply in Kazakhstan:

"One of the reasons for the slow development of Kazakhstan's gas industry lies in the fact that no one is concerned with this industry. Neither the state-plan (Gosplan) nor the Ministerial Council of the Republic (Kazakh SSR: author) allow for structural positions which could be responsible for the gas industry. The rights of the main administration for gas in the Ministry for Local Economic Affairs are so limited that this position is not able to solve the problem of regular supplies of gas to town and industry. This main administration has no responsible specialized organi-

zation for the building and planning of gas equipment. The projects of the supply of gas to the towns in Kazakhstan are planned in Leningrad, Donets, Kyiv and Saratov... the specialists who make the projects are badly informed about local conditions"<sup>18)</sup>. Such abuses, which are in no way the results of misplanning, can be seen in all sectors of industry in Turkestan. As long as Turkestan's industry is directed from Moscow, nothing else can be expected but that Turkestan will be kept in economic dependence, in order to meet the needs of the regime to complete its system and to satisfy the feelings of power of Russian imperialism<sup>19)</sup>.

Between the industrialization in Turkestan and the efforts to achieve industrialization in the developing countries lie great differences. The developing countries decide themselves what path they will follow to achieve industrialization. But Turkestan has no chance of deciding itself on industrialization. Turkestan's path to industrialization was and is still determined by the imperial instincts of a regime which can never consider the national interests of Turkestan. The previous efforts in developing countries show, however, that these countries desire to adapt industry to their national needs.

#### NOTES:

- 1) *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* 25 April 1961, page 3.
- 2) op.cit. 28 April 1961, page 2.
- 3) *Sovet Ozbekistan* 16 August 1959, page 4.
- 4) Schlenger, "Changes in Structure in Kazakhstan in the Russian, Especially the Soviet Period", in *Die Erde*, Berlin 1953, vol. 5, page 264.
- 5) For more details see: Narodnoe kha-zyaistvo SSSR v 1962 goda, Moscow 1963, page 228.
- 6) *Ozbekistan Kommunisti* 1964, No. 4, page 80—82.
- 7) *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, 12 November 1964
- 8) *Oščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane* 1964, Nos 8—9, pages 92—3.
- 9) Thus B. A. Nove, *The Soviet Economy*, London 1961, page 304: "Several features of the Soviet model are more of a warning than an example for the developing countries". W. Kolarz, *Russia and Her*

*Colonies*, London 1953, page 58: "The example of the industrial development of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan can be no model for developing countries". Further: "Experience has shown that each new factory, each new coal shaft, each mineral oil boring carried out on non-Russian territory was not mainly for the people of this territory but for the Great Russians". According to F. Leprince-Ringeat, *The Future of Russian Asia* Paris 1951, page 181, the efforts towards industrialization in the frontier areas (of the Soviet Union) were undertaken mainly for political reasons, but not for reasons of economic necessity.

- 10) Thus B. L. K. Polyakova, "Socialističeskaya industrializaciya Srednei Azii v osveščeni zarubežnoi buržuznoi istoriografii", in *Obščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1964, No. 5, pages 29—34; J. F. Vorob'ev, "Likvidaciya ekonomičeskoj ostalosti narodov Sovetskogo Vostoka i buržuznaya istoriografiya", in *Voprosy istorii KPSS* Moscow 1966, No. 12, pages 56—66; R. Aminova, V. I. Šafiro, *Protiv izvraščeniya istorii socialističeskogo stroitel'stva v Uzbekistane v buržuznoi istoriografii*, in *Obščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1967, No. 1, pages 28—33.
- 11) *Socialistik Kazakistan*, 3 February 1967, page 1 and 3.
- 12) *Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*, 1 February 1967, page 1.
- 13) Thus B. P. M. Alampiev, *Likvidaciya ekonomičeskogo neravenstva narodov Sovetskogo Vostoka i socialističeskogo razmeževaniya promyšlennosti. Istoričeskii opyt Kazakhskoi SSR*, Moscow 1958, 450 page (also in English, Moscow 1959).
- 14) *Obščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1964, No. 5, page 32.
- 15) *Narodnoe Khazyaistvo Kirgizskoi SSR. Statističeskii Sbornik*, Frunze 1957, pages 36—37. In this source can be read on the pages quoted: "on production of bricks, cotton threads, outer-clothing and leather shoes", but no details of "native workers". Yet on pages 40—41 it is claimed that in 1950 all together 40,200 and in 1955 63,500 workers were there but not exclusively "native workers".
- 16) *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda. Kirgizskaya SSR*, Moscow 1962, pages 69—74: The number of workers in industry, including building, amounted in the Kirghiz SSR to 122,037. The number of native workers must be very small, for in the industrial centre, in the town of Frunze, only 20,610 Kirghiz Turks and 150,698 Russians live (page 132).

17) G. Khidayatov, *Pravda protiv Lži*, Tashkent 1964, page 199: "Thus the whole country (the Soviet Union: author) built the hydro-electric works in Toktogul. About 200 enterprises took part in it... The plant came to Kirghizia from Leningrad, cranes from the Urals, enormous building machines from Minsk and Tiflis, automatic-loading ten-ton lorries from Volgograd and Irkutsk." One wonders why, if Turkestan were really so industrially developed or its industry could meet requirements here, why it is then necessary to import such things from all corners of the Soviet Union to Turkestan?

18) *Pravda*, 6 October 1966, page 2.

19) *Orient*, Hamburg, Vol. 2, 1961, no. 3, page 113, quoted from *Kommunist*, Moscow 1959, No. 10: "It is indisputable that all peoples (of the Soviet Union: author) are equal. But we have no right, not even for a minute, to forget that they (the peoples: author) are obliged by all their successes to the Communist party, the Soviet government and the Russian nation."

### Economic Control

The economic officials are employed by the "Big Firm", that is, the state. The "army" of economic staff consists of the directors of factories and mines, of various kinds of collectives, the economic directors of the state and the Communist party. All heads of heavy industry are appointed directly by Moscow; the heads of light industry (foodstuffs and clothing industry, brick-works and cotton-ginning factories), however, by the individual Soviet republics.

Turkestan's economy is directed from two sides: on the one hand through the department for finance, trade, transport, industry and agriculture of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, on the other simultaneously through the special ministries of the state (finance, domestic trade, agriculture, etc.). Both competencies are directly under the same central organs in Moscow.

Not only hard work but also political reliability are demanded from the officials in the leading positions of the economy. The economic control of Turkestan rests overwhelmingly in the hands of Russians!). It is true that the regime has appointed a



number of Turkestanis to leading positions in the economy, but they represent a minority compared with the Russian officials. They are in no position to act independently. They are nothing more than well qualified colonial officials. At the end of 1960 there were 307,692 highly qualified specialists working in the Turkestan economy. Of these 112,447 were Turkestanis and 195,245 Russians and non-Turkestanis<sup>2</sup>). The Turkestanis are barred from representing the national interests of Turkestan. When Turkestan's economic officials asked Moscow for the social product of Turkestan to be used principally to satisfy the needs of the country, they received the following reply from Moscow: "If Central Asia is sunny and rich, countries such as Siberia and Byelorussia can't be made responsible for it. Thus social production is distributed within the Soviet Union".

The elements of economic leadership in Turkestan work harmoniously together in many respects, no matter what nationality they belong to. Thus, for example, in practising deceit. Every head of any branch of the economy is anxious to give false figures on the fulfillment of the state-quota, in order not to lose his post. A further common feature of economic heads is that, to fulfill their quota, they sacrifice the product's quality to quantity. They also have in common the urge to enrich themselves. There is today in the Soviet Union a class of Soviet capitalists, which is so influential that the managers in the Free World can envy the fullness of their power; for these Soviet capitalists act on behalf of the state, while the managers in the democracies in free competition are dependent on their own ability and their intensive work.

If there is, however, a new vacant post to be filled, rivalry begins between the Russians and the Turkestanis. Each side tries to have the vacancy filled by one of their fellow-countrymen. This internal struggle for power is not brought to an end until the Central Committee of the Communist Party makes a decision. With the strongly-stamped national feeling of the Russians, which mostly appears together

with their imperialist chauvinism, the Turkestanis have only a small chance of getting leading positions. The national feeling of the Russians is not to be underrated. A Turkish author wrote after returning from a journey in the Soviet Union: "In no epoch of their history have the Russians been such nationalists as they are today."<sup>3</sup>) It is this excessive nationalism of the Russians in particular that is at work in Turkestan, where, serving only its own interests, it dominates and controls everything, to preserve the life of the Russian empire. It is supported and directed from Moscow. The nationalism and chauvinism of the Russians do not hamper each other; there are therefore small prospects that the Turkestanis will succeed in breaking the hegemony of the Russians in the economic field, concealed under the mask of Communism, and thus put Turkestan's economy on a thoroughly national basis. The Turkestanis as such are traditionally industrious entrepreneurs and honest trading partners. Under present conditions, however, they have no opportunity to develop in that direction.

#### *Survey of the Tendencies in Economic Developments between Turkestan and the Developing Countries:*

The economy of Turkestan is a modernized colonial economy. It is the instrument of a foreign power. Rulers of colonial countries were formerly anxious to improve the economy of their colonies, in order to develop their economic resources in the interest of their own states. They had roads, railways, industrial plants built in their colonies and started plantations. India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and several others are typical examples of this. Russia does not act differently, putting into effect in Turkestan the colonialism disputed in the others: here the economic resources are exploited to the extreme in the interest of the Russian empire.

The present form of existence of Turkestan in the field of the economy is a will-o-the-wisp, which deceives many. The textile factories and the combined agricultural machinery works in Tashkent, for example, make a splendid impression on the

outsider. These factories are directed by Russians, and the Turkestan workers are in a minority compared with their Russian colleagues. Certainly, there are many factories, mechanized agricultural collectives, cotton plantations, well-built roads, railway lines and irrigation plants and similar things in Turkestan, which seem worthy of imitation to the eyes of the visitors from Asia and Africa. But at whose cost is all this happening? Of course at Turkestan's. Among the notable visitors to Turkestan from the developing countries with whom I had opportunity to speak, there was not one who was ready to make his country available to a foreign power for the radical re-shaping and development of the economic life of his country, and to make the people of his country into well-paid workers of the foreign power. Thus no one in Turkestan is prepared either to be the servant of a foreign empire. As the experience of Turkestan shows clearly, it is thoroughly possible with the constant use of force to subject the economic structure of a country to a total change and to exploit ruthlessly its economic capacity.

Deceived by the abolition of unemployment many people in Asia, Africa, Europe and America think that social problems in Turkestan have been solved by economic development. Social problems are not only limited to making sure of daily bread. The Soviet system has presented Turkestan with a series of complicated social problems: the land no longer belongs to the peasants, the factories to the workers, its economic riches to the people as such. If the solution of social problems is to be understood as acquiring daily bread, the remark of a worker from Turkestan must not be forgotten either: "We work a lot, earn little and live badly."

With regard to economic and social life a further great difference exists between

the Turkestan "colony" and the developing countries: the developing countries are making efforts to solve their problems themselves with the help of other states on the basis of their national existence, but Turkestan is barred from doing this. Experts from friendly nations work together with the developing countries to bring about development, whereas Russia has sent 4,547,000 Russians to Turkestan within 33 years (1926-1959), so that at the moment all together 6,265,000 Russians are there. There are no developing countries which allow so many foreign elements to enter and which hand over control to them as well. If this is nevertheless the case in Turkestan, it is only because Russia, according to the old rules of colonialism, considers this area as a part of its empire, which is not allowed to decide its own affairs freely; developing countries are free to make their decisions.

As long as Turkestan remains under the yoke of Russia, this power will employ the economic potential of Turkestan to develop its position as the antagonist of the Free World even more powerfully.

The riches of a Turkestan which disposed itself of its economic opportunities under preservation of its national existence, would benefit not only Russia, but, in the service of free enterprise, all nations of the earth.

#### Notes:

- 1) For more details see: B. Hayit, "Soviet Russian Colonialism and Imperialism in Turkestan", Cologne 1965, page 78, note to 73 to page 108.
- 2) For details see: *Central Asian Review*, London X (1962), No. 3, pages 229-241, portrayed on the basis of Soviet sources.
- 3) Samet Agaoglu, *Sovyet Rusya Imperatorlugu*, Istanbul 1967, page 188.



## The Tito Regime in Acute Crisis

A political crisis in a Communist dictatorship is neither anything new nor surprising. It is more or less a permanent state, as it were, a matter of course. The intensity and the expression of such a crisis can, however, change from time to time in individual countries. Its cause lies, ultimately, in the dissatisfaction of the population and in their resistance to the regime and system forced on them.

No one therefore who has any sort of knowledge of conditions in the Communist-ruled countries, can be surprised that the Tito regime is also in a crisis. This is not new. It has existed from the beginning, since 1945, when the Russian Red Army again restored the Yugoslav state formation against the will of the Croatian nation and brought Tito to power there.

The political crisis in the forcibly reconstructed Yugoslav formation had and has its origins — beside the general dissatisfaction of the population with the Communist regime and system — in the strivings for independence of the Croatian nation. Because of these strivings for independence there have been and are constant tensions between the Croats and Serbs.

Even the Communist Party itself is not immune against such tension. Many Serb Communists are of the opinion that the autonomy of Croatia within the Yugoslav formation should be more limited. Against this many Croatian Communists — under the pressure of the public opinion of their nation — demand wider autonomy for Croatia.

The political situation in the Yugoslav formation is now similar to that in the Czecho-Slovak formation in the Novotny era. The acute tension between Slovaks and Czechs then led to the election of the Slovak Alexander Dubcek as the First Secretary of the Communist Party. He tried to resolve the crisis through compromises. Instead of the independence of Slovakia he offered the Slovak nation a federalization of the Czecho-Slovak formation. The Slovak nation was not however ready to give up its right to independence. The strivings towards independence of the Slovak nation

and the loosening of the Communist system finally led to the armed intervention of Soviet Russia.

The situation in Yugoslavia is however more complicated. There are tensions there not only between Croats and Serbs, but also between Slovenes and Serbs. The position in Macedonia is also very tense. The Bulgarian population in Macedonia is demanding its right to self-determination.

The national tensions in Yugoslavia have reached such a pitch of intensity that they amount to an acute crisis of the Tito regime, indeed, of the Yugoslav formation as a whole. Tito is therefore very uneasy. He obviously fears that Russia could use this tension as a pretext for intervention.

The Bolshevist rulers of the Russian empire are already using some Moscow-orientated Croatian Communists for agitation with the idea of an "independent and neutral" Croatian state. Finland is used as an example of this. The headquarters of this agitation is Moscow. Its "operation staff" are in Bratislava (Slovakia) and Sofia (Bulgaria). In Budapest (Hungary) an "operation staff" is to be set up as well.

It is understandable that this agitation controlled by Moscow has succeeded in misleading and influencing some naive Croat emigrants in the Free World as well.

Russia is not interested in an independent, neutral and democratic Croatia. It does not want to replace the Communist system by a democratic one anywhere, but on the contrary, to spread the Communist system to further countries. The aim of the Russian Bolshevist rulers is not to make countries independent but to control them. The Russians value neutrality only as long as they consider it useful for Russia.

The Russian Bolshevist government probably wants to use its intrigues only to bind Tito and his regime more tightly to Moscow and to increase its influence in the countries he rules. A dissolution of the Yugoslav formation would only be possible for Russian policy, when the prospect existed for them of dominating the states thus made "independent".

*Istropolitanus*

# News and Views

## Resolution in Defense of Valentyn Moroz

*The Executive Board of EFC unanimously and emphatically condemns the barbaric methods, unprecedented in human history, employed by the Russian imperialist tyrants in the persecution of the Church, church hierarchy (Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Velychkovskyyi), laity, cultural workers and freedom fighters in general, who are deprived of their basic human rights and sentenced to death or long terms in prisons and concentration camps, in particular the 25-year terms of imprisonment of Red Cross workers (K. Zarytska, O. Husyak, H. Didyk) also the systematic poisoning of food intended for Ukrainian political prisoners (I. Kandyba, L. Lukyanenko, M. Horyn), draconic punishment by 14 years' imprisonment of young intellectual V. Moroz and the 25-year imprisonment of Ukrainian jurists (Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyyi).*

*The EFC Executive Board protests against and strongly condemns the crimes of the Russian Communist regime, the Russification of Ukraine, national persecution by suppressing spiritual and intellectual creativity, destruction of cultural landmarks and ancient treasures of Ukrainian spiritual culture, Russian crimes against the freedom of expression, religious freedom, national independence, the genocide committed on the Ukrainian nation, forcible exile of millions of Ukrainians beyond the borders of Ukrainian ethnic territory — to Siberia and other remote areas of the USSR; also the economic exploitation of Ukraine and the exploitation of Ukraine's natural and human resources.*

*The EFC Executive Board strongly condemns the assassination by Russian agents of the Head of the Ukrainian state — Symon Petlyura, 45 years ago, the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalists: Col. E. Konovalets (1938) and Stepan Bandera (1959) and now a famous painter-martyr Alla Horska and numerous other secret assassinations organized and carried out by the Communist governments against the leaders of the Ukrainian, Croatian, Turkestanian, Hungarian revolutionary liberation movements, as well as leaders of other subjugated nation.*

*The Executive Board of EFC appeals to the still free peoples of the world to initiate an action for the defense of the right to freedom and national independence of the Ukrainian nation and all other nations enslaved in the USSR and its satellite countries by Communist Russian imperialism. The policy of liberation of enslaved nations has to replace the policy of so-called peaceful coexistence. It is in the interest of all still free peoples to save them from the enslavement by Russian and Communist tyranny.*

*Passed at the meeting of the Executive Board of European Freedom Council in Bonn, 22nd of June, 1971*

### AF-ABN at German-American Day Celebrations

The 19th Annual Celebration of the German-American Day was held on June 6, 1971 at Schutzen Park, North Bergen, N. J. It was organized by the Federation of Americans of German Descent, which organization with its President Mr. Robert Brueckner, is a member of AF-ABN. Over 2000 persons attended.

The AF-ABN was represented by delegations of Bulgarians, Cossacks, Croats,

Cubans, Hungarians, North Caucasians, Rumanians, Ukrainians and other groups, with national flags. There was a parade and the official part with prominent speakers. Dr. Ivan Docheff spoke on behalf of AF-ABN. Several German dance groups and a Ukrainian dance group from New York participated in the folklore program.



CANADIAN LEAGUE FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE  
and  
WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION of C.L.L.U.

Headquarters: 140 Bathurst Street, TORONTO 133, Ontario, Canada

His Holiness  
Pope Paul VI  
Vatican City.  
Your Holiness:

April 15th, 1971

*We are addressing ourselves to Your Holiness on a matter of vital concern to us.*

*As a result of the Second World War, almost all of Ukraine was incorporated into the U.S.S.R. From the outset, the Soviet regime embarked upon a systematic policy of destruction of the Ukrainian culture, national institutions, and above all, permanent campaign of terror against the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The hierarchy of our Church was ruthlessly deposed and imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps, where the most perished.*

*It was, therefore, with the greatest of interest that we followed the deliberations of the and officially proclaim the disestablishment of our Church. However, in spite of terror, persecutions and the decree of disestablishment, our Church in Ukraine is very much alive and is closer to the hearts of our people than ever before. Their steadfastness and devotion in the face of brutal persecutions imposes an obligation on us, who live abroad, to do our utmost to preserve and strengthen our Church.*

*It was, therefore, with the greatest of interest that we followed the liberations of the Fourth Archbishops' Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church assembled in Rome on the occasion of the consecration of the Church of Saint Sophia in 1969. Our whole community wholeheartedly supports the historic decisions reached at this Synod but we are particularly pleased with the decision to the effect that our Church is to have a Patriarchal structure, and that His Eminence Yosyf Cardinal Slipyi be raised to Patriarchal dignity. These decisions will undoubtedly strengthen the unity and ensure uniformity in our Church.*

*It was, therefore, with disbelief and dismay that we learned that the Congregation for Eastern Churches questions the legality of the Fourth Archbishops' Synod and attempts to limit the jurisdiction of Archbishop Major Yosyf Cardinal Slipyi, all of which is contrary to practice of Eastern Churches, as well as against the letter and spirit of the Union of Berest and against the Decree on Eastern Churches.*

*Recently, a letter of His Eminence Cardinal Tisserand was published in the Ukrainian press. This letter deeply offends the Ukrainian people as a whole and our Church in particular. By denying the historic right of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to a Patriarchate and at the same time alluding that the Patriarch of Moscow is entitled to exercise Patriarchal function in Ukraine, one not only misinterprets history, but does a great injustice to our suffering Church, and, at the same time also challenges the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See over the Ukrainian Catholic Church. And yet, this is what His Eminence is really saying when he alleges that the Patriarchate of Moscow (established in 1589) was established for the "Church Body as a whole" and that there is no historical base for a special title to the Dioceses of Kyiv and Halych.*

*We are also aware of the ecumenical approaches taking place between the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Holy See, and we are deeply perturbed about the fate of our Church and fervently hope that it will not be sacrificed in the name of illusory co-operation with Russia.*

*The Metropolia of Kyiv, the first Metropolia in Eastern Europe, came into being in*

988 A. D. It was from Kyiv that Christianity spread far and wide throughout Eastern Europe, and it was again the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Isidor, who played a major role at the Council of Florence in 1439, when the Ukrainian Church was re-united with the Holy See. This union was short-lived, however, due to the intrigues of Vasily, the Prince of Moscow. The idea of unity, in spite of temporary reverses, lived on and it triumphed again in Berest, in 1596, when the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Mychaylo Rahoza and other bishops re-entered the union with the Holy See, and since that time, our Church has been united with Rome and has never been under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow.

In the course of history, attempts were made from time to time at establishing a Patriarchate for our Church. A new stimulus has been given to this drive by the Decree of the Vatican Council II on Eastern Churches promulgated by Your Holiness on November 21, 1964. The Decree insists that the Patriarchal Synod be restored as the traditional form of government where there are Patriarchates, and expresses the desire that new Patriarchates be established where needed. We believe that these directives, above all, should be applied to our Church, since our Church suffered most of all for its unity with the Apostolic See, and is numerically the strongest of all Eastern Catholic Churches.

Establishment of a Patriarchate will add to the unity of our Church in diaspora and will strengthen the hearts of our brethren in Ukraine. It will also hasten the day when our beloved Church will again take its rightful place in Ukrainian society and the catacombs will be a thing of the past. We ask, therefore, that the resolutions adopted by our prelates at the Fourth Archbishops' Synod of October 4, 1969, be respected by the appropriate authorities in the Vatican and that an end be put to secret instructions emanating from the offices of the Sacred Congregation for Eastern Churches. Such instructions only confuse the faithful and undermine the prestige of the Holy See, for many tend to interpret this interference as yet another example for an attempt by the prelates of the Latin Rite to dominate the Eastern Churches.

We remain, Your Holiness, with expressions of deepest respect.

### **The Russians Threaten Freedom of the Press in Finland**

The acting Soviet Ambassador in Finland had protested sharply against an article, which appeared in the conservative newspaper *Uusi Suomi*, and which gave a critical description of conditions in the Baltic Soviet republics.

In the protest it is said that the report is "provocative and hostile to the Soviet". Historical facts are being consciously held back and the report gives a coarse one-sided picture of the actual situation. With propaganda of this kind the aim is being pursued to disturb the good-neighbor re-

lations between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Foreign Minister Vaino Leskinen considers the incident, which is seen by the political circles in Helsinki as a crude attempt to restrict the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press, as so serious that he felt himself bound to give a statement to the Foreign Policy Committee in Parliament.

In the statement it was said that the Finnish government hopes that the handling of international questions by the general public will be conducted on the basis of the Finnish policy of neutrality.

(Die Welt)



# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## The Chronicle

Kyiv

*Oleksander Serhiyenko*, an instructor of drafting and drawing at the Kyiv school No. 97 has been dismissed from work illegally.

The day before the trial of Valentyn Moroz in Ivano-Frankivsk, O. Serhiyenko became ill and did not show up for work. On the same day a delegation of teachers appeared at his home. Failing to believe that their colleague was at the polyclinic, they went there as well in search of Serhiyenko. When he recovered, the principal of the school (Ukrainian) summoned Serhiyenko to a talk and was interested to know "how did it come about that he had to go to some trial" (the conversation was conducted in Russian — transl. note). He frankly explained the reason for the teachers' visit: "The comrades were interested in you, and the faculty had to convince itself whether you are really sick." In order to save Serhiyenko from harmful influence, the principal first decided to increase his load, adding the lessons in physics. This could not be done, since Serhiyenko did not have the necessary education.

On December 7, 1970 O. Serhiyenko spoke at the funeral of Alla Horská. On the next day the principal proposed to O. Serhiyenko to leave "at his own wish", because he was already sick and tired of the fact that "the comrades are constantly interested" in Serhiyenko, and he wants to have peace in school. Serhiyenko refused to submit such a petition.

On December 27th, with the permission of the principal (since he had no classes and no other activities were scheduled in school the next day) he went to his parents. When he returned to work, he was greeted

by an order of dismissal... for neglect of duty on December 28th. The principal "did not remember" anything about his permission. Now Oleksander Serhiyenko is unemployed.

The amateur choir "Homin" is enjoying wide popularity in Kyiv. (Its director — *Leopold Yashchenko*, M. A., has been thrown out in 1968 of the Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR for signing a protest statement against the violations of socialist legality.) The repertoire of the ensemble includes old Ukrainian folk songs, predominantly ceremonial. The members of the choir are workers, office employees, students, and aspirants.

From the time of the choir's random founding, obstacles have always been placed before it (lack of quarters for rehearsals, a prohibition to perform the spring songs and dances on the streets, in the parks, and so forth).

When, having overcome difficulties, the choir established itself, an individual working over of its members began. The aspirants are being summoned for talks in the department, new singers are being asked who recruited them for this choir, from whom have they found out about it. As the result some have left the choir, fearing to pay with their job or education; some are coming to rehearsals with fear.

In October 1970 critic and translator *Ivan Svitlychnyi* had been summoned to the chief of the district department of the militia and it was proposed to him as an ultimatum to get a job, threatening to make him answerable for "idleness".

As is known, I. Svitlychnyi has completed his post-graduate work at the In-

stitute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR at the end of the 50s and in the beginning of the 60s he has often appeared in the role of a literary critic. Repressive measures have been applied to him as early as the beginning of the 60s (dismissal from work at the periodical *Dnipro*, etc.). In early 1964 I. Svitlychnyi was dismissed from the Institute of Philosophy at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR for appearing at an evening dedicated to the memory of V. Symonenko in the Kyiv Medical Institute on December 20, 1968. On July 12, 1965 he was removed from the post of editor in charge of language and dictionaries at the publishing house "Scientific Thought" on instructions of academician I. Bilodid, whose academic incompetence was exposed by I. Svitlychnyi in the article "Harmony and Algebra" (*Dnipro*, No. 3, 1965).

In early September 1965 I. Svitlychnyi was arrested together with a large group of Ukrainian intelligentsia. He was released from under investigation on April 30, 1966 as the result of active protests by the public both in Ukraine and abroad. From then on he could not find a job in his profession; he engaged in literary work at home. In 1970 the publishing house "Dnipro" published "Songs" by Branco, most of which were translated by I. Svitlychnyi.

I Svitlychnyi was called out for the second time, with analogical threats, when V. Moroz was being tried at Ivano-Frankivsk. I. Svitlychnyi proved that he has publishing contracts, receives compensation and is not "being idle" — and for the time being he was left in peace.

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In October 1970, the literary critic and journalist *Yevhen Sverstyuk* found himself in danger of losing his job.

Ye. Sverstyuk was thrown out of research work at the Institute of Pedagogics in 1965 for a critical speech before the teachers of Volhynia. He found a job as executive secretary in the *Ukrainian Botanic Journal* and works there for over five years.

Now Ye. Sverstyuk has been told that he is not working in his profession and it was suggested to him to look for another job. The dates have been set several times and although Ye. Sverstyuk has not been discharged yet, a threat of this is constantly hanging over him.

No one doubts that the attempted repressive measures in relation to Ye. Sverstyuk and I. Svitlychnyi have been brought about solely by their public activity.

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Every year the number of carollers on New Year increases in Kyiv. Over 20 "companies" of carollers greeted the Kyivans with the year 1971.

But even in this innocent custom, perhaps because of its Ukrainian character and the Ukrainian language, they continue to see "political intrigue".

In Darnytsya the company "Rukh" (movement), which was composed of students of the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, was attacked by the head of the Dnipro Regional Executive Committee of Kyiv with the militia. He was particularly annoyed for some reason by "Cossack Mamay" who was being carried by the carollers. "Surround and take, arrest the hooligans" — he ordered the militia. The students on their part demanded that the militia arrest the drunken official.

At the railroad station persons in civilian clothes stopped another group of carollers, brought them to the militia room, checked their passports and categorically forbade them to carol at the station.

\* \* \*

At the closed party meeting of the Institute of Arts, Folklore and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR the case of the Institute's research worker *Tamara Hirnyk* who went to carol with the choir "Homin" was examined. T. Hirnyk is studying folk customs; she is a member of the commission at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR dealing with the introduction of new customs. Wishing to see on the spot how ca-



rolling is being done now she reached an agreement with the choir "Homin", which even hired a bus officially. After this T. Hirnyk published an article on carols in the paper *Literaturna Ukraina*.

The discussion of T. Hirnyk's "case" in the Institute ended with a verbal reprimand for her participation in carolling.

\* \* \*

At that same Institute of Arts, Folklore and Ethnography of the AS Ukr.SSR, administrative repressions were applied to a research worker whose last name needs verification. His first name is Vasyl Mykytovykh, who works in the folklore department. He wrote several works dealing with folklore and gave them to his supervisor to look over. She decided that the works were written from a hostile position; the author was removed from research work and transferred to a law-paid post of bibliographer. During the examination of his "case" he was being asked under whose influence he finds himself, to which the scholar answered: Kostomarov's Draho-manov's...

\* \* \*

Punishment was administered to bandura player of the orchestra of Ukrainian folk instruments *Vasyl Lytvyn*. In the short time of its existence this orchestra gained popularity. This was largely due to bandura players from the Kirovograd region, the brothers Vasyl and Mykola Lytvyn, whose performance was always received by the audience with great enthusiasm which spontaneously turned into a patriotic demonstration.

Fearing this enthusiasm, upon personal instructions of the deputy head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR P. Tronko, the Lytvyn brothers were prohibited from appearing with solo numbers and repressions were started against them. They were neither provided with living quarters, nor with a residence permit, although they were included in the orchestra as the result of a competition and were entitled to this. The wife of V. Lytvyn, *Antonina Harmash*, was dismissed from the publishing house "Molod", where

she was working as editor, under the pretext that she does not have a Kyiv residence permit. Vasyl Lytvyn managed to find a half ruined shack 70 kms. away from Kyiv, where he settled his wife with two small children, and himself lived in a hostel. His wife found a job as a letter carrier.

The art director of the orchestra Orlov in the meantime gave the Lytvyn brothers to understand that he is going to throw them out of the orchestra at the first opportunity. In January 1971 Vasyl Lytvyn's children became sick and he did not come to rehearsals for several days. He handed in a note about the children's illness. Nevertheless Orlov ultimately demanded that V. Lytvyn submit an application about discharge at his own request, for otherwise he will be dismissed for truancy. V. Lytvyn as forced to file such an application — and he is unemployed as of the end of January 1971.

Besides a very high performance skill, the Lytvyn brothers themselves composed several songs. The most well known is "The roads have crossed in the steppe" to the words by Vasyl Symonenko.

\* \* \*

On the initiative of the KGB the establishment in Kyiv of a chamber music-hall orchestra, which was to function at the Ukrainian choral society, was banned. The organization of the orchestra was entrusted to a young composer *Vadym Smohytel* who prior to this directed a vaudeville company in the restaurant "Poltava". For two months the enthusiasts were rehearsing their numbers in the time free from work and study. Finally they were heard by the Commission of the Choral Society, headed by the society's head, composer Kozak. The ensemble received the highest rating and they were told that in the near future the orchestra will be officially approved. They proposed only a change of name to... "Chamber orchestra of Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian song" and an introduction of corresponding changes in the repertoire. In order to save the ensemble, V. Smohytel was forced to agree to such a strange proposition.

However, on the next day the soloist of the orchestra was told on the telephone that a representative of the ministry who is waiting for her at the entrance to the Ivan Franko Theater wants to meet with her on the subject of the orchestra. Near the theater the girl was approached by a self-assured, pampered man, who called himself Arkadiy Petrovych, showed a KGB identification card and suggested that they "talk". He was asking what kind of an orchestra are they creating, whether it has a nationalistic character. He said that V. Smohytel is a man of doubtful loyalty, etc.

The soloist told V. Smohytel about this conversation, and the latter became indignant and went to the Choral Society to inquire who is here in charge of art all the same — the KGB or the art organizations. As the result the orchestra had been banned. V. Smohytel, who prior to this has resigned his previous post, remained unemployed.

\* \* \*

Philologist *Lidia Orel*, who in recent time taught at Kyiv school No. 49, has been subjected to repressions a successive time. L. Orel is a wonderful pedagogue and the faculty has evaluated her work highly. This was the case before the principal received information from appropriate organs. He summoned L. Orel for a talk and began to ask her to what kind of singing is she going, where suspicious persons are gathering, which is directed by some man who does not work anywhere (the choir "Homin" was meant, which is directed by Lidia Orel's husband, Leopold Yashchenko, who was brutally thrown out in 1969 from the Institute of Art). The principal placed a condition: "Either singing, or school". L. Orel declared that she will attend rehearsals, that she will go carolling on New Year, — in early 1971 she was forced to leave work.

\* \* \*

The previous issue reported on the search in work of the candidate of philology, the senior staff member of the Institute of Literature of the AS Ukr.SSR, member of

the Writers' Union of the Ukr.SSR, *Viktor Ivanysenko*. It was thought that the matter would end with the expulsion from the party and criticism at the meeting. Yet, on somebody's directions, after a long pause they returned to this matter again. V. Ivanysenko was transferred to a low paying job of laboratory assistant, although he is actually doing the same work. The defense of his doctoral dissertation, which he had prepared, has been made impossible. Finally, at the meeting of the board of the Kyiv oblast writer's organization Viktor Ivanysenko was expelled from the Writers' Union (this expulsion should be confirmed by the Presidium of the Writers' Union of Ukraine). At the meeting of the board repentance was demanded of Ivanysenko and he was asked where he got the underground publications which had been confiscated from him. To this Ivanysenko expressed his astonishment that the writers' organization is engaged in questioning, which here is conducted by other organs. Ivanysenko was attacked particularly sharply by the member of the board of the Kyiv oblast writers' organization, Prof. *Arsen Ishchuk*... Writers *Borys Oliynyk*, *Hryhoriy (or Anatoliy?) Koval* and *Dmytro Mishchenko* voted against V. Ivanysenko's expulsion from the Writer's Union of Ukraine.

Although Viktor Ivanysenko has not been definitively expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine, in the book "The Writers of Soviet Ukraine, A Bibliographic Directory" ("Radayanskyi pysmennyk" (Soviet Writer), Kyiv, 1970) pages 163—164 and 529—530 have been torn out from the entire edition and others pasted in — already without any mention of Ivanysenko.

\* \* \*

On November 30, 1970 an evening of young Ukrainian Soviet poetry at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, which was to have been conducted by the actor of the Lviv academic theater named after M. Zankovestka, *Svyatoslav Maksymchuk*, had been banned.

In October 1970 S. Maksymchuk gave two large concerts in Kyiv — at the Philharmonic Society and in the republican



Architect's Building. The concerts had great success; favorable opinions appeared in the press, in particular in the paper *Moloda gvardiya*.

These concerts were attended by Viktor Dyumin, a second year student of the mechanical and the machine building faculty of the KPI. Dyumin is an excellent student, member of the Komsomol office of the faculty, a Russian by nationality. He liked Maksymchuk's performance very much and with the newspaper *Moloda gvardiya* in his hand turned to the faculty Komsomol office with a suggestion to invite Maksymchuk to its course, in order to continue the evening of poetry. The office supported Dyumin and placed an official request to the bureau of propaganda of the republican Litterateurs' Building, which then invited S. Maksymchuk to appear at KPI on November 30th.

On November 30th notices have been posted about the fact that an evening of young Ukrainian poetry will be held in the assembly hall. And at 14 hours the Party Committee of the institute created a special commission which tore down all posters. Dyumin was called to the Party Committee and told that there will be no evening of Ukrainian poetry at the institute. No clear-cut arguments were given. First it was said that Maksymchuk's program is nationalistic; then, to the contrary, they declared that some "nationalists are going to throw rotten eggs" at the actor. Dyumin replied that Maksymchuk's program has been approved, that he appeared with it at the philharmonic with a paid concert and that there had been no excesses there of any kind. Then in the Party Committee it was said that the course must be assigned a hall, that a permit for this evening must be obtained at the Party Committee (although for similar evenings of Russian poetry nobody ever obtains a permit and conducts them in the assembly hall).

The evening was nonetheless prohibited. The assembly hall was closed and two ranks of guards were posted, who were to establish who was it that came to the evening of *Ukrainian* poetry.

Let us recall that in the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute no lesson is read in Ukrainian. The institute's rector, Serhiy Ivanovych *Plyhunov*, is a staunch Russificator.

After the said affair, Dyumin and other students were asked how often they go to Ukrainian evenings and why do they go there.

### **Dnipropetrovsk**

In the previous issue it was briefly reported on the propaganda campaign in Dnipropetrovsk after the trial of Sokulskyi and others in January 1970. At present an opportunity exists to give more accurate and more complete data on the basis of an article by *F. Tsukanov* in the oblast paper *Zorya* for July 31, 1970 and verbal reports.

In enterprises and institutions of Dnipropetrovsk and the oblast, meetings were organized for condemnation of "criminals" — "bourgeois nationalists" Sokulskyi and Kulchynskyi. At the same time the text of "The Letter of Creative Youth" had not been read anywhere, while the "crime" was discussed on the basis of information of secretaries of party organizations. Thus, for instance, in the trucking fleet 21—90, the secretary of the party office I. Shchurenko, who had not read "The Letter of Creative Youth", informed about the "predatory intentions of the nationalists".

The position of the convicted had been twisted, the contents of "The Letter . . ." falsified: allegedly, it contained calls for Ukraine's secession from the Union, propagated hostility toward the Russian people, etc. (For "The Letter of Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" see the first issue of *Ukrainskyi visnyk*.)

### **Donetsk**

At the end of 1970 the inquiry in the case of the lecturer of the Medical Institute, the candidate of Medical Science Ivan Suk arrested in the summer, was still in progress. He was blamed for an unrealized attempt to collect materials and write a work dealing with the national question, in particular, on the situation in Ukraine. For the fabrication of charges and the black-

mailing of the arrested, his wife — a student at the Medical Institute — is being used.

According to recent information, I. Suk has become insane in prison.

### The Ivano-Frankivsk Region

The previous issues reported on the search of May 4, 1970 in connection with V. Moroz's case at the home of the priest of the village of Kosmach in the Hutsul region, *Vasyl Romanyuk*. After the trial of V. Moroz, only several religious books were returned to Romanyuk. The rest were confiscated by the Ivano-Frankivsk KGB as banned. Among the banned books were: a number of religious books, including some which were published at the end of last century and at the beginning of this century, a dramatic poem by Lesya Ukrainka "Boyarynya" (a photostat from a Soviet publication of the 20s), a book by M. Voznyak "The History of Ukrainian Literature, Vol. 2, 16—17 Centuries, 1921", "The History of Ukraine" by M. Arkas, published in 1909, a file of the newspaper *Nedilya* for 1934—1936, the book "World History", calendars, carols, poems by Lepkyi, etc. Correspondence, various notes, abstracts of religious nature (V. Romanyuk is studying at the Theological Academy at Moscow) were also taken. Upon the question by V. Romanyuk: can one really consider as anti-Soviet "The History of Ukraine" by Arkas, published in 1909 and permitted even by the tsarist censorship? — the captain of the KGB Pryhornytskyi replied: "Although it is not directly anti-Soviet, it can still lead to anti-Soviet thinking."

Speaking in the town of Kosiv of the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast to the teachers, some party lecturer called I. Dzyuba, I. Svitlychnyi, V. Chornovil and others) "schizophrenics". The same type of "mentally deranged" people are, in his opinion, Gen. Hryhorenko, historian P. Yakir and academician A. Sakharov . . . About V. Moroz it was said that he managed to cause a lot of trouble in Kosmach, but he was rendered harmless in time.

### Lviv

*Atena Volytska*, an engineer at the soil research laboratory of the Lviv University, has been reprimanded for her trip to the trial of Valentyn Moroz in Ivano-Frankivsk. Her co-worker was engaged to spy on her — with whom she talks on the phone, who comes to see her.

\* \* \*

Upon instructions of the secretary of the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Party Podolchak, the director of the natural science museum of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, scientist *Malynovskyi*, has been removed from his post. The reason: *Malynovskyi* has worked for the Germans. But the point in question is not some criminal collaboration with the occupants, but ordinary work to make a living. *Malynovskyi* is known to be a serious scientist, who — paying no attention to the directives of the party organs — eliminated from the museum academically unqualified careerists.

\* \* \*

The second-year student of the Ukrainian department at the philologic faculty *Halyna Savron* — a young poetess, had been expelled from Lviv University.

Throughout 1970 *Halyna Savron* had been called to the KGB several times for "dialogues" and they suggested to her an acquaintance with M. Osadchyi, V. Chornovil, H. Chubay and other "politically suspect", threatened her with expulsion from the university and even with arrest. They intimidated H. Savron's parents, who instituted house terror over the girl, including beatings, demanding that she write a repentance statement to the KGB and agree to cooperate with KGB agents.

In the winter semester H. Savron was given a failing grade in the history of the party. The dean, *Ioltar* did not permit the student to take further examinations and at the same time reported to the rector that she is not appearing for these examinations. On the basis of this false report, not wishing to take H. Savron's explanations into consideration, rector *Maksymovych* expelled her from the university. In a con-



versation with H. Savron, her witnesses and the poet R. Bratyn, who interceded for the young poetess, the dean unequivocally declared that the real reason for the expulsion is not failing grades at all, but the views and the acquaintances of the student.

\* \* \*

On the day of V. Moroz's trial, the Lviv artist *Oleh Minko* had been called to the automobile inspection station as an owner of a car, and from there was taken to the KGB for questioning. They questioned Minko twice or three times. The main theme of the interrogation was his meetings with foreigners. O. Minko is a very original and talented artist, who is not put forward as a formalist here at all. Knowing about his talent, several Ukrainian cultural leaders from abroad did in fact visit his home, looked at his works and evaluated them very highly (see, for instance, the article by poetess Vira Vovk, published in the first issue of *Visnyk*). KGB agents warned O. Minko not to dare to meet with foreigners any more, threatened to dismiss him from work (O. Minko holds the post of art director in the art workshop of the Artists' Union.) The chief of the operative department of the KGB Horban, known for the fact that he started his career with the beating of the arrested and later rehabilitated university students in Stalin's days, talked unusually coarsely with O. Minko.

\* \* \*

Journalist *Roman Yanushevskyi* was illegally dismissed from the editorial office of the paper *Vilna Ukraina*, the organ of the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. He is the member of the CPSU and worked for the paper for many years. The reason for his discharge was a sketch on the artist and restorer of the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art Petro Linytskyi, who worked very hard to restore unique Ukrainian icons. It seems that in his youth P. Linytskyi took part in the OUN movement, for which he had served time. And in spite of the fact that Linytskyi works unselfishly for the

Ukrainian art for many years now (besides restoration, his own ceramic works are well known), P. Yanushevskyi was found to be at fault because he wrote several kind words about "an enemy" and was dismissed from work. Considering his discharge to be illegal, R. Yanushevskyi took the matter to court. Then he was called by the editor of *Vilna Ukraina* Stupnytskyi, who declared: "How dare you complain about me? Do you know who you are, and who am I? You are s . . . t, and I am a member of the oblast committee of the party!"

It is known that during the examination of R. Yanushevskyi's personal case in the editorial office that same Stupnytskyi and a worker of the ideological section of the oblast committee of the party were forcing R. Yanushevskyi to fall on his knees (in the strict sense of the word!) and to beg "forgiveness of the party" for his deed . . .

#### **Cherkasy**

Writer *Vasyl Zakharchenko*, the author of several books of prose, member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, has been thrown out of work in the editorial office of the newspaper for youth *Molod Cherkaschchyny*. V. Zakharchenko has been searched and questioned as a witness in the case of I. Suk. Trying to save himself from harassment, he was forced to leave Donetsk and to move to Cherkasy. But the persecutions continued. When V. Zakharchenko, on a mission from the Writers' Union, went to Donbas for appearances before the workers, his trip was interrupted upon orders of the Donetsk Oblast Committee of the Party. The miners were allegedly indignant that he is speaking "in the Ukrainian language, incomprehensible to them." Returning from the mission, failing to restrain himself, he said something harsh to a KGB agent assigned to him, for which he was dismissed from work the next day.

On the brutal confiscation by KGB agents of the writer's archives from Zakharchenko see V. Stus' statement in the previous issue.

(*Ukrainskyi Visnyk*, No. 4)

## Book Reviews

Heinz Pächter: *WELTMACHT RUSSLAND. Außenpolitische Strategie in drei Jahrhunderten*. Russia the World Power. Foreign Policy Strategy in Three Centuries. Published by Gerhard Stalling Verlag, Oldenburg—Hamburg 1968, 200 pp.

Heinz Pächter, the Berlin-born diplomatic correspondent of European newspapers and periodicals in New York, in this book throws light with many examples on the historical role of Russia. He refers to interesting connections and draws astonishing parallels between events in the past and in our time. The author interprets Russian foreign policy and presents numerous proofs of its continuity since the reign of Peter I, whom he describes as a Russian chauvinist.

"Even in the strictly legal sense the policy of the Soviet Union remains a direct continuation of the policy of the Tsars", states the author. "The great gesture with which Lenin denounced all imperialist conquests and tsarist treaties, was soon withdrawn. The Soviet Union claims every square meter of soil, every yellowing parchment and all privileges which the tsars ever possessed. It even raised claim to the privileges of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad. The atheist state is the owner of the church buildings abroad, appoints the Archbishop of Jerusalem and supports the claim of the Armenian Orthodox Church to be the spiritual head of its believers in Turkey and Persia."

"Internationalism became the ideology covering the reconquest of lost areas. At the beginning of the revolution Lenin had, in order to acquire power more easily, allowed all nationalities the right of secession; then in a frontier village in Ukraine, Finland and Latvia a revolutionary government was set up, which then appealed to the Red Army for help. Lenin boasted that he snatched peace of Brest-Litovsk with such maneuvers."

"After Lenin had granted the nationalities the right to free secession, he demanded Armenia from Turkey, because it had once belonged to the tsars . . . the doctrine of the revolutionary right . . . applies not only to nations that had once been subject to the tsar. And anti-imperialist propaganda is silent, when colonies belong to the Soviet Union."

Unfortunately Pächter's book is not completely free from mistakes, superficialities and prejudices. But in most cases they do not affect the central theme of the book.

For example the following platitude is to be found in Pächter's book on Russia: "Cowardly, cynical, dazzled, despicable — there are scarcely any words hard enough to describe the foreign policy of England and France between the years 1936 and 1939. Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini were allowed one conquest after the other. Spain, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Memel were sacrificed, and the Polish jackals unsuspectingly took Moravska Ostrava."

These claims only prove that the author cannot free himself from some very widespread prejudices. Should, in his opinion, England and France perhaps have intervened in the Spanish Civil War, so that the Communists came to power in Spain? As far as Czecho-Slovakia is concerned, it is not clear what arouses the author's indignation: either the Munich Agreement or the ruin of this state formation, or both. The Munich Agreement was an attempt by the then governments of Great Britain and France to save the existence of the Czecho-Slovak state, without having to wage war against Germany. This attempt was without permanent success. The Czecho-Slovak state collapsed from within on March 14, 1939 by the declaration of independence of Slovakia. Should Great Britain and France have fought a war against Slovakia, simply because it had declared itself an independent state?!





**"Mother"**  
*Painting by*  
*† Alla Horska*  
*and*  
*Panas Zalyvakha*

### **In Memory of Alla Horska**

Alla Horska, 41, a prominent Ukrainian artist and cultural leader has been mysteriously murdered on November 28, 1970 in Vasylkiv near Kyiv. In 1962 she was one of the organizers of the Club of Creative Youth which was disbanded in 1964. One of her last acts was to write a statement of protest against the illegal sentencing of Valentyn Moroz. Although the authorities did everything to conceal the date of her funeral, the burial was nevertheless attended by some 150 people. Those attending the funeral have now become the latest victims of persecution by the Russians.

## New Publications

### The Gun and the Faith

Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Russian Rule

A Brief Survey by

W. Mykula, B. A. (Lond.), B. Litt. (Oxon.)

Price: 6/— in U.K. or \$ 1.00

Order from: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.

200 Liverpool Rd., London N. 1

### Kyiv Versus Moscow

Political Guidelines  
of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

30 cents

### Revolutionary Voices



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

### REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS  
CONDEMN  
RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised Edition  
With Foreword by Hon. Ivan Matteo  
Lombardo

Library of Congress Card Catalog  
No. 70—100979

*This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in the Russian concentration camps, including recent works by Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced by the Russians to 14 years of imprisonment for voicing his opinions.*

Price: \$ 2.50



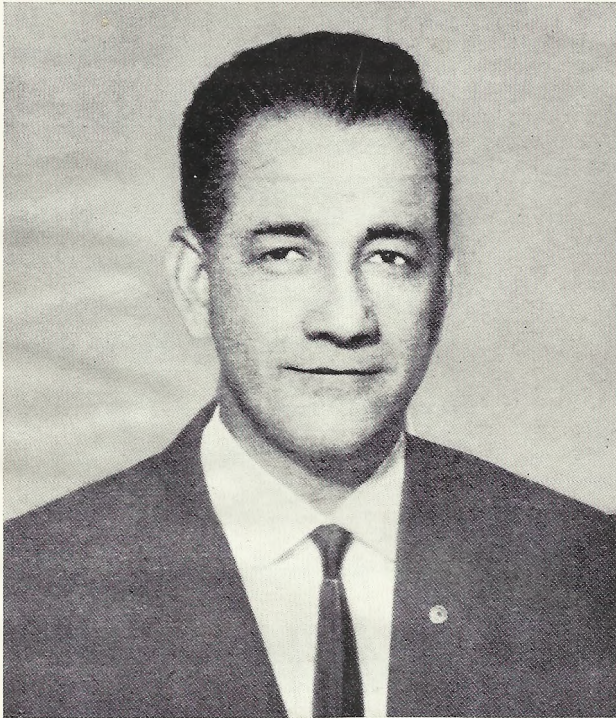
# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## Ramon D. Bagatsing



President of the Philippine Anti-Communist Movement, host of the 5th World Anti-Communist League Conference, seriously wounded by Communists on August 21, 1971 in Manila.

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## **Assassination Attempt on Filipino Anti-Communist Fighters**

On August 23, 1971 the world press brought news from Manila that Hon. Ramon D. Bagatsing was murdered during the Liberal Party proclamation night (Saturday, August 21, 1971) at Plaza Miranda, Quiapo, Manila.

Ernesto P. Golez, Secretary General of the Philippine Anti-Communist Movement informs in his communique that Hon. R. Bagatsing, President of Philippine Anti-Communist Movement, and Hon. Salipada K. Pendatun, Vice Chairman of the Board, Philippine Anti-Communist Movement, miraculously escaped the assassination attempt. Both suffered from many shrapnel wounds all over the body. One leg of Hon. R. Bagatsing has been amputated. Nine persons have died and about a hundred have been critically wounded. Mrs. Bagatsing who was with the Congressman during the proclamation rally and who was also wounded as the result of the treacherous grenade attack is now also out of danger. Senator Sergio Osmena, Jr. and Senator Jovito Salonga have also been critically wounded.

Hon. Jose J. Roy, newly elected WACL Chairman, also escaped unharmed from the bombing of his house two days after the attempted massacre at Plaza Miranda.

We thank God for sparing the life of Hon. R. Bagatsing and other freedom fighters and wish him and all the other survivors of this assassination plot speedy recovery.

## Ramon Bagatsing

Ramon Bagatsing, the hero of the Japanese war of liberation, the holder of the highest military honors and the most popular anti-Communist figure in the Philippines, a long-time congressman, senator, minister and recently a candidate for mayor of the capital city — Manila, was the soul of the Anti-Communist Movement of the Philippines. Ramon Bagatsing was the heart of the preparation of the 5th WACL and the 17th APACL Conference. Unusually active, with brilliant intelligence and profundity of thought, with a large doze of improvised humor, uniting in himself the Spanish and Asian cultures, he understood and valued the significance of nations subjugated by Russia in the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism in general, and was conscious of the fact that with the liquidation of the Russian empire the strongest bastion of Bolshevism will disappear as well. One of the founders of APACL, and later WACL, the chairman of the Philippine delegation to numerous international anti-Communist conferences, he proved to be a friend of the subjugated nations as early as 1961, when the ABN delegation first visited the Philippines. And it participated in conferences in Manila a total of four times. The untiring Ramon Bagatsing was always the host, who often received it at his home in the midst of his large family, which now lost a father and a guardian. His wife also participated at numerous international conferences as member of the Philippine delegation, taking an active part in them. The father was murdered by the Bolshevik subversives, but he left a son — the chairman of WYACL, brought up in the spirit of a fighter, a patriot, a brilliant speaker and an intelligent debater. The Bolsheviks could not forgive him for the unusual success of the 5th WACL and the 17th APACL Conference. Most probably an assassination attempt was being planned during the conference for there was talk that security men found bombs planted in the conference building. At any event the conference buildings were protected by troops.

In his message to the Conference Ramon Bagatsing stated: "In our fight against a diabolical ideology, we need unity of purpose and unwavering direction. We need each other's counsel. We cannot afford disunity. We cannot relax our vigilance. We must continue to forge ahead in our defense of freedom. The Red foe, ruthless and wily, is ever on the watch, following in our footsteps, waiting every minute to inflict the most savage physical and spiritual injury upon us.

"... May our conference be fruitful; may it forge us closer to each other and may we never falter in our determination which is not only to contain but to annihilate the ruthless enemy. May the Almighty God whose desire is to set men free, usher sooner the day of liberation for all captive nations and peoples of the world!"

The death of Ramon Bagatsing is not only a great loss for the people of the Philippines but also for all the subjugated peoples.



## Ukraine's Orientation on Her Own Strength

The attempts by President Nixon to normalize relations with Red China have caused a stir in the political thinking of many and have awakened exaggerated expectations as to the basic changes in the political situation of the world. In connection with this, cowards are renewing their political orientation on foreign power which is to liberate the subjugated nations from Russian slavery. Nationalists have their own guidelines under all conditions and therefore nothing can lead them astray. It is quite a different story with pseudo fighters for independence. Only yesterday these people attacked the revolutionaries, nationalists, for the fact that they hate the Russian people and consider it the nation-oppressor and not a captive nation. These people were indignant that instead of the formula Soviet, Communist, or the imperialism of Moscow, we were constantly using the term RUSSIAN imperialism, i. e. the imperialism of a nation, not system, or state "order", or capital city . . . They placed the blame for genocide and subjugation on the "Kremlin clique", on the "Communist Party", but never, God forbid, on the Russian people.

And now? Suddenly, as if on orders of some higher authorities, they can already see Russian imperialism and Communism no longer exists for them. When tomorrow the higher authorities will say something else, they will also talk differently, for they do not have their own semaphores, their own concepts; they do not have confidence in their own nation because, as they put it, our place and our role are completely peripheral . . .

When we have said that "world" Communism does not exist, but there is first and foremost the form of Russian and other imperialisms, focusing attention on the very center — Moscow, these word-fornicators wrote about "international", "world" Communism, whose center cannot be localized, for it is an "international movement fighting for justice and against exploitation". Amalrik on the other hand feels that the NATIONAL LIBERATION movements are going to be the grave-diggers of the Russian empire in the event of a clash with Red China. This is something quite different from downgrading the importance of the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated peoples.

Amalrik says the following: ". . . there will be an extreme intensification of nationalistic tendencies among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, above all in the Baltic countries, the Caucasus and Ukraine, and thereafter in Central Asia and along the Volga. They will aspire to national separation."

Our criticism of the US policy has given rise to a storm of indignation among the Marxists and cowards, although this policy went along the co-existence lines followed by the State Department and its recognition of the status quo of the Russian conquests.

A conflict between Russia and Peking is of advantage to us because the more fronts Russia has, the better for us. Her eventual war with any external force is of advantage to us. We are against the status quo; we are against the peace of graves, and such peace exists as long as our nations are subjugated.

The mere fact that somebody is an enemy of our enemy does not mean that he is our friend. Nazi Germany had been an enemy of Russia and the result is generally known. *Our friend is anyone who supports the sovereign national states and the dissolution of the Russian empire into these national states*, and anyone who supports this actively, anyone who treats us as a sovereign factor, who treats the subjugated peoples as the master on their own territory. We have our own revolutionary liberation concept of universal significance in the nuclear age.

When the whole world was against Ukraine in 1941, the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) waged a two-front war and this concept justified itself. A two- or a multi-front war of Ukraine will always be imminent if Ukraine's independence will not be recognized and respect. *The Ukraine of heroes and fighters is indestructible*. Our aim is not only to study the situation, but to continue to build up *our own force* in line with our concept of liberation. *Nobody will grant us freedom and independence. Foreign bayonets* have never brought freedom to a subjugated nation. Without our own strength, without our own concept of liberation, no liberation will be possible.

#### **Partners – Not Protectors or “Liberators”**

We are mobilizing friends and allies in the world as PARTNERS, not as protectors or “patrons”. Neither Red China nor the USA will grant us independence. State power must be won, not received as a gift. Of course, the conflict between the USA and Russia, or between Russia and China can be exploited by us for the realization of our revolutionary liberation concept. An opportunity for uprisings can be either internal or external, or both simultaneously. The point is to have such partners-allies, who would have an interest in helping us. As is known, only the strong are helped. The world does not respect the weak, does not take them into consideration. Hitler convinced himself of Ukraine's strength; Stalin convinced himself of it when he was concluding a treaty of three states in 1947, and the present-day Kremlin is finding out about it.

Our activities in the world also serve to develop our strength. We shall continue to unfold the world anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik front with a vision of new order in the world on the ruins of the Russian prison of nations, including the destruction of the Communist system — with the vision of the reestablishment of the sovereign national states of the subjugated peoples, with the liquidation of the concept of man as a cog in Communist society, and the institution of a system with man, as a being like into God and nation, as the idea of God. Our aim is not Communist Ukraine, a satellite of Moscow or Peking. Our aim is sovereign united Ukraine with the system of freedom and justice, with the guarantee of all human rights, with the revived Christianity, with the traditions of our great ancestors, a Ukraine, as she is seen by our young fighters in Ukraine after the termination of the Ice Age in our history . . . Upon the ruins of the empire, a new order in the world without exploitation and persecution, without concentration camps and genocide or homicide. *Kyiv* stands for such new just order *versus Moscow*. *Neither the orientation on Peking, nor the orientation on Washington, but the orientation on our eternal Kyiv is the basis of our liberation concept.*

S. P.





**"SAVE FREEDOM — ACT NOW"  
"FREE ASIANS UNITE"**

The 5th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) was organized and held in Manila, Philippines on July 21—25, 1971 in conjunction with the 17th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the 3rd Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL). "Save freedom — act now" was the theme of the WACL Conference, while "Free Asians unite" was the theme of the APACL Conference. The Conference assembled over 200 delegates from 48 countries of the free world and its subjugated part. The ABN was represented at the Conference by its President, Yaroslav Stetsko, Dr. K. Drenikoff (Bulgaria), Mrs. Elga Rodze (Latvia), Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussia), Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. M. Tkaczuk and Mr. R. Zachariak (Ukraine).

The Conference was honored at the opening with the address of President Ferdinand E. Marcos and an invocation by H. E. Rufino J. Cardinal Santos. It was presided by Hon. Senator J. Roy and

worked in plenary sessions and committee meetings. Activity reports were delivered by representatives of continents: Asia — Gen. Lee Eung-Joon (Korea); the Middle East — Sen. Fethi Tevetoglu (Turkey); North America — Dr. Walter Judd (USA); Africa — Mr. Nathan Ross (Liberia); Latin America — Dr. Francisco Buitrago (Nicaragua); free countries of Western Europe — Dr. Theodor Oberländer (Germany); captive countries — Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine); report from WYACL Chairman — Mr. Yoshio Iwamura (Japan).

The four committees — Economics, Political, Cultural and Final Communique — elaborated a number of resolutions in view of problems discussed during the Conference and touched upon in the reports namely, urging support for genuine aspirations of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos; forging Asian solidarity in coping with Communist aggression, infiltration and subversion; opposing recognition of Red China and its admission to the U.N.; supporting the Japanese claims for return of territories illegally occupied by Russia; asking the free world's help for Ukraine and other captive nations; condemning

Russian tyranny in Hungary; supporting the liberation struggle of peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and the Captive Nations Week; denouncing the campaign of defeatism in South Vietnam; condemning diplomatic relations with Communist countries, President Nixon's plan to visit the Chinese mainland, the genocide perpetrated by Red China in Tibet, the suppression of liberty in Croatia by the Yugoslav government under Tito, the infiltration of armed agents into the Republic of Korea and the aggressive designs and exportation of guerrilla warfare by North Korean Communists; seeking support for the anti-Communist struggle of Greece; protecting press freedom positively and preventing Reds and pro-Communists from deceiving the public through mass media control; enlisting the youth for joint defense of free democratic systems; supporting the 7 million refugees from East Pakistan and others.

The Conference was addressed by the outgoing Chairman of WACL, Mr. Osami Kuboki, the Honorary Chairman of WACL Dr. Ku Cheng-kang and the newly elected Chairman Hon. Jose J. Roy, Senate President pro Tempore and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Philippine Senate. Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez, the Secretary General of WACL, submitted a detailed report on the activities of the Secretariat.

At the closing ceremonies an address was delivered by the late Ramon D. Bagatsing, President of the Philippine Chapter, and responses were made by chief delegates representing: Asia — Mr. Joesdi Ghazali (Indonesia), Middle East — Dr. Parviz Kazemi (Iran), Africa — The Hon. John Henry Okwanyo (Kenya), North America — Prof. David Rowe (USA), Latin America — Mr. Raymundo Guerrero (Mexico), free countries of Western Europe — Mr.

Ivan Greig (England), captive countries — Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine).

All the delegates were entertained by the late Congressman and Mrs. Bagatsing, the Hon. Jose J. Roy, Speaker Cornelio T. Villareal, the Hon. Jose C. Luciano, the City Government of Quezon City, the Manila Banking, the Sugar Club of the Philippines, the Korean Association in the Philippines, the Philippine Veterans Bank, the Filipino-Chinese Anti-Communist League. During the receptions the speakers included Hon. Cornelio T. Villareal, Speaker of the House of Representatives, General Jesus Vargas, Secretary General of SEATO, General Praphan Kulapichitr (Thailand), Hon. Gil J. Puyat, Senate President, Hon. Norberto Amoranto, Mayor of Quezon City, Hon. Juan Ponce Enrile, Philippine Secretary of National Defense, H. E. Patrick Pichi Sun, Chinese Ambassador, Hon. Dayabhai V. Patel (India), Madame Suzanne Labin (France), Dr. Walter Judd, Mr. Richard Cleaver (Australia), Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka (Japan), Dr. Patrick Walsh (Canada), Mr. Osami Kuboki (Japan) and Mr. Jacques Trebile (France).

The delegates paid courtesy calls on H. E. President F. E. Marcos, Hon. Carlos P. Romulo, Foreign Affairs Secretary, Hon. Cornelio T. Villareal and Hon. Gil J. Puyat and attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Rizal Monument, a national shrine of the Philippines.

The Secretariat under the chairmanship of Col. Ernesto P. Golez was of great assistance to all delegates.

The Mass Freedom Rally which was organized as part of the Conference was attended by some 100,000 people. It was addressed by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Gen. Lee Eung-Joon (Korea), Miss Juanita Castro, sister of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro, and Mrs. Slava Stetsko (ABN).



## **Actions Proposed**

*(Excerpts from the Joint WACL/APACL Communique)*

The joint 5th WACL and 17th APACL Conference, in its communique, issued on the final day of the five-day sessions, called for immediate action by free Asian nations in forming an Asian-Pacific regional security system "more comprehensive than the existing military alliances to offset the progressive withdrawal of Allied forces from Vietnam".

The Conference determined to give a clear indication of its supporters of the additional efforts which should be made to defeat every anti-communist threat, reverse the appeasement trend and thereby achieve ultimate victory for the freedom of mankind and the independence of all nations.

The communique paid tribute to the support extended to the conference by the Philippine Government and people. It was especially grateful for the attendance of President Marcos who delivered the opening address before the delegates. He was accompanied by the Philippine First Lady Mrs. Imelda R. Marcos.

In the spirit of demonstrating united, strong and consistent action against the Communists' aggressive and subversive schemes, the Conference declared that all free nations should support the following proposals:

A. In Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization should be strengthened and the liberation fight for national independence and human rights of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, Turkestan, Croatia, Rumania, Albania, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany and all other na-

tions subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism should be given all possible support. In particular, action should be taken to eliminate concentration camps and political mental asylums and to achieve release of political and religious prisoners in the USSR and its satellites.

B. In the Middle East, every Communist and other destructive schemes and acts of aggression, should be effectively countered.

C. In Asia, the Anti-Communist fight by Vietnam, Laos and Khmer should continue to receive practical support and collective strength of friendly nations must be used to halt Communist aggression to any other area. Immediate action should be taken by the free Asian nations to establish an Asian Pacific regional security system more comprehensive than the existing military alliances to offset the progressive withdrawal of Allied forces from Vietnam. Continued support should be extended to the Republic of Korea in her efforts to liberate the enslaved people of North Korea and in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations to achieve the unification of the country.

D. In Africa, encouragement must be given to those nations where Communist financial resources are being employed for subversion. To further strengthen such nations every assistance is to be given to bring them into membership of WACL.

E. In Latin America, any further Communist attempt at infiltration and subversion, especially from Cuba and Chile, must be shattered.

## Resolution on the Support of the Liberation Struggle of Peoples Subjugated by Russian Imperialism

*Whereas*, Russian imperialism, gaining control of ever new countries, and intensifying its influence in the free states of the world through Communist parties and fifth columns and Communist infiltration taking various forms and using various methods, is uncontrollably striving for the domination of the world and the subjugation of other, as yet free, peoples;

*Whereas*, Russian imperialism is systematically gaining control of the Mediterranean Sea, the Middle East, North Africa, the Indian Ocean, consolidating its military and political positions in Cuba and other Latin American countries, in North Vietnam, North Korea and threatening other countries of Asia;

*Whereas* the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — is systematically trying to incorporate other countries by stationing in them Russian occupation troops (Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria), or establishing its military bases for the same purpose (North Africa, Cuba);

*Whereas*, Russian thermonuclear armament and the reinforced conventional weapons of the Russian empire are threatening the freedom-loving mankind more and more;

*Whereas*, the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, through its treaty with the USSR, is opening to Bolshevism the doors to Western Europe, and thus posing the threat of further strengthening of Russian positions;

*Whereas*, the treaty of the government of Canada with the USSR plays into the hands of Moscow's attempts to break up NATO and to isolate the USA from other freedom-loving countries of the world;

*Whereas*, a decisive, systematic and planned resistance to Russian imperialism and Communism is to be put up solely by the peoples subjugated in the USSR and the satellite countries and in all Communist-dominated states, which are struggling for their national state independence, human rights and social justice.

*Therefore*, the Fifth WACL Conference resolves:

1) To unfold an information campaign in the free world to the effect that the expansion of Russian and Communist influence, in particular the extension of the frontiers of the Russian empire to ever new countries and seas, can be combated under present conditions primarily by active support of the struggle for national independence and human rights of nations subjugated in the Russian empire, which, supported by the free world, would topple the Russian empire and destroy the Communist system from within;

2) to urge the governments of the free countries of the world, as an alternative to thermonuclear war, to concentrate their attention on the single possible solution to the world crisis, caused by Russian imperialism and the Communist attempts to dominate the world, that is, on the national liberation, anti-Russian and anti-Communist uprisings of the nations subjugated within the Russian empire and the Communist sphere of power, for the disintegration of the empire into national states and for the creation of a democratic order in place of the Communist one in these renewed states;

3) to denounce sharply the occupation and Russification of the countries subjugated by Russian imperialism — Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and other Russian-occupied nations, as well as the dispatching of Russian occupation troops to Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, which have as their aim to crush the national uprisings of the subjugated nations;

4) to stand up in defense of the national, liberation, underground movements in Ukraine (the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Revolutionaries, Bandera followers), Turkestan, Byelorussia, the countries of the Caucasus, the Baltic states,



Hungary, Rumania and other subjugated nations, as well as the cultural leaders of these countries, who without having any ties to the underground, are openly and courageously defending the freedom of cultural creativity, national and religious traditions, and for which they are punished by the Bolshevik government by cruel sentences;

5) to support the massive protest actions of the Ukrainian community in Ukraine and throughout the whole world for the release of the most prominent young Ukrainian intellectual and patriot, Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment, and countless other Ukrainian intellectuals, condemned to long years in prisons and concentration camps for their creativity, based on the Ukrainian national and Christian traditions, as well as all imprisoned fighters for human rights and national independence;

6) to urge the governments and parliaments of free states to proclaim the great charter of independence of nations, in particular of Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia,

North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, united in freedom Vietnam, Korea and China, and all the other nations subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, a significant moral support of their liberation efforts and a necessary means of victory in the free world's psychological war;

7) to demand that the governments of the free countries of the world actively intervene on behalf of political prisoners of nations subjugated in the Russian empire and in the Communist sphere of domination in order to obtain their release and the liquidation of concentration camps and forced labor camps in general;

8) to demand the release of all prisoners, with Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Velychkovskyi at the head, who are suffering for their religious convictions, and the termination of religious persecution of the faithful who do not belong to the Kremlin "church" recognized by the atheistic regime.

## **Valentyn Moroz—An Ideal of World Anti-Communist Youth League**

WHEREAS in Ukraine and other nations under communist oppression today, an ever increasing number of young people, from workers to intellectuals, are exposing the falsehoods, cultural oppression, individual terror and exploitation of nations carried out by the Russian Communist Party, Mao's clique and the ruling elites subservient to them; and

WHEREAS the actions of such people as Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian thinker and historian twice imprisoned by the regime in the USSR, but still defiant, is deserving of full recognition as a singular example of courage and is apostolical in nature; and

WHEREAS each generation needs an exemplary figure to identify with and hold up as an ideal of man's search for lasting values and a just existence of all nations and peoples — Moroz's words

The Third Conference of WYACL resolves therefore that:

1. Valentyn Moroz and his friends are the delegates' heroes and apostles of thought and action.

2. The delegates will do all in their power to project Valentyn Moroz as a champion of liberty, national culture and the personification of the inner man as against an inanimate cog in a communist society; particularly in their publications, rallies and activities of their organizations.

3. Valentyn Moroz has become our answer to the communist substitution of Che, Mao or Ho as the heroic figures and idols of our times.

4. Member units of WYACL shall popularize and hold up Valentyn Moroz as an ideal to our members and to the youth of our countries.

## Resolution on Independence for Byelorussia

WHEREAS the freedom and independence of Byelorussia was crushed and destroyed by the armed forces of the Red Russian imperialists, and

WHEREAS the, appointed by Moscow, communist puppet government in Byelorussia (BSSR) maintains the facade of national independence of the Byelorussian people, and

WHEREAS Byelorussia (BSSR) is a Charter member of the United Nations Organization, and takes part in the activities of the UNO as an independent nation, and

WHEREAS those nations of the world who are of the United Nations Organization, have and do recognize the independent status of Byelorussia de jure and/or de facto by virtue of their cooperation with, and acceptance of the vote and decisions of the representatives of the communist puppet government of Byelorussia in the United Nations Organizations, and

WHEREAS the present government in Byelorussia (BSSR) and its ambassadors overseas, have and are being appointed not by the Byelorussian people, but and exclusively by the Red Russian colonial oppressors in Moscow, who are using the name

and the love of freedom of the Byelorussian people for their aggressive plans, and

WHEREAS the Byelorussian people are completely deprived of any semblance of national freedom, and are being systematically and methodically exterminated by the Russian communists and imperialists, and

WHEREAS the Byelorussian nation has never accepted in the past, and shall never accept in the future, the Russian or any other foreign occupation and oppression. and has repeatedly demonstrated, with huge losses as a result, its determination to fight for its full national freedom,

Therefore,

The 5th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League in Manila, Philippines, consisting of national and international organizations dedicated to the sacred principles of freedom for all nations, and dedicated to the destruction of communism and imperialism, fully endorses the right to genuine independence of the Byelorussian people, strongly condemns the Russian exploitation and oppression of Byelorussia and declares its full solidarity with, and support to the Byelorussian people, now and in the future, in their fight to regain their freedom and national independence.



*At the 5th WACL Conference, from left to right: Mr. A. Olechnik, Mrs. S. Stetsko, Dr. K. Drenikoff, Mr. Y. Stetsko.*



## Statement of the Secretariat of the World Anti-Communist Youth League (WYACL)

*We, the youth united in WYACL, urgently appeal to the World Anti-Communist League and to all the nations of the free world to assist us in our efforts to secure the release of young intellectuals incarcerated in Russian concentration camps and "political" mental asylums, especially the brilliant young Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, recently sentenced by the Russian Communist regime to a 14-year term of hard labor for his active resistance to the policy of Russification of Ukraine and his defense of human rights and dignity.*

*We ask for and expect your staunch support of our campaign to give Ukraine and all Captive Nations in the USSR the same political, national, religious and cultural rights which all free nations possess, or should possess, according to the Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.*

*We ask that a joint appeal be made to the Secretary-General of the United Nations that he put pressure on the government of the USSR to release Valentyn Moroz.*

*We must stop Russian terror in Ukraine!*

### Russia Should Return Japanese Territories

*Whereas*, the so-called northern territories of Japan, namely, the Kurile Islands and the southern part of Sakhalin, have been developed peacefully since early days by the Japanese people and officially recognized both historically and internationally as Japan's inherent territories;

*Whereas*, the Soviet Union, abusing the secret Yalta Agreement of 1945 for its own strategic interests in the Far East against the free countries, broke unilaterally the Non-Aggression Treaty with Japan, occupied the northern territories of Japan, expelled four hundred thousand Japanese inhabitants from their homelands, and since then, in violation of international law and pertinent agreements, has been stationing its troops in those islands and conducting herself as if the sovereignty over them belonged to her;

*Whereas*, according to the correct interpretation of the Cairo Declaration, which became the basis of the Potsdam Declaration, and of other international agreements with which the Soviet Union is concerned, all the troops staying in the occupied areas should be withdrawn after the Peace Treaty with Japan is concluded, and the question

of the sovereignty over the northern territories which Japan renounced under the Peace Treaty of 1951 should be settled at an international conference of the Allied Powers;

Therefore, the 5th WACL Conference in Manila, Philippines, resolves:

To declare that the seizure and possession of the Kurile Islands and the southern part of Sakhalin by the Soviet Union is manifestly illegal and to demand Communist Russia to withdraw its occupation troops immediately from these islands;

To call upon the 48 Allied Powers that signed the Peace Treaty with Japan to hold an international conference as soon as possible and decide to return to Japan the Kurile Islands and the southern part of Sakhalin;

To call upon all the WACL members and observers to inform the public about the real situation of the pending question of Japan's northern territories, and, in accordance with international law, justice, and humanity, to appeal to the whole world through publicity activities.

## Invincible Urge to Realize National and Human Rights

The most important feature of the recent decade is the growth of the realization among the non-Russian nations subjugated in the USSR that the national idea is the most potent force able to arouse men for the struggle against a totalitarian regime and for the rights of man.

The aims of the liberation movements of the enslaved nations are conditioned by: a) traditional background of revolutionary struggle and realization of the great traditions — historical and cultural; invincible will of each nation to live its own independent life; b) world-wide victory of the national idea; disintegration of almost all the empires of the world, which mobilizes morally and ideologically the nations enslaved within the Russian empire; c) insurmountable contradictions within the Russian empire.

The deceptive expectation that it is possible to realize human rights in the so-called democratic Russian empire in the form of a proposed Union of Democratic Republics advocated by the self-styled Democratic Movement of the USSR (claiming to have support also of Ukrainians, Balts and others), has also dissipated. The clandestine publication "Ukrainian Herald" No. 3 — underground organ of the nationally-minded and democratic circles of Ukrainian intellectuals, denies that any Ukrainians have had anything to do with the said "Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union" or with the elaboration of its programme. This is also true of the Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian intellectuals, who will certainly not give up the right of their republics to sovereignty in favour of a future Russian non-Communist empire under the disguise of a Union of Democratic Republics.

In the pamphlet "To Expect or to Act?" written by a group of technical intelligentsia of Estonia, criticizing the programmatic positions of Academician Sakharov which owe a lot to Marx and Lenin, the

Estonians defend spiritual, Christian values and show the bankruptcy of Marxism, dialectical materialism. They make precise the aims of the Baltic nations: a) sovereignty; b) primacy of spiritual, Christian values; c) liberation through revolutionary armed struggle and not waiting for evolution of communism towards democracy or "humane communism".

A section of the opposition in the national republics makes an attempt to base its demands on the ambiguous clauses of the legally existing Constitution of the USSR and of the Union Republics, thus trying to minimize the risks of cruel reprisals by the regime.

Thus for instance in Ukraine, a group of lawyers which founded the underground Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in 1960 tried to mobilize Ukrainian public for demanding secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the Soviet Union by utilizing the appropriate abstract and perfidious articles of the Constitution of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR. They had planned to put demonstratively the motion for the secession of Ukraine from the USSR at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union headed by the lawyers L. Lukyachenko, I. Kandyba and propagandist S. Virun, was discovered by the KGB in 1961 and liquidated — seven of its members were convicted — two of them to death, the death sentence was later commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. One of the members of this group suggested action among the Soviet Army and preparation of an armed struggle. The aim of this group was also to gain independence for Ukraine.

"The Ukrainian National Front" was a declared revolutionary organization, ideologically a kin to the old Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and during the years 1964—66 published an underground journal "Freedom and Fatherland".



In 15 issues this journal reprinted many publications of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from the years 1947—49. In 1967 this group was arrested and at a trial in Ivano-Frankivsk three of its leaders — D. Kvetsko, Z. Krasivskyi and M. Dyak — were sentenced to death. Later the sentence was commuted to 12 — 15 years of imprisonment. Others were sentenced to shorter terms.

“The Ukrainian National Committee” which was liquidated in December 1961 was a revolutionary nationalist organization. Two of its leaders — Ivan Koval and Bohdan Hrytsyna — workers from Lviv, were shot, the death sentences of two other people were commuted to 15 years of imprisonment, and 16 other young workers and students also received long sentences.

In 1958/59 students and workers in Ivano-Frankivsk founded the “United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine”. Its aim was sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. At a secret trial in March 1959 they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 10 to 7 years. Their leaders were Bohdan Harmatiuk, Yarema Tkachuk, Bohdan Tymkiv.

Apart from these, there were many less well known groups, some of them with a more radical revolutionary platform, as e.g. the Ukrainian group from Novorossiysk, which advocated partisan struggle for independence and rejected the tactics of pseudo-legal struggle on the basis of the Constitution of the USSR.

Similar centres of organized struggle exist or are in the process of formation in other countries enslaved in the USSR and in the satellite states. There is widespread opposition to Russification policies of Moscow. And it is not by chance that the Byelorussian writer Bykov criticized “great power assimilators” at the Congress of Byelorussian Writers, and the same was done by Abashidze — at the Georgian congress.

In Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Armenia, Estonia as well as in Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany, Rumania and especially in Croa-

tia, national liberation struggle is growing in strength on the basis of traditional national and religious ideas.

A powerful stimulus to the national liberation struggle was given by the young poets and writers in the early 1960s, the so-called “poets of the sixties”, especially in Ukraine where one of their leading lights was Vasyl Symonenko (born 1935, died 1963). In his strong-worded invigorating poetry there was condemnation of the entire hypocritical, dictatorial and oppressive system in the USSR and the policy of Russian domination. This movement even penetrated the ranks of the Communist Party and Komsomol in Ukraine and threatened to engulf the Russian colonial domination. A whole underground literature began to spread like wildfire in Ukraine.

In 1965 the regime dealt a blow in retaliation. Over 20 most active Ukrainian intellectuals with the critics — I. Svitlychnyi and I. Dzyuba at the head were arrested. And although these two were released and punished only by dismissal from their jobs, the others were sentenced to several years of imprisonment each. Voluminous material about their writings, arrests, secret trials and KGB persecutions was collected by the journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil and published in the West (“Chornovil Papers”, McGraw Hill). A brilliant work by Ivan Dzyuba “Internationalism or Russification?” circulating in Ukraine clandestinely, was also published in the West (Weidenfeld and Nicholson). Chornovil himself was sentenced at a secret trial in Nov. 1967 to three years of imprisonment, later commuted to 18 months. But even on coming out of prison, he continued to sign protest statements against persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals, secret trials and suppression of human rights in the USSR. Many Ukrainian intellectuals and students helped the former Canadian Ukrainian Communist Party member, John Kolasky, to collect documentary material about the colonialist Russian policies in Ukraine, which were published on his return in Canada in two books (“Education in Soviet Ukraine” and

"Two Years in Soviet Ukraine"). The savagery of the sentences meted out to Ukrainian intellectuals in the trials in 1966 — the historian Valentyn Moroz (4 years), the painter O. Zalyvakha (5 years), the poet and translator S. Karavanskyi (the remaining 9 years of his previous 25-year sentence interrupted in 1960 after 16 years of imprisonment), etc. shocked Ukraine. Far from intimidating the Ukrainian nationally-minded people, it encouraged them to new acts of civic courage. Reports about arrests and sentences for "Ukrainian nationalist propaganda and agitation" multiplied over the second half of the 1960s, coming not only from Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lutsk, but also from Donbas, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernihiv, and many other cities of Ukraine, and even from Ukrainian settlements in Kazakhstan.

The chairman of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, Oles Honchar, wrote a novel "The Cathedral" which tried to show the conflict between those who wished to preserve spiritual heritage of the Ukrainian people and those who out of servility to the occupying power worked to destroy that heritage. The novel evoked great commotion in Ukraine and the authorities took it out of circulation, condemned it and persecuted those who spoke up in favour of it. Particularly vicious persecution took place in 1969 in Dnipropetrovsk where several writers and critics were imprisoned, including the poet Sokulskyi who was sentenced to four and a half years of imprisonment in January 1970.

A deep philosophical commentary on the ideas expressed in Honchar's novel "The Cathedral" is contained in the pamphlets written by the young critic Yevhen Sverstyuk under the title "Cathedral in Scaffolding" and circulating widely in Ukraine (published in the West, too). Sverstyuk asks the Communists: "What have you created for your people to replace the insidious propaganda against religious faith and rites, old customs, traditions and feasts — i. e. all that which a foreigner had to respect in the past if he wanted to show his respect towards the people". Seeing the

barbarity of the present-day Russian occupants of Ukraine, he exclaims: "How much did it cost our forefathers to instil in their children humane ideals, faith, selfless love of truth and respect to God of their ancestors!"

In 1970 the first issue of the clandestine journal "Ukrainian Herald" appeared in Ukraine and was republished in the West. Since that time four more issues came out. This journal republishes material circulating among Ukrainian intellectuals, especially dealing with the regime's suppression of national and human rights in Ukraine.

Having come out of prison in September, 1969, the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz did not give up his views and his public activities. He again wrote articles which could not be published in the Communist press, but were circulating among his friends and acquaintances. In these articles, especially "Reportage from Beria Game Reserve", "Chronicle of Resistance" and "Among the Snows" he scathingly unmasked KGB terror, arbitrariness of the Russian occupation regime and Russian colonialism in Ukraine. In his most recent work "Among the Snows" Moroz writes: "No spiritual revolution has yet taken place without its apostles. The present-day rebirth is also impossible without them... One can have great spiritual treasures but they will remain unnoticed if an infatuated person does not get hold of them and does not melt them in the hearth of his infatuation". He speaks against scepticism, opportunism, "realism", in favour of what he calls infatuation with a great idea of spiritual renovation and Ukrainian national rebirth. He calls for a tremendous civic courage against all the threats, reprisals and persecutions of the lawless regime of Russian oppressors.

Arrested again on June 1, 1970, Moroz stood a secret trial in November of the same year and was sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment in prisons and concentration camps in Russia and Siberia far off from Ukraine. He refused to testify at the trial declaring all secret trials illegal, and



refused to beg for pardon. All the witnesses refused to testify against Moroz. The unheard of sentence called forth a wave of protests not only in Ukraine, but throughout the free world.

The leading force of the Ukrainian resistance is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), followers of the late Stepan Bandera, assassinated by a Soviet agent in Munich in 1959. Although the network of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine has suffered tremendous losses in the post World War II years, thousands of its heroic fighters fell in the course of struggle, the ideas which it has sown are sprouting out in multifarious forms in the most unexpected places and the trend towards the crystallization of the organized liberation movement is becoming ever more apparent.

All the indications show that at the present time there is taking place a spontaneous eruption of a spiritual force enveloping all the subjugated nations — the elemental volcanic force of traditional spiritual values, faith in God and belief in national destinies, original and unfalsified, an invincible urge to realize profound human aspirations of freedom, justice, honesty, truth, national and individual rights and obligations. This elemental force cannot be halted by any prohibitions and persecutions by the rigid, rotten regime, built on lies, falsehood and perversion of truth, terror and compulsion. Sooner or later it will erupt in armed revolutionary struggle for independence of nations and freedom of individuals, and our task is to hasten the victory of this struggle by giving it every assistance from the Free World.



*Manila, Philippines, July 25, 1971. — Hon. Cornelio T. Villareal, Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives and Chairman of the Philippine Anti-Communist Movement (left), presents the AWARD of MERIT to ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko (extreme right) "for outstanding, brilliant, and militant defense of man's freedom against the malice and snares of Communism". Looking on are Hon. Jose J. Roy (second from left), the President pro Tempore of the Philippine Senate, and Dr. J. Kitaoka, Chairman of the WACL Japan Chapter.*

# Kudirka at Trial

By Anatole Shub

PARIS, Aug. 6 (WP).—Simas Kudirka, the Lithuanian sailor who attempted unsuccessfully to obtain political asylum by jumping ship and boarding a U.S. Coast Guard vessel last fall, defied a Soviet court and made powerful appeals for Lithuanian independence before he was sentenced to ten years at forced labor last May.

A summary of Mr. Kudirka's trial, prepared by friends in the Soviet Union, reached the West this week. The document provides striking details on the Soviet aftermath of an incident which President Nixon branded "outrageous."

Last Nov. 23, the 32-year-old Lithuanian jumped from the vessel *Sovietskaya Litva*, which was moored beside the U. S. Coast Guard cutter *Vigilant* off Martha's Vineyard, Mass.

After eight hours on the *Vigilant* pleading for freedom, Mr. Kudirka was forcibly returned, struggling, to the Soviet authorities. As a result, two high Coast Guard officers were retired and another reprimanded.

Mr. Kudirka's trial took place last May 17-20 before the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian Republic — one of 16 nominally autonomous republics comprising the Soviet Union — in the city of Vilnius.

According to the document, the chairman of the court was named Nisiunas and the prosecutor was Petrauskas. The lawyer assigned for the defense was named Gavronskis, but Mr. Kudirka declined counsel. Asked why, he said:

"If Gavronskis is an honest man and defends me according to his conscience, then it can only do him harm. But if he is dishonest and plays the role of a second prosecutor, as often happens in political trials in Lithuania, then I think that my case is already complex enough and one prosecutor is enough."

Asked whether he considered himself guilty, Mr. Kudirka answered: "I do not

consider myself guilty since I did not betray my homeland, Lithuania. I do not consider Russia, called the Soviet Union today, as my homeland."

In explaining the reasons which motivated his attempt to flee to the West Mr. Kudirka spoke for more than four hours. He said he had grown up in a very poor family and was familiar with social injustice. In 1940, when the Red Army occupied Lithuania, Mr. Kudirka said, social injustice increased because national injustice was added to it. He recalled that in June, 1941, people were sent to Siberia whom he considered the most patriotic of Lithuanians, including the majority of the nationalist teachers whom Soviet propaganda branded as "bourgeois". In 1941, German occupation replaced Soviet rule. In 1944, before the return of the Red Army, Mr. Kudirka said, rumors began that the Soviet system had changed. However, in the summer of that same year, he realized that if it had changed it was for the worse. He again saw how innocent people were sent to Siberia. Mass killings also were common.

Many of his comrades joined the anti-Communist partisans; almost all of them died. He didn't have the courage to follow their example, Mr. Kudirka told the court. He tried to continue his studies in Vilnius, finishing the eighth grade, and then decided to become a sailor.

"My grandfather was a sailor", Mr. Kudirka told the court, "and I've been drawn to faraway countries. There was the wish to see the world. Besides, I thought that at sea I would forget the tragedy of my people. I wanted to flee from the strange scene; not a week went by that in various Lithuanian towns the disfigured bodies of Lithuanian partisans weren't stacked up in the marketplace. I wanted to flee the hunger which reigned in the *kolchozes* (collective farms) at that time, the



total lack of rights . . . reminiscent of the serfdom in Lithuania 100 years ago.

"It's a shame, but even in the fleet I found this kind of injustice and national discrimination. In the [Soviet] press, I read about the great Lithuanian fleet, but in reality there is no Lithuanian fleet. It's Lithuanian only insofar as the ordinary sailors are Lithuanian.

"Lithuanians command this fleet only in exceptional cases; the majority don't even know the Lithuanian language. The top leadership of the so-called Lithuanian fleet lives in Moscow and doesn't trust us Lithuanians. Permission to sail abroad and go ashore is, in *general*, not granted to Lithuanians . . ."

The chief judge then asked Mr. Kudirka the following question: "You maintain that you wanted to find freedom in the U.S.A. which, in your view, doesn't exist in the Soviet Union. How do you explain that they turned you back?"

Mr. Kudirka replied that "the ordinary Americans received me very well. Seeing that I was cold, they gave me warm clothing, while the Russian sailors afterward beat me until I was unconscious, and they crippled my knee when I lay in prison for several months. I don't consider [the Americans'] turning me back as a great tragedy. By the decisions of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, whole nations found themselves in slavery. In the eyes of the American military administration, I, as a Lithuanian, was the legal property of [Soviet Communist Party Secretary Leonid I.] Brezhnev, the heir to Stalin, and should be returned to him."

On May 18, during the cross-examination of witnesses, sailors acknowledged that they had beaten Mr. Kudirka.

The chairman asked the second witness, who knew Mr. Kudirka well, why he had sought to flee the Soviet Union. When the witness answered that Mr. Kudirka was driven to it, the chairman immediately prevented him from continuing.

A political commissar of the Sovietskaya Litva asked Mr. Kudirka whether he would have sought asylum in the United States

if he had known that "you wouldn't find work there, and if you did, it would have been cleaning toilets?" Mr. Kudirka replied: "The job isn't important. There is no dishonorable work, and if I had cleaned toilets, it would have been with a clear conscience, which is not the way you carry out your work. Your party membership card is only a ration card."

On May 19, the prosecutor made his final plea, expressing indignation over Mr. Kudirka's treachery. He demanded as punishment 15 years in a strict regime labor camp as well as the confiscation of all personal belongings.

Mr. Kudirka spoke in his own defense, citing Herzen, Marx and Lenin to explain the difference between Socialist theory and practice in Lithuania. In Mr. Kudirka's view, Socialism does not exist in Lithuania, but there does exist an almost inexplicable type of "parody" of Socialism.

#### *Not a Criminal*

"From the standpoint of international law", Mr. Kudirka said, "I am not a criminal. My decision to go abroad does not contradict the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights or even the Soviet Constitution. Therefore, I consider myself completely innocent. However, I know very well that my fate has already been decided by the security organs."

Mr. Kudirka described how Senior Lt. Urbonas, Director of the Investigatory Section Kismen, KGB Maj. Gen. Petkivichius and many other secret-police officials, some of whom had come especially from Moscow, had tried to re-educate him while he was in prison.

They had suggested that he condemn "bourgeois nationalism" in Lithuania and abroad, which they said had ideologically prepared his treachery, hinting at a lighter sentence if he cooperated. But Mr. Kudirka stated that he was relinquishing his own personal freedom for the sake of his real homeland, *Lithuania*. Six months in solitary confinement had given him sufficient time for deep reflection, he said.

Mr. Kudirka continued: "I remember that when I studied in Vilnius, instead of the two prisons which were there under the Germans, there were seven under Soviet rule, and there were about 20,000 prisoners. They were overfilled until 1955. Already in 1950, waves of Lithuanians with their young went to the concentration camps . . . The death of Stalin saved my people from physical extermination. However, the essence of the policy remained the same.

"Now", Mr. Kudirka continued "we are destined to die a much slower death — assimilation. However, we don't want to die. For ten years, our 'brothers in the woods' [the Lithuanian partisans] fought, believing that in the West our struggle was known and supported, even if only morally. Those who died in battle or in the concentration camps believed it as well. [Even the state security officials admit that 50,000 Lithuanian partisans died.]

"The Atlantic Charter, which promised the enslaved nations freedom, was an empty promise costing my people 50,000 dead and 400,000 deported, of whom 150,000 found their graves in the earth of Siberia . . . The bravest and most resolute patriots of Lithuanian were physically annihilated.

"But a new young generation has grown up which intends to go the road of their fathers. When I refused to fulfill the wishes of the state security organs, they threatened me with the death sentence. I believe that this promise will be fulfilled. I am a devout Catholic. Therefore, if the Supreme Court sentences me to death, I would request it to invite a priest to give me the last rites of the Catholic Church."

At this point the chairman interrupted Mr. Kudirka and said "I don't understand what you are talking about."

*Mr. Kudirka:* "I ask the Supreme Court not to persecute my mother, my wife and my children. I ask you not to harm them."

*Chairman:* "Your own conduct brings hardship to your family."

*Mr. Kudirka:* "Not me, but you. I hoped from America to help my family more

than with the slave wages I receive here. Besides I hoped to bring them abroad."

The chairman read from a newspaper: "In the U.S., a committee has been created for aiding the Kudirka family." From another newspaper: "The U.S. intends to help the family of Kudirka, although many American families whose breadwinners died in Vietnam are left to the mercy of fate."

*Mr. Kudirka:* "Evidently, this committee is in the hands of those who are on the side of peace."

Before sentencing on May 20, Mr. Kudirka declared: "I have nothing to add to what I have already said, only one wish, more specifically, a request both to the Supreme Court and the government of the Soviet Union. I ask that you grant my homeland, Lithuania, independence."

*Chairman:* "How do you picture an independent Lithuania?"

*Mr. Kudirka:* "An independent Lithuania, in my opinion, has a sovereign government and is not occupied by any army. The government has a national administration, its own legal system, and a free democratic system of elections.

"The laws of other countries are not binding on this government, as the laws of Russia are *here* today. An independent Lithuania wouldn't be dominated by the Russian language as it is today. I would like there to be no more trials such as mine in Lithuania."

*Chairman:* "Are you perhaps saying that the present court was not democratic and was illegal?"

*Mr. Kudirka:* "Of course, inasmuch as it takes place behind carefully screened windows and closed doors with Russian soldiers on guard. In a democratic trial, anyone who wishes would be permitted to attend. If I betrayed my homeland, then why are you afraid to show the public a traitor? Let the public itself judge me. Unfortunately, the courtroom is empty. Besides my wife and a few Checkists [security police], I see no one. There are also a few guards, but they don't know the Lithuanian language and don't know what we are arguing about."



After a short consultation, the chairman pronounced the sentence: "Ten years labor in a strict regime camp with confiscation of personal property."

When he heard the sentence, Mr. Kudirka couldn't conceal his pleasure. He had thought he would be shot.

Soon after the trial, state security employees took from his apartment a set of "Kaunas" furniture, a rug and a radio set, amounting in value to about 700 rubles (\$ 770 at the official rate of exchange).

The compilers of the summary of Mr. Kudirka's trial concluded their report with

the following postscript: "To this day, Kudirka does not know that he had been living under the menace of internment in a psychiatric hospital. However, his relatives and acquaintances refused to yield to the threats of the Checkists and sign statements that he was psychologically abnormal. Doctors of the city of Vilnius, headed by the chief psychiatrist Gutman, also resisted Chekist pressure. They pronounced Kudirka completely healthy."

Soviet dissidents with personal experience have long considered internment in a psychiatric hospital far more horrible than forced labor or prison.

(Reprinted from *International Herald Tribune*, August 7—8, 1971)



**WYACL delegates:** Seated: M. Tkaczuk (left) and R. Zachariak (Ukraine). Standing left to right: Leonito Ty, Jr., Amado Bagatsing and Jaime Dizon (Philippines).

**Telegram to Madam Bagatsing**  
Manila, Philippines

August 26, 1971

Bowing our heads before the great Filipino — hero and fighter for independence of nations and human rights — Ramon Bagatsing. His memory will live forever in the hearts of Ukrainians and all nations presently subjugated. Vengeance of nations will not escape Communist criminals.

**Yaroslav Stetsko**, Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, President of ABN

## Europe after German Political Moves Towards the East

As is commonly known, when for the first time since World War II the Social Democrats on the basis of a minority coalition with the Federal Democrats (FDP-Scheel) took over the government of West Germany, Chancellor Willy Brandt, President Gustav Heinemann, Herbert Wehner, Egon Bahr, and Walter Scheel entered upon their "Ostpolitik", in an effort to build bridges to the East by seeking a treaty first with Soviet Russia, then with Red Poland.

On August 12, 1970 the Moscow-Bonn pact was signed by Chancellor Brandt and Kosygin. Afterwards, patterned on it, followed a treaty with Warsaw. These treaties affect all the Captive Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the relationship of the U.S. both to Germany and Europe—and in fact the likely fate of the future — whether enlarging the Free West, or Bolshevik East!

During the First All German-American Heritage Group Conference in Washington on October 17, speaking on "German-Americans and Freedom and Justice in Europe", I said:

"(German-Americans) could not prevent . . . the shameful betrayal of the German right to self-determination at Yalta, dismemberment, dismantling, and expulsions. But in the Yalta sell-outs, not only were the German people betrayed but all of Eastern Europe—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, the Baltic and the Balkan states . . . It makes them all share a common tragedy and a common destiny—either eventual liberation, freedom and self-determination, OR continued Soviet-Russian domination."

Is the Brandt-Wehner "Ostpolitik" — are the Moscow and Warsaw pacts — likely to promote liberation, or continued Soviet-Russian domination of Eastern, if not eventually of all Europe?

So far those treaties have not been ratified by the Bonn parliament, nor indeed

presented for ratification. Possibly the real and secret reason is that Brandt-Wehner-Scheel fear that the present Parliament would not ratify the treaties. But the publicized reason is that Chancellor Brandt said he would defer presenting the treaties for ratification until the Western Allies and Soviet Russia come to an acceptable agreement on Berlin, one which among other things would safeguard Allied access to the city. So far the Soviet-Russians, anxious as they appear to be for the ratification, have not only made no concessions on Berlin but have even contested the rights which the Potsdam and other pacts have clearly given West Germany and the Western Allies.

In the meanwhile, however, the very existence of the Moscow-Warsaw-Bonn treaties, signed by respective secretaries of state, until they are repudiated, give some legal sanctions to all the far-reaching concessions West Germany made to Soviet Russia and Red Poland in those treaties.

As is well known, in those treaties West Germany relinquishes to the Communists one-fourth of its pre-war territory, 41,883 square miles, equal to the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland, and it also in effect sanctions the expulsion of the ten million East Prussians, Pomeranians, and Silesians. Such sanctioning sets the most terrifying precedent for the future.

What is not fully recognized is that the treaties also make the division of Germany and the Iron Curtain through the middle of Europe permanent. Brandt and Kosygin specify:

"They regard as inviolable now and in the future the frontiers of all states in Europe as they are on the day of the signing of this treaty, including the Oder-Neisse line . . ."

Germany commits itself not to advance any territorial claims or changes of frontier, now or in the future, including "the fron-



tier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.”

Here Germany is pledged not even to advance claims for the reunification of Germany. But the reunification of Germany is a specific goal in the West German Constitution, and it is also the basis for the sovereignty agreement between the U.S., Britain and West Germany.

The treaty perpetuates the two Germanies as well as the Iron Curtain through Europe. The worst danger of this is that, if the treaty is ratified—and perforce recognized by the U.S. and Britain, the German people must forever relinquish the hope of reunification, and lose even the right to agitate for it. The only hope for reunification then will be reunification by joining Ulbricht's Germany, becoming united as a captive nation.

This I submit is the Soviet-Russian purpose and a terrifying danger. With regard to West Berlin Soviet Russia has already forecast its intention and its policy and plan of operation.

In March, Valentin Falin, considered the Soviet Russian expert on Germany, the new Ambassador in Bonn, who with Egon Bahr made the preliminary draft of the Brandt-Kosygin treaty, discussed Berlin and non-aggression with a delegation in Moscow of the German “Jungen Union”, headed by Echternach.

Ambassador Falin unquestionably spoke on behalf of the Politburo and meant his words to constitute a warning and a threat — on behalf of inducing the Bonn parliament to ratify the treaty. As to Berlin, he said, the anomaly was not that West Berlin belonged to the West, but that it was not incorporated with East Berlin. That Bonn wanted to do business in West Berlin was the problem, not that the German Democratic Republic imposed regulations on traffic from West Germany through its territory into West Berlin. There is a clear indication that Soviet Russia will not let up until West Berlin becomes another Soviet-Russian satellite.

Recently one Bonn official after another

is descending upon Washington—Scheel, Egon Bahr, and now Wisniewski. It is to be feared that they will try to induce the State Department to modify its stand on Berlin to satisfy Moscow and so facilitate Bonn's ratification of the Moscow-Warsaw treaties. But if the State Department does anything that can be interpreted as betraying West Berlin to the Reds, the German people on both sides of the Iron Curtain will certainly lose what trust they still have in the West. And the opportunists among them will turn to Soviet Russia voluntarily rather than wait to be forced and liquidated into the bargain.

And Valentin Falin issued a veiled threat to the effect that Bonn better ratify or else! The treaty, he said, is called a non-aggression pact. It also invokes the UN Charter, Article 2, which prescribes that in all controversies negotiations, not war, should be invoked. Brandt and Bahr and Scheel had pointed to the non-aggression idea and the reference that Article 2 was making West Germany more secure, and by implication NATO less important!

But now Valentin Falin reminded his “Jungen Union—Youth Union” of the realities of Article 2. Chapter I, Article 2 of the United Nations Charter does specify that “All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means . . . shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state . . .” But this same Chapter I, Article 2, also specifies, “but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.”

So we turn to Chapter VII, Article 53, and there, stated in involved language, the UN Charter declares that any member needs no authorization of the Security Council, to resort to the threat or use of force “against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state”, which was an “enemy state”. It defines enemy state as “any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.” Turning

to Article 107, we read: "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy . . ."

This means no more and no less than when Bonn in Ostpolitik treaty submits itself to Article 2 of the UN Charter, it grants the right to Soviet Russia to invade whenever it detects "aggressive" or neo-Nazi or militaristic tendencies in West Germany.

Ominously, Soviet Ambassador Valentin Falin's reference to Article 2 as embodied in the Moscow-Bonn pact has been interpreted as a conscious warning that if the Bonn parliament does not ratify the treaty, which Chancellor Brandt has already signed and therefore given a certain legality, Soviet Russia will be justified in interpreting this refusal to sign as an aggressive policy intended, for example, to change existing frontiers by reuniting Germany!

But what from the viewpoint of the United States and all those interested in the liberation of the Captive Nations is the most dangerous effect of the treaty is that it enables Soviet Russia to claim that in the treaty Germany officially places reliance for its security on its Soviet-Russian treaty partner, not on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. If in the treaty West Germany has voluntarily bound itself to let Soviet Russia — or the Soviet Zone of Germany — invade it whenever it finds militarism or neo-Nazism there, then it has forfeited the right to cooperate with the other NATO nations to resist such invasion.

Given the condition that even now there are many Americans who say why should

we keep our troops in Germany, and why should we fight and die for Berlin or Bonn, you can see how the Moscow-Bonn treaty makes the Soviet-Russian advance to the Rhine a probability, and a probability within the foreseeable future.

As one German newspaper comments:

"Since the Falin remarks, every hope for a proximate improvement of the German situation is a flight from reality. One now has to declare clearly: If the present Ostpolitik can be continued until 1973 when there will be new elections and an almost certain landslide defeat of the Brandt-Scheel coalition, than the only choice for speculation is whether we will be communistic as early as 1980, or only by 1985."

I am forced to agree with this analysis. And I add, that if this *Ostpolitik* is realized, not only will Germany be reunited under communism, but France and Italy too, will become Soviet-Russian satellites, and all hope for the liberation of the present Captive Nations will have to be postponed for several more tragic generations.

Dr. Erich Janke, in "Die Stunde der Wahrheit" (The Hour of Truth) in the important Goettinger Expellee Service, March 3, concludes his article on this subject as follows:

"One should never overlook that the Atlantic Alliance, to which the Bonn Republic belongs, is constantly denounced in Moscow as an 'aggressive military pact'. Through the Moscow treaty and the indirect confirmation of the intervention stipulation against West Germany Moscow directly aims to destroy NATO and with it all security and freedom. The 'Opening to the East', upon which Bonn is resolved, ever more clearly reveals itself as an 'Opening to the West' for Soviet Russian power politics."

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**"We do not negotiate on the basis of the 'give and take' principle. We have nothing whatsoever 'to give' — We will not make any concessions because our proposals do not form the basis for a barter deal."**

**Nikita S. Khrushchev** (Tirana, May 1959)



## Resistance of the Young Generation Behind the Iron Curtain

We have no illusions that our countries subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism will be liberated by foreign intervention. We are conscious that our nations will be free and independent if they will have enough strength to liberate themselves.

Since national feelings are very strong among the young people in the subjugated countries and since the young generation is already waging its struggle for the national and human rights of their respective nations by different methods, our hopes for the future are becoming stronger when we analyze a few facts from the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

In February, 1969 a group of Armenian freedom fighters were secretly tried at Yerevan. They were accused of "anti-Soviet", i. e. anti-imperial, activities. They were tried for slandering "Soviet reality", that is the Russian colonial regime, for denying the existence of the equality of nations in the USSR, and for distributing literature opposed to the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR government. The accused wrote articles in which they urged that Armenia be declared independent. They distributed the pamphlet "It is impossible to keep still any longer!" In February 1970 a trial of Armenian patriots was held again. The young Armenian patriots were accused of organizing in 1967 an illegal group "SHANT" after the name of the writer Levon Shant, whose purpose was to study the history of the Armenian people, to watch out for the purity of the Armenian Language, to fight against Russification, and in general against assimilation and genocide of Armenia. On April 24, 1969 the accused organized a radio broadcast near the memorial to the victims of the Armenian 1915 massacre. At their meetings they read articles on the fate of the Armenian people and on the Soviet Russian nationality policy. They distribut-

ed leaflets protesting against "Russian chauvinism" and demanding the reestablishment of an independent Armenian state. The Armenian patriots clearly stated that their actions were motivated by national and patriotic convictions.

Special policy of imperialistic Russia is to russify the non-Russians by methods of intermarriage. A married couple from two different countries has to converse in Russian and is bound to send its children to Russian schools, etc. But the young generation in non-Russian countries is aware of this policy and is not afraid to oppose it.

A. Unezhiv, a fourth semester student at the Moscow University, who lives permanently in Nalchyk, wrote a letter to the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in which he urged that all encouragement of international marriages in the USSR be stopped, for such marriages lead to the annihilation of smaller nations. He also urged that after completing their service in the Soviet Army the young people be allowed to return to their native land and their own people, instead of being forced, under various pretexts, to stay in other republics of the USSR. The paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in January 6, 1971, almost accused the young Kabardinian of "nationalism" for his love to his small Caucasian nation.

The same applies to other Caucasian nations — Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Although they are not very big nations numerically they are very proud of their high national culture and tradition. They are a tremendous obstacle to Russians aiming to eliminate the Georgian, the Armenian, and the Azerbaijanian languages and to replace them with Russian, with all the consequences, which also means the Russian way of life.

The Georgians are often attacked for their nationalism, because they ask the question. "Why is it a crime to learn about

the Georgian Kings and not a crime to learn about the Russian Czars?"

Although she is only a small country she is a special target of Russification. In this country according to the 1971 census there are only eight hundred and ninety three thousand Estonians and two hundred and forty thousand Russians.

The following example speaks about the existing underground movement not only in the larger countries but also in such relatively small countries as Estonia. The Soviet Estonian Supreme Court held a special session in Tartu, the university town, from June 9—15, 1970 and sentenced four young men, arrested on December 11th 1969 and charged with hiding weapons and attempting to form an underground resistance organization. Those sentenced were: Paava Lepp, born 1947, laboratory worker at Tartu University, five years; Andres Vosu, born 1946, taxi driver in Tartu, three years six months; Enn Paulus, born 1947, locksmith at the Tartu car repair workshop, two years six months; Sven Tamm, born 1940, occupation unknown, three years suspended sentence. The sentenced were sent to a prison camp in Mordovia.

According to *The Chronicle* (clandestine bulletin in the Soviet Union) a patriotic demonstration had been held in Riga at the grave of the first President of independent Latvia, Janis Cakste. Red and white candles (Latvian national colours) were lit on the grave while a large group, mostly young people, surrounded it. Ten of them were arrested but later released.

Recently the world was shocked about the news of the extradition of Lithuanian seaman, Simas Kudirka, who on November 23, 1970 attempted to flee a Soviet fishing boat to the American Coast Guard Cutter off the American coast and who received in Vilnius a 10-year term in a concentration camp. The whole free world talked about the brutal conduct of the American officers who handed Kudirka

over to the Russian sailors, who beat and tortured him. Rear Admiral W. Ellis, who gave the order to return Kudirka to the Russians, and F. Brown, the captain of the American vessel, were ordered to resign by President Nixon. Kudirka will always remain a symbol of freedom in the hearts of Lithuanians and the subjugated peoples.

The capital of Croatia, Zagreb, witnessed a demonstration for the independence of Croatia, during the ping-pong competition between Japan and Yugoslavia. To the applause of the assembled public, the Croatian band had intoned the national anthem of the Independent Croatian State which was proclaimed on April 10, 1941.

We have not forgotten the youth demonstrations which took place in Slovakia, before the Russian tanks crushed the people defending Czechia and Slovakia, two years ago. Tens of thousands of Slovak students assembled on Bradlo Mountain on the grave of General Stefanik and sang the national anthem while displaying the national flag (not the Communist one). The assembled masses honoured the memory of great Slovak patriots, Gen. Stefanik, Msgr. Hlinka and Msgr. Tiso and demanded the national independence of Slovakia. Who can forget the young Czech, Jan Palach, the torch of freedom, who said while dying: "Better to die in flames than to live under Russian yolk". The tanks crushed many Czechs and Slovaks, but they cannot stifle their desire for national independence.

Another way of russifying the non-Russian nations is to prevent them from practising their own religion. Although the news from behind the Iron Curtain leaks out with great hindrance the world was still able to learn about the severe persecution of Mohamedan Tartars.

In recent years the Russians pretended to the world that there is religious freedom in the Soviet Union, but how can this be true when the whole hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was exterminated. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was



outlawed and instead the Russian Orthodox Church was introduced. But Russian Communists were not able to tear the religion from the hearts of the people. Both the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches exist in catacombs. Two years ago the head of the Ukrainian underground Catholic Church, Bishop Velychkovskyi, was arrested and now he is serving his sentence in Donbas (Southern Ukraine) and is being treated like a criminal.

Even the Communist press is bringing news about the existence of the underground churches and the people's faithful adherence to them. For example:

In Byelorussia a sharp attack against Evangelists-Baptists is being carried out. The paper *Chyrvonaya Zmena* of Sept. 9, 1970, an organ of the Byelorussian Kom-somol, carried a report on the trial of five activists of this sect. Those tried were Volodymyr Byelousov, Ivan Shynkarenko, Semen Vladinstov, Yevsey Byelyayev and Ivan Petrenko. The first three were sentenced to three years of hard labor, the other two to two years. According to the paper, they were sentenced for spreading Christian ideas, for teaching religious poems and hymns and for reading underground religious literature such as "Evangelical family", "The herald of salvation", "From the lips of the lad". They were all very young.

Besides underground contacts with Ukraine there are thousands of contacts by letters between Ukrainians abroad and Ukrainian in Ukraine, in the concentration camps or those scattered throughout the Soviet Union. Here are some notes from the letters received:

For the youth of Ukraine, the Ukr.SSR is only a cover used by the occupation forces "a trademark of Ukraine", while the Russians are strangers, occupants who have to be gotten rid of as soon as possible. We are here in our native land, they say, but it has not made us very happy. The Ukr.SSR is only a stamp of Ukraine, for all government posts, all better jobs, all

nice apartments are reserved for the Russians, for the party members. And you are told at every step that you (that is we) Bandera followers are nationalists (for we do not speak Russian). That's called freedom. We, who are living in our country, in Ukraine, and are speaking Ukrainian are called chauvinists, while they (the Russians) who have come here, are a superior race . . . Of course, we have always lived in our own house, but we have been treated there as a disliked daughter-in-law, who can never please anyone, who never has a say in her own house, to whom nobody listens and whom nobody loves. As long as the history of Ukraine exists, a struggle is being waged for her, for her riches.

"We are always anxious for our 'Dynamo' (the soccer team of Kyiv) not to lose while playing the Russians. They are nice boys and play very well . . . They should be congratulated for it. Although not very often, but still we are reminded that Ukraine has not died yet. And therefore you (abroad) must believe in our national unity, perhaps not always visible, even when not much hope remains . . ." ". . . And no matter where you go — to Moscow or Leningrad, — when you say that you come from Lviv they will say that you are a Bandera follower. Oh, yes, this is an 'independent state' — Bandera followers are identified with it everywhere."

In Kyiv a group of students were arrested who copied and circulated the second issue of *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (clandestine publication). Their case was linked to the case of young workers, arrested in Lviv, who in the spring of 1970 allegedly stole type and some typewriters from several state-owned printing shops.

The French periodical *Rencontre internationale* for February, 1971 published a list of Ukrainian prisoners who were deported by the Russian imperialists to their extermination camps in Mordovia. This list was received by the Society to Aid Political Prisoners in Paris. The enumerated Ukrainians are all members of the

Ukrainian National Front, an underground organization active in Ukraine: Zynoviy Krasovskiy, Dmytro Kvetko, Hryhoriy Prokopovych, Ivan Hubka, Yaroslav Melyn, Yaroslav Lesiv, Vasyl Kulynyn, Mykhailo Dyak, Mykola Tarnovskiy, Valentyn Karpenko, Mykola Mykolayenko, Roman Hryn, Mykola Kots, Oleksander Nazarenko, Rev. Danylo Bakhtalovskiy, Volodymyr Vasylyuk.

The list also includes names of political prisoners of other nationalities, in particular Armenians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and others.

It mentions that officially there are 202 concentration camps in the Soviet Union, but experts believe that their number is as high as 1,000 in which probably millions of prisoners are incarcerated. Besides, just as many political prisoners are held in prisons and insane asylums.

Some people in the free world are saying that the Russians who are against Communism are also persecuted in the Soviet Union. It is true. But the non-Russian nations are suffering double persecution since they are not only fighting against the Communist regime but also for their national rights, which means independence of their own nations. A document smuggled from behind Iron Curtain corroborates it.

From a letter written by political prisoner, Ivan Oleksiovych Kandyba, City of Vladimir (oblast) Establishment OD-1 Station: "Professor Nedbailo is rewarded for alleged services in the defense of human rights, while the Russian chauvinists subject his fellow-countrymen — Ukrainian political prisoners — to ceaseless tortures and discriminate against their relatives (our letters to relatives and their letters to us take about a month or more, while the letters of Russian political prisoners take only a few days). Visiting relatives are forbidden to talk in Ukrainian, and anybody unwilling or unable to speak Russian is simply deprived of his visit. This occurred on 11 January 1969 during the Ukrainian political prisoner Dmytro Khvetsko's 'visit' by his 63 year-old peasant mother. They were prevented from

seeing one another merely because a simply-educated mother, Mariya Khvetsko, cannot speak Russian. Hence, the unfortunate old woman travelled 2,000 kilometers in the joyful expectation of seeing her dear son and of talking with him after their long enforced separation but had to be bitterly disappointed with tears in her eyes merely because the Russian chauvinists ignore all human rights".

News about the renewed arrest of Valentyn Moroz on June 1, 1970 spread with lightning speed throughout Ukraine. Numerous protest letters, declarations and petitions to various organs of government of the Ukr.SSR were sent by representatives of the Ukrainian writers, intelligentsia, peasants, students and workers. In spite of this protest action and the protests of Valentyn's wife, Raisa, which she sent on October 8, 1970 to P. Shelest, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Prosecutor of the Ukr.SSR Hlukh, and the chief of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR Fedorchuk, the trial was nevertheless held. It was closed and lasted two days — November 17th and 18th, 1970.

The main charge against V. Moroz had been the writing and distribution of "Report from the Beria Reservation". Moroz allegedly admitted the authorship of the "Report". He is said to have told the judges: "I wrote this, this and this. I refuse to answer any other questions". During the proceedings V. Moroz conducted himself bravely and with dignity.

The third issue of an underground publication, *Ukrainskyi Visnyk*, which appeared in October 1970 in Ukraine, devoted a great deal of space to the defense of V. Moroz by the public prior to the trial. It cites the following protest documents: A statement by citizens of Kosmach, a statement by Oksana Ya. Meshko (Kyiv), a letter by Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Zynoviya Franko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk, a letter by Mykhailo Kosiv (Lviv), a letter by Mykhailo Osadchyi of July 7, 1970 to O. Honchar, a let-



ter by Vasyl Stus of July 28, 1970, a statement by Iryna Stasiv, Ihor Kalynets, Lyudmyla Sheremetyeva, Mariya Kachmar-Savka, Stefaniya Hulyk, Olena Antoniv, Yaroslava Kendzora (all from Lviv), Nina Strokata (Odessa), Yuriy Shukhevych (Nalchyk), a letter by Raisa Moroz, the wife of V. Moroz.

The letters were either sent to the prosecutor of Ivano-Frankivsk, to "The Council of Minister of Ukr.SSR" or to the First Secretary.

Alla Horska, 41, a prominent Ukrainian artist and cultural leader has been mysteriously murdered on November 28, 1970 in Vasylykiv near Kyiv. In 1962 she was one of the organizers of the Club of Creative Youth which was disbanded in 1964. One of her last acts was to write a state-

ment of protest against the illegal sentencing of Valentyn Moroz. Although the authorities did everything to conceal the date of her funeral, the burial was nevertheless attended by some 150 people. Those attending the funeral have now become the latest victims of persecution by the Russians.

These are only a few examples but the list can be extended to all republics and new facts are coming every day. Having constant touch with our subjugated nations and following the developments there we can call the present state in the subjugated countries a pre-revolutionary stage. It is obvious that the subjugated nations are not giving up their fight for the final realization of national and human rights and our duty is to help them if we would like to help ourselves.



*WACL/APACL delegates at the Freedom Rally in Manila, Philippines, July 25, 1971. In the first row from left to right: representatives of Cuba and the Philippines. In the second row from left to right: representatives of Ukraine, Philippines, Argentina, Paraguay, Nationalist China, Nicaragua, Turkey and Iran.*

## Present Situation in Byelorussia

Being one of the nations which are occupied and enslaved by the Russian imperio-communists, Byelorussia is enduring the full weight and fury of Russian oppression, and all attempts by the Byelorussians at, and any sign of revival of anything of purely national character, is immediately and brutally suppressed by the Russian authorities.

Regardless of the fact that Byelorussia (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), according to the Constitution of the so-called "Soviet Union, is a "free and independent country" with "full rights to enter into direct diplomatic relations with foreign nations" (Art. 18 a), and the "right to have its own national military forces" (Art. 18 c), and regardless of the fact that Byelorussia is a Charter Member of the United Nations Organization, all aspects of life in Byelorussia, to the smallest detail, are being decided and executed by the Russian imperialistic rulers in Moscow either directly or through thousands of their agents, sent especially into Byelorussia by Moscow to control the Byelorussians.

The net of these Russian "controllers" is tightly spread throughout the country, and all the real power of decision and execution is vested in their hands. Through these thousands of Russian officials, who are occupying all the most important positions in Byelorussia, Moscow is carrying out its policy of genocide toward the Byelorussian people — by means of oppression, suppression and heavy pressure of Russification. The main target of the Russian oppressors is, of course, the Byelorussian language, to destroy which, the Russians have already several times drastically altered the grammar of the Byelorussian language, each time removing from it the most significant differences between the two languages and replacing them with the rules and words of the Russian language.

This mass infusion of Russian words and

rules into the language is designed to destroy it, and is accompanied by a strong propaganda which is trying to instill into the minds of the Byelorussian people the feeling that their language is "inferior" in comparison with the Russian, and that it is "fashionable" for the Byelorussians to behave and speak like the "cultured" Russians. This pressure of Russification (Russians call it — Internationalization) is constantly applied in many and varied forms in every section of the community throughout the country, *and is the greatest threat to the life of the Byelorussian nation . . .* Russians are always presented not only as the "loving brothers" but, and particularly as "superior human beings", and every Byelorussian child and adult is encouraged and pressed to discard the Byelorussian customs, culture, language, etc., and even to be ashamed of being of Byelorussian nationality.

To further assist the progress of this criminal plan, the Russian rulers are suppressing and limiting the communist publications in Byelorussian language, and those publications which are still being published in Byelorussian, are strictly limited to only a few thousand copies. At the same time, Russian publications flood every corner of the country and radio, TV and all the main cultural activities of the country are almost exclusively presented in the language of the Russian oppressors . . .

Byelorussians are fully aware that their very existence as a nation is in grave danger and are fighting back with all the means available to them, including the infiltration of the communist organizations and use of communist publications in Byelorussian language, in which there appear more and more, carefully worded, complaints and outcries against the national persecution. The resistance of Byelorussians against communism and Russian oppression can be clearly seen even from the communist publications, in which communist



"controllers" complain about the failure of the people to accept the Russian propaganda, and particularly about the rejection of the Byelorussians of the communist atheistic teachings. One communist activist in the southern Byelorussian district of Pinsk, bitterly complained that even the local "Byelorussian members of the Kom-somol (Communist Youth League) are getting married in the Church and are baptizing their children there", and urged everybody to wage war on these "revisionist" activities of the Byelorussian youth.

Further proof of the rejection of communism by the Byelorussian people is that regardless of the fact that many Byelorussians join the ranks of the Communist Party in order to be able to resist more effectively the pressure of Russification, only a very small percentage of the Byelorussian people are in it. For example, the Russian newspaper *Pravda* dated 15th January, 1959, stated that there are only 187,000 members in the Communist Party of BSSR, or less than 2% of the population. Bearing in mind, however, that two-thirds of these party members are the Russian officials sent by Moscow into Byelorussia, we see that only appr. a meagre half percent of the Byelorussian people have ever joined the ranks of the Communist Party...

The resistance of the Byelorussian nation to the oppression of the Russian godless imperialists and communists is a constant source of fear and uncertainty to the Russian communist oppressors, and therefore should be a lesson to the appeasers in the Free World and an inspiration to all the freedom-loving nations of the world. The Byelorussian Liberation Front appeals to all the free nations of the world to extend to the Byelorussian people all the assistance possible in order to enable this, enslaved but not conquered nation to fight more effectively and strongly for its freedom and national independence...

#### **Dangerous Confusion in the Free World**

The Byelorussian Liberation Front is shocked by the dismal behavior of many leaders of the Free World, who, under one

pretext and disguise or another, are gradually giving in and retreating in the face of the constant communist pressure. In spite of its strength, the Free World has allowed itself to be demoralized internally to such an extent, that it is unable and unwilling apparently any more to resist the communist tyranny and is hastily retreating and abandoning, not only its positions, but also the principles of justice and freedom, and gravely undermining the very basis of its strength and, depending on it, its survival...

The Byelorussian Liberation Front, consisting of people who have personally experienced and fought against the communist tyrants, must warn once again the leaders of the Free World, that Russian, Chinese or any other brand of communism, should not be regarded as just another political ideology, but as a deadly disease which has afflicted mankind, and which must be eradicated if we wish to preserve the free development and progress of mankind.

It is a complete and utter waste of time to make appeals to the communists; they are devoid of any human feeling and compassion and reject with contempt any civilized code of behaviour and decency as a sign of decadence and weakness. Further, it is a catastrophic mistake for the Free World to rely on or trust the promises of the communists — they make these promises with the sole purpose to lull the Free World into the false sense of security, which enables them to make a surprise attack, destroy their opponents and present the world with an accomplished fact, and then blackmail the Free World with the threat of a major war into doing nothing about it...

The Free World and communist slavery are completely incompatible, and therefore there never was, and there never will be any co-existence between these completely opposite systems. The leaders of the Free World should therefore ensure that the forces of freedom shall emerge victorious from the present and future struggle to save mankind from the brutal communist slavery.

## Pope Paul Bans Trip and Irks Ukrainians

by Peter Worthington

A row that could eventually result in the Ukrainian Catholic Church breaking away from Rome is developing over Joseph Cardinal Slipyi, whom the Pope won't allow to visit Canada and the U.S.

So far the idea of secession is only angry talk — but it indicates the depth of feeling over the case.

Cardinal Slipyi was to have come to Toronto on May 28. He was to have attended the Ukrainian-rite Catholic Congress in Toronto in July, and to have preached at retreats. He was to have been at the open-air mass at the Canadian National Exhibition Grandstand, which attracted some 50,000 Ukrainian worshippers from across the continent.

At the last moment Pope Paul decided not to let him come — would not, in fact, give him a passport (which the Vatican issues).

All Ukrainians, regardless of their faith, have interpreted the Pope's decision as a put-down of the man who is a living symbol of anti-Communism, religious integrity and courageous loyalty to Rome.

They see it as a slap at Ukrainian Catholicism which has been seeking limited autonomy from Rome by establishing its own patriarchate.

There are some five million Ukrainian-rite Catholics, the second-largest Catholic group in the world. Of these, about 200,000 are in Canada.

Yet most of Canada's 600,000 or so Ukrainians feel emotionally united on the issue.

Cardinal Slipyi is a living symbol — "a walking martyr", according to Dr. Petro Bilaniuk, Professor of Eastern Christian Theology at St. Michael's College, Toronto.

He is 79 and spent nearly 18 years in Soviet labor camps before being released in 1963 by Nikita Khrushchev on condition that he not indulge in anti-Soviet propaganda by telling of sufferings in the camps.

"He was a prisoner of the Soviet Union and he seems to end up being one in the

Vatican, too", Msgr. Ivan Choma, the Cardinal's secretary in Rome has been quoted as saying by the authoritative Religious News Service from Vatican City.

"He had been invited, and wanted to go, but he was refused a Vatican passport", Msgr. Choma said.

Archbishop Mario Brini, secretary of the Vatican Congregation for Oriental Churches, said the decision not to let Cardinal Slipyi visit the U.S. and Canada came from "higher up."

Cardinal Slipyi visited Canada in 1968 for an emotional reunion with North American Ukrainian-rite Catholics, who view him as the Patriarch of their church.

There were those who hoped he would make his residence in Ontario, and work toward the creation of a Catholic patriarchate — more autonomy and less dependence on Rome, something Armenian Catholics, and Copts, already have.

In 1969, Cardinal Slipyi and other Ukrainian bishops, including Bishop Isidore Borecky of Toronto, wrote an official letter asking the Pope to permit the establishing of a patriarchate.

Last spring, Maximilien Cardinal de Furstenberg, head of the Vatican Congregation for Eastern Churches, replied on behalf of the Pope that the request could not be accepted.

About the possibility of Ukrainian-rite Catholics splitting from Rome, Bishop Borecky said: "People are excited and upset and there is a lot of talk, but I hope there will be no split. But this could be the last journey for the Cardinal, and we want to see him."

Of all the Eastern-rite Churches, only the Ukrainians and Ethiopians don't have their own patriarchate. Others do — Armenian, Chaldeic, Coptic, Maronite, Melkhite and Syrian. The Ukrainian body is by far the largest of all these.

"The tragedy is that Cardinal Slipyi suffered so much because of his loyalty to the Holy Father", said Bishop Borecky. "He



was 18 years in prison because he wouldn't betray his loyalty, and he fought for the cause of Catholic unity. All refugees from Sovietism feel outraged because they think it is now Cardinal Slipyi who is being betrayed by Rome."

The apparent Vatican campaign against Ukrainian autonomy and Cardinal Slipyi was intensified recently when the Pope appointed two new Ukrainian-rite bishops in the U.S. — without consulting Cardinal Slipyi, the ostensible head of the Ukrainian Church.

The two were Basil Losten and John Stock, who were ordained as auxiliaries to Archbishop Ambrose Senyshyn of Philadelphia. The move touched off an angry demonstration of several thousand Ukrainians in the city.

The Religious News Service quotes Vatican sources as saying that there had been threats that similar demonstrations would be held if Cardinal Slipyi visited North America.

*Sunday Express, June 2, 1971*

### **The Youth Is with Us!**

This year mass demonstrations against Communism and Russian imperialism took place on various occasions in many cities and countries in the Free World. Here are only some examples: in the USA on 22 January in Washington and New York, on 24 January in Philadelphia, on 10 February in Baltimore, on 13 and 14 February in Washington, on 25 March in Troy, N.Y., on 1 May in New York; in Canada on 30 January in Ottawa and St. Catharines, on 3 May in Toronto, on 9 May in Kitchener; in Australia on 4 April in Adelaide; in Great Britain in several cities demonstrations against the appearance of a choir of the Russian Red Army.

Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Croats and members of other subjugated nations demonstrated for the freedom and independence of their nations. The participants in these demonstrations were either entirely or in their overwhelming majority young people. Young people living in the Free World manifested the will for freedom of their nations languishing behind the Iron Curtain.

These young people interpreted the will of their nations living in slavery before the public opinion of the Free World. They took action for the ideals of national independence and personal freedom, for human dignity, for democracy and for social progress. They demonstrated for the strivings of their nations subjugated and

exploited by Communism and Russian imperialism. They are filled with enthusiasm, make sacrifices and fight together with us for our joint aims, for the political programme of ABN!

The young people of the subjugated nations living in the Free World refute by their behaviour the claim of the Communists, the Russian imperialists and other opponents of ours that our fight is only a question of generation. Such hopes of our opponents have proved to be illusions.

The fears of our friends also, that the young people of our subjugated nations in the Free World would become assimilated with their surroundings, would become confused and misled by decadent intellectual currents, would forget their moral obligations to their nations and adopt an indifferent attitude to them, have luckily not been fulfilled. The young people of the subjugated nations have not become alienated from them. They have remained true to them. They are with us!

But what is most important is the fact that the youth of our subjugated nations has ideals in common with those of the subjugated youth behind the Iron Curtain. The youth of our subjugated nations is neither Communist, demoralized, apathetic nor ideologically confused, either in the Free World or behind the Iron Curtain. In this gratifying circumstance lies the strength of our ideas and the hope of our nations!

## The Question of the Baltic States Is Not an Internal Affair of the Soviet Union

IT IS TIME FOR UNITY AMONG ALL CAPTIVE NATIONS IN THE SOVIET COLONIAL EMPIRE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION.

Today we see that during the past 25 years Soviet Russia has supported in the United Nations the efforts of colored people towards national independence from Western white rulers. However, at the same time there is a long list of different nations longing for independence and self-determination which is denied to them by the same Soviet Russia. To mention a few there are the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, North Caucasus, . . . a.o. These countries have been incorporated as parts of the Soviet Russian empire with no rights to form their own national or economic policies. Likewise there is a group of satellite countries as Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, . . . a.o. which have to follow Moscow-dictated policies and commands but still exist on the world map as seemingly independent national units.

The misery under the Soviet rule was brought to most of these nations during and after the Second World War when the principles of self-determination of nations were trampled into dust by the Great Powers of the time. The United Nations after the close of the conflict defined the principles of self-determination and human rights but these have not been applied equally to all peoples on this planet Earth.

The empires of white rulers have disappeared with the one glaring exception: that of the Soviet Union, which is a member of the United Nations. Soviet Russia has ignored the declarations of self-determination and human rights and occupies since World War II a number of formerly independent nations. Rather than apply the above principles the Soviet Union has acted on the contrary and has sought international

recognition of its borders which include the occupied and incorporated areas. These attempts to some degree prove that the Soviet Russians are self-conscious about the illegality of their conquests. At present all efforts are directed by the Russian side at making the European Security Conference become a reality and from this the Russians expect recognition of the Soviet Russian occupation of the Baltic states. That the Soviet Russians are touchy about the status of the Baltic states was shown by the protest delivered by the Soviet chargé d'affaires at Helsinki to the Finnish Government regarding the *Uusi Suomi* newspaper article (25. 4. 71) written by editor Asco Vuorijoki entitled "The Baltic Question in Today's World".

The author contends that the question of the Baltic states is not an internal affair of the Soviet Union. Just because the occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania has lasted now for some time there is no reason to separate the fate of these nations suffered during World War II from the one of Norway and Netherlands. Western Powers have not recognized the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States as have not Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran (Persia), Japan, Iraq and Morocco.

The Soviet chargé d'affaires in Helsinki in his protest note to the Finnish Government requested that the Finnish Government should not allow any more articles of this type to be published. This request is typical for a dictatorship where dictates and decrees prescribe the type of articles that are to be published. However, the Soviet request clashes distastefully with the democratic way of life in Finland including the laws of freedom of speech as well as freedom of the press. In May of this year the Finnish Congress and its Committee on Foreign Affairs discussed the Russian request. For the Finns this question is delicate since they are geographically in the shadow of the Soviet empire.



The leaders of the Soviet Union know well that in their present empire, the oppressed peoples and youth in particular demand liberty and democratic freedoms, and that all the subjugated nations aspire for independence and self-determination. The citizens of the formerly free and independent Baltic states too have never

recognized the unlawful and deceitful takeover by force, and the establishment of Soviet rule over them. The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians are continuing their fight for re-establishment of self-determination in their countries and hope for support in their struggle from democratic nations.

### Flemish Periodical in Defense of Moroz Ons Verband, a Flemish periodical of

Catholic students, for March-April, 1971, devoted the whole first page to Valentyn Moroz, including his portrait and demands to free the cruelly sentenced historian. The periodical also published a 4-page article on the liberation movement of the young intellectuals in Ukraine. In particular the article mentions Zalyvakha, Chornovil, Karavanskyi, Svitlychnyi, Moroz, Dzyuba and many others. The entire liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people and their unyielding will to be independent is given as the foundation of the clash of the young intellectuals with the tyrannical Russian occupation regime and insufferable Russification. The article is illustrated with a series of portraits.

Flemish youth in general sympathizes with the problem of Ukraine's liberation and the disintegration of the Russian prison of nations.

### Amnesty International on V. Moroz

Amnesty International, one of the organizations defending human rights, published an extensive article on Valentyn Moroz in its publication for July. In addition to his biography, the reasons for his imprisonment are given. At the same time attention is being called to his love for Ukraine, his native culture, language and national traditions. The Amnesty International considers his sentence to be harsh. The publication urges that protest letters be written to P. Shelest and the Ministry of Justice in Kyiv. This organization, with headquarters in London, had already defended Chornovil, Karavanskyi, Kuznetsova and Horbovyi. At present it initiated a campaign in defense of 31 Ukrainian political prisoners.



*Text of the resolution adopted by the County of Los Angeles, urging President Nixon to bring the question of the liberation of the Baltic States before the United Nations.*

## Rumanian Reds Seek to Expand Activities

According to a centuries-old tradition in the Rumanian church, exactly at midnight on the Holy Saturday a priest completes a special mass and announces "Christ has risen." Easter has arrived. The parishioners leave the church carrying lighted candles and singing "Christos a inviat" (Christ has risen.)

But last Easter-eve in Vienna the Rumanian church was closed. There was no mass.

Strange, I thought, native Rumanians never miss this inspiring ceremony if they can help it.

"Let's go next door to the Rumanian club," my friend suggested. In the adjoining apartment which houses the Rumanian ethnics' meeting place there was plenty of activity. People were laughing, eating and drinking.

According to Rumanian Christian tradition this was very wrong.

It was not yet midnight and they should still have been fasting... Christ had not yet risen.

What had changed?

As I entered the club I understood. There, hanging on the wall, was a large photograph of Rumania's Red Boss Nicolae Ceausescu alongside one of Austrian President Franz Jonas.

The Rumanian Reds have taken over the church and the club in the Austrian capital.

The newspaper *America*, published in Detroit by the Union and League of Rumanian Societies of America, the principal ethnic publication in the United States and Canada, indicates their activities are now spreading across the Atlantic.

The president of the Rumanian group, Eugen Popescu, warns Rumanian immigrants and ethnics that the Communist

government in Bucharest is attempting to influence Rumanian cultural and religious activities in the United States and Canada.

Popescu claims Bucharest is sending professors and cultural representatives abroad who are in fact agents ordered to subvert Rumanian ethnic groups.

"The Rumanian government considers us a colony living outside the borders, but under their control," Popescu says.

Such attempts by Communist regimes are not new. For years they have used every pretext. Polish veterans in the mother country try to reach similar groups abroad. Renegade priests from behind the Iron Curtain were sent to the West to infiltrate churches.

The purpose is twofold. If the Reds succeed to penetrate ethnic groups they gradually dilute centers of anti-Communist resistance, particularly among the young who haven't had first hand experience with Red tactics.

Second, they undermine anti-Communist resistance at home, by insinuating to the people that they have been forgotten by their kith and kin in the free world.

Those who refuse to play the Red game are considered traitors. It is pertinent to recall Red Boss Nicolae Ceausescu's remarks when he visited Washington last year.

At a reception at the Rumanian Embassy here, he told a group of ethnic Americans that while they should be loyal to the United States they must not betray the Rumanian people (read the Ceausescu regime) "who know how to take care of their traitors."

May I add this warning to that of Eugen Popescu:

"Christos a Inviat" doesn't ring out anymore at the Rumanian church in Vienna at 12:01 on Easter morning. Let's not allow that to happen in America.



## Ukrainians in Argentina in Defense of V. Moroz



The protest action in defense of Valentyn Moroz, Kateryna Zarytska, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi and Bishop Vasyl Velychkovsky has gained worldwide attention. The patriotic Ukrainian community in Argentina also joined this general movement. On July 2, 1971 a protest rally was held in the "Prosvita" hall in Buenos Aires. It was addressed by Osyp Halato, Vasyl Kosyuk, Eng. Slipchenko, Ihor Vasylyk, Yu. Seredyak, Bohdan Kachor, Vasyl Kaspruk and others. About 150 people were present. They spontaneously decided to march to the Russian Embassy and to demand that the Russians release Valentyn Moroz and other prisoners who are languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps. The demonstrators carried placards, prepared by members of SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and TUSM (Ukrainian Student Association) and chanted slogans: "Russians get out of Ukraine", "Freedom for Moroz", "Red Fascists", "Freedom for Ukraine", etc. The police guarding the embassy became alert, demanding that the demonstrators disperse. In spite of this bottles with black substance were hurled at the building and a car belonging to the embassy was smeared with glue and paint.

Over 2,000 leaflets, stating the purpose of the demonstration, were distributed.

Pictures of the demonstration were shown on Channel 11 and 9, and reports about it, including numerous photos appeared in *La Prensa*, the most widely read Argentinian daily, and *La Razon*, the largest evening newspaper in South America.

### Demonstration in Brisbane, Australia

On July 4, 1971 over 500 demonstrators, Ukrainians and Jews, staged separate demonstrations at the Brisbane Airport to protest against the arrival of the Novosibirsk Ballet which is appearing in major Australian cities as part of the "cultural exchange" program.

The Ukrainian demonstrators, mostly young people of SUM, carried two dozen placards with slogans: "Free Moroz!", "Free Ukrainian political prisoners", "Glory to Ukraine! Death to Moscow!", caricatures of Brezhnev and Kosygin with inscription: "Criminals" and others.

All T. V. stations reported about the demonstration in their evening news and the paper *Courier Mail* published a large photo and an extensive report.

## Captive Nations Week 1971 in Britain

The Captive Nations Week 1971, organized by the British League for European Freedom ended on Sunday, July 25th with an international rally at Fulham Old Town Hall, in London, which accepted resolutions protesting against Russian imperialistic and colonialist policies and demanding the support by Britain and the free world of the liberation movements of the nations enslaved in the USSR and the "satellite" states. About 300 people took part in the Rally presided over by the Dowager Lady Birdwood, member of the National Executive and Chairman of the London Committee of the B.L.E.F. At the beginning of the meeting flags of nine of the enslaved nations, ranging from Albania to Ukraine, were carried on to the stage and brief speeches about the situation in their countries were made by Mrs. Zavalani (Albania), Mr. J. Bunchuk (Byelorussia), Mr. E. Mazur (Croatia), Mr. Koblina (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Reigo (Estonia), Mr. T. Zarins (Latvia), Mr. A. Gasiunas (Lithuania), Prof. W. Shayan (Ukraine). The main address was delivered by Mr. Tom Stacey, the well-known publisher, journalist and international traveller, who from his own personal observations described the oppression behind the Iron Curtain, especially in the national republics of the USSR, and warned of the threat to freedom of this country coming from the Russian Communist tyranny. Another speaker was Mrs. D. Orme, whose special interest is work among the British youth, who spoke about the need for the youth of this country to wake up to the dangers to its freedom stemming from the infiltration and subversion by the atheistic Communist system. A Latvian lady soloist performed two Latvian folk songs.

The Captive Nations Week 1971 commenced with an Interdenominational Divine Service at All Souls' Church, on Sunday, July 18th. A congregation consisting of exiles from many East European nations and nine members of the clergy from different nations and religions took part.

Flags of the enslaved nations were carried and placed near the altar. It was an impressive and moving ceremony during which prayers were offered for the deliverance of the nations oppressed behind the Iron Curtain from alien rule and Communist lawlessness.

A similar Interdenominational Divine Service was held at Bradford Cathedral in Bradford, Yorkshire. Afterwards a procession in which over 700 people from Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, Hungary, and other countries enslaved by Russia walked to the Cenotaph to lay a wreath. During the whole week flags of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism fluttered from the masts in front of Bradford town hall. The local press reported the events of the Captive Nations Week with sympathy.

On Monday, July 19th, a Press Conference was given by the British League for European Freedom on the occasion of the Captive Nations Week at Howard Hotel. The Dowager Lady Birdwood was in the chair. She opened the Press Conference and informed those present about the Week's forthcoming events. Mr. Ross McWhirter, the well-known writer and journalist, gave the main speech criticizing the news media in Britain for their neglect of the presentation of the news about the oppression in the countries oppressed by Russia and Communism. Mr. Denis Orme, from the International Confederation for Victory over Communism, spoke about the need of an information campaign among the youth of this country, about the threat of atheistic Communism and Russian drive for world conquest, for spiritual regeneration of the youth. Mr. W. Mykula, Secretary of the B.L.E.F., gave some details about persecutions of Ukrainian intellectuals and national figures by the Russians — such as historian Valentyn Moroz, the underground fighter Mykhailo Soroka who spent 34 years in prison and died on June 16, 1971 in Mordovian concentration camps, his wife Kateryna Zarytska, still



-serving her 25-year sentence and many others. Prof. W. Shayan and Mr. E. Mazur also gave additional information about Ukraine and Croatia respectively.

On Tuesday, July 20th, a reception sponsored by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M. P. and Lord Barnby for the British League for European Freedom on the occasion of the Captive Nations Week took place at the House of Commons. Among about 70 people present — British and representatives of many captive East European nations — Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Hungarians, Albanians, Czechs, Rumanians, Croats, and others — there were the following Members of Parliament: Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Mr. Jack McCann, Mr. T. McMillan, Mr. McCartney, Mr. M. O'Halloran, Mr. M. Fidler, Mr. Tom Oswald, Mr. J. A. D. Wilkinson. Brief speeches welcoming the members of the B.L.E.F. and guests were made by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M. P. and Lord Barnby.

On Thursday, July 22nd, a delegation of the British League for European Freedom headed by Dowager Lady Birdwood and consisting of Mr. W. Mykula (Secretary), Mrs. M. Zavalani (Albania), Capt. J. Bunchuk (Byelorussia), Col. Teleki (Hungary), Mr. T. Zarins (Latvia), Mr. A. Pranskunas (Lithuania), Mr. O. Kerson (Estonia) and Mr. W. Wasylenko (Ukraine) was received at the Conference Room of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office by the Head of the Soviet and East European Department, Mr. Bullard. The delegation handed in jointly a series of Memoranda by national organizations of the exiles in Britain from the countries behind the Iron Curtain outlining the situation in their respective countries and certain requests to H. M. Government for moral support for their liberation struggle from the alien Communist Russian domination. Each of the members of the delegation had the opportunity to explain to Mr. Bullard the point of view of his/her national organi-

zation to which he gave answers and promised on behalf of the State Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs to study the Memoranda carefully.

On Friday, July 23rd, a Reception was given by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain for members of the B.L.E.F. and other guests at the Hall of the London Branch of the Association. There were about 70 guests from many nationalities. The Reception passed in a very friendly atmosphere. For entertainment a group of young girls and boys from the London Branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association performed several Ukrainian folk dances and folk songs.

On Saturday, July 24th, there was a big meeting organized by the B.L.E.F. at Manchester. It took place at the new hall of the Manchester Branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and was followed with a ball.

Another meeting on the same day took place at Bradford at the Latvian Hall. Among the main speakers there were Mr. John Graham, Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, National Executive, and local Members of Parliament.

On the occasion of the Captive Nations Week 75,000 leaflets were printed and distributed in many places in Britain. The four-page leaflet had a map of Eastern Europe and part of Soviet Asia on the front showing the captive nations in the USSR and "satellites" and giving information about their populations. The text of the leaflet inside was entitled "Enslaved Europe" and pointed out that the Common Market will include only half of Europe, the other half being enslaved by Russia. It called for exerting pressure on Russia to release her colonies.

B.L.E.F. also printed stamps-labels entitled "Captive Nations Week" and showing a map of East Europe with the enslaved nations and with a shadow of a *Russian* soldier.

## AF-ABN Sponsor Captive Nations Week Observances



### New York

The New York observances of the Captive Nations Week were organized by a Special Committee chaired by Hon. Judge Matthew J. Troy and Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, as Executive Vice Chairman.

On July 15, 1971 Mayor John Lindsay called a special meeting at City Hall where he read, signed and presented his Proclamation on the occasion. Dr. Docheff, who was officially recognized and seated beside the Mayor, delivered an address on behalf of AF-ABN. Representatives of all AF-ABN nationalities participated at the meeting, including a special group of girls wearing national costumes of Ukraine, Hungary, Cuba, Croatia and Latvia.

On July 18th a Parade along 5th Avenue from 59th Street to St. Patrick's Cathedral and from the Cathedral to Central Park was held. The Parade was led by Catholic War Veterans of Queens with Commander R. Goff. The AF-ABN National Organizations with their national flags and dressed in national costumes were led as follows: Bulgaria — N. Stoyanoff; Byelorussia —

Dr. A. Pleskaczewski; Cossackia — Col. N. Nazarenko; Croatia — N. Nasic; Cuba — M. Aquilera; Estonia — E. Lipping; Germany — R. Brueckner; Hungary — Capt. Z. Vasvary; Latvia — A. Muiznieks; North Caucasus — Capt. A. Bek; Slovakia — I. Samel; Ukraine — Dr. S. Halamay and Dr. W. Sawczak; the Conservative Club — V. Michael; Friends of Tibet — C. Huyler and others. More than 1,000 persons marched in the Parade.

A special Mass for the Captive Nations was said at St. Patrick's Cathedral. It was presided by H. E. Cardinal Cook and celebrated by Rt. Rev. J. Balkunas (Lithuanian). The sermon was delivered by Rt. Rev. P. Pashchak (Ukrainian).

An open air Rally was held at Central Park, attended by more than 2,000. It was opened with the Pledge of Allegiance to the American Flag, performed by the Veterans under Commander R. Goff. Dr. Ivan Docheff was the Master of Ceremonies. The opening remarks were delivered by Hon. Matthew J. Troy. Mr. Laszlo C. Pasztor,



Director of the Heritage Group at the Republican National Committee in Washington was the guest speaker. Miss Ann Vasvary (Hungary) and George Voloshyn (Ukraine) spoke on behalf of the youth. The former Cuban Ambassador to Canada also addressed the Rally. The Latvian representative read the Proclamations of President Nixon and Governor Rockefeller. The resolution was presented by Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Chairman of AF-ABN Political Committee. Miss Estelita Santolo

sang three Cuban folk songs, with Prof. Alfredo Munor at the piano.

After the Rally the participants staged a demonstration at the Russian UN Mission carrying their national flags and hundreds of signs bearing slogans condemning Russian imperialism and Communism and demanding freedom for all Captive Nations. The demonstrators were addressed by Dr. I. Docheff, G. Voloshyn, M. Aquilera, N. Stoyanoff and others.



#### **Boston, Mass.**

On the occasion of the Captive Nations Week 1971 a letter by Orest Szczudluk, the director of public relations of the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, was published in numerous greater Boston newspapers on July 21st and 22nd, 1971. The letter calls the readers' attention to the Captive Nations proclamations issued by President Nixon and Massachusetts Governor Sargent, surveys the situation in the subjugated nations and points to the Russian violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, urging citizens to write to the UN Human Rights Commission asking to investigate Moscow's atrocities against the captive nations.

#### **Philadelphia, Pa.**

The Captive Nations Week observance was held on July 14, 1971. It included a candlelight procession, a wreath laying ceremony at the George Washington Monument and a rally at Independence Mall. About 300 persons participated. The main address was delivered by Dr. Austin J. App. A representative of Hon. Thacher Longstreth, Republican Mayoral candidate, was the guest speaker. The resolutions were adopted unanimously by acclamation and transmitted to President Nixon, the Secretary of State, both senators from Pennsylvania, all representatives of the Greater Philadelphia area, and to the newspapers, radio and television stations of the area.

# News and Views

## The Persian Gulf: An Area of Future Conflicts

WI Washington/London (6. 5. 1971). Politicians, military experts and commentators hold the view that the "Persian Gulf" could be an area of future conflicts. This area is obviously a primary aim of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary Arabs, especially since the British allegedly want to withdraw from their bases there at the end of 1971.

The Labour government had in January 1968 announced the withdrawal of the British from the Near East. The treaties with Bahrein, Qatar and the other seven crucial states will not be prolonged.

At the moment the revolutionary forces on the Persian Gulf are holding themselves back, so as not to deter the British from implementing their decision to withdraw through premature action. In the Western countries, especially in the USA, it is desired that the two main powers on the Gulf, Iran and Saudi Arabia, cooperate in future in the interest of a balance of power. Both states are still ruled by conservative regimes today. But in the coming five years, it is being assumed, revolutionary forces will be in power in Saudi Arabia. The sheikdoms, which have their "empires" further south on the Persian Gulf, will also in the long run scarcely be able to withstand a revolutionary development. The Federation of Arab Emirates, founded about three months after the decision of the British to give up their bases (May 30, 1968), suffers considerably from internal difficulties. Among others is that of being unable as yet to decide on a joint capital. In the field of politics and the economy differences of opinion continue to exist: traditional rivalries are also the order of the day.

Today the British government is negotiating with the Gulf states over an agreement. It bears the name "treaty of friendship". The decision to leave the Near East has created a new and dangerous situation.

Tensions previously unimportant have come to the surface through this notice of termination. The present situation completely justifies a treaty of friendship to assure mutual help in times of tension. The British intended to participate in training of armed forces in the Federation and even make available personnel for such aid. In addition visits by British warships are to be carried out. That is to say, to states which have at least expressed a formal invitation for such a visit.

Quite a lot of time has passed since the decision to withdraw from the bases was taken and the present situation. According to Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations further cooperation between the states of the Federation and Great Britain can only be possible, if the Federation is interested in this. The British cannot decide this alone. A view current among some "rulers" among the emirates is that it would be expedient for the British to set up military bases within the Indian Ocean or on islands in the Arabian Sea, to hold strategic forces at least in the vicinity. The presence of the two US destroyers would also become problematic after a British withdrawal, since at least six such ships would be necessary to guarantee a balance. On the other hand intervention by the USA is not seen too willingly, as this would give too obvious support to the Israelis.

Of course in the last analysis the important question is oil. 80% of the oil for Western Europe comes from the Middle East. 50% of this alone comes from the region of the Persian Gulf.

A re-opening of the Suez canal will cause an increased presence of the Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean and naturally also in the Persian Gulf. A balance would be guaranteed by the stationing of armed forces of the Western powers in the Indian Ocean. (cf. WI No 17, dated 29. 4. 1971)



The interest of the Russians in the Persian Gulf and in the Indian Ocean goes back to the 19th century. It must also be remembered that Molotov stated to the German ambassador in Moscow in 1940 that the Soviet Union claimed the area south of

Baku towards the Persian Gulf as a main sphere of influence. Today the Soviets are about to realize this desire. Therefore it is necessary to forestall Russian preponderance through timely reaction.

*Estimated Soviet Forces in the UAR 1970*

Date	Pilots	Military personnel Service of missile positions	others
1 January	0	0	2 500—4 000
31 March	60—80	4 000	2 500—4 000
30 June	100—150	8 000	2 500—4 000
30 Sept.	150	10 000—13 000	2 500—4 000
31 December	200+	12 000—15 000	4 000

Date	Soviet manned air defence missile bases	Soviet manned aircraft	Soviet controlled aerodromes
1 January	0	0	0
31 March	22xSA—3	0	71
30 June	45—55xSA—3	120xMIG—21 J	6
30 Sept.	70—80xSA—3	150xMIG—21 J	6
31 December	75—80xSA—3	150xMIG—21 J	6

Surface to Air Missile (SAM) figures without Egyptian manned missile positions (SA-2). Each SA-3 position contains four launching pads, SA-2 contain six launching pads each.

100 MIG 21s, 60 MIG 17s, 30 Sukhoi 7 fighter-bombers. The Egyptians have a great insufficiency of pilots. The Soviets fly the MIG 23s and most of the MIG 21s. The Israelis fly about 70 Phantoms.

Since 1st January 1971 the Soviets have delivered some MIG 23s to Egypt, over

*Wehr. Pol. Information*



*The Final Communique Committee at work. 5th WACL Conference, Manila, Philippines, July 21—25, 1971.*

## CIENFUEGOS: The Tip of the Russian Iceberg in the Western Hemisphere

The Soviet plan to develop the island of Cuba into a major naval operating base involves the modernization of the harbors of Nipe, Caibarien (Cayo Frances), Matanzas, Havana, Mariel, Cabanas, and Bahia Honda, all on the northern coast, and Santiago de Cuba and Cienfuegos on the southern coast. Mariel, 20 miles west of Havana, already has submarine pens that are operational; construction crews are working day and night at Caibarien and at Cayo Alcatraz in Cienfuegos Bay. Two Soviet admirals and three high-ranking civilian engineers were flown there non-stop from Russia in the long-range Soviet TU-95 Bear aircraft the first week of December, 1970, to supervise the naval construction program. In accordance with an agreement reached on January 8, 1969, between the USSR and Communist Cuba, the Nuclear Institute in Managua reportedly is now staffed with some 760 Soviet technicians. One non-critical nuclear plant is said to be already in operation and a second, capable of producing military quality fissionable material, is expected to become operational during this year.\*

As of September, 1970, the Soviet Army strength in Cuba was estimated by the Cuban underground to be between 20,000 and 22,000 soldiers. They conduct regular maneuvers in Pinar Del Rio province, in the mountains near Candelaria, San Cristobal and San Diego on the Rosario Sierra.

An important Soviet Army military complex is being developed in the mountains at La Cubilla, near the towns of Cumanayagua and Seibabo, complete with electrified wire fences, pill-boxes, trenches, artillery emplacements and mysterious mounds covering entrances to underground installations. No Cuban is allowed to enter this area; the construction has been carried out entirely by Russian troops.

Soviet Army engineers have constructed a modern, eight-lane military highway from Havana and San Antonio de los Banos to Cienfuegos and are maintaining and im-

proving the 400 mile stretch of strategic road running along the southern coast of Cuba from Cienfuegos to Santiago.

### *Soviet Military Installations Going Underground to Avoid US Aerial Surveillance:*

Having learned a lesson in 1962 when the U-2 photographs foiled their effort to smuggle nuclear missiles into Cuba, all Soviet military installations, except those naval facilities which cannot be placed underground, are being built in caves or tunnels inter-connecting the caves. Cuba has more than 3,000 natural or man-made caves which the Russians have already inventoried and explored. Marshal Grechko, the Soviet Defense Minister, visited many of these caves himself during his visit to Cuba in November, 1969. These provide the Soviets' answer to US photographic surveillance of the island.

Ninety percent of the fuel reserves in Cuba are underground as are the major ammunition depots. Underground hospitals have been built at the Sierra de Cristal, near the Nipe and Levisa Bays in Oriente province, and in la Loma de San Vincente just off the road which runs between Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo. Of particular importance are the various underground complexes lying within the quadrangle formed by Minas de Bajurayabo, Jaruco, Herradura and Mariel. Included in this area is the Nuclear Institute at Managua. Other locations where caves have been reinforced with concrete linings of up to six feet are the Sierra de Lupe, Oriente province; the Altura Central on the Isle of Pines which contains a number of large marble caves ideally suited for underground installations.

Underground missile bases are reported in the mountains of the Gobbadora, near Mariel; in Manicaragua, Las Villas province, at a place the Russian soldiers call "La Campana"; at San Cristobal and in the Sierra de los Organos in Pinar del Rio province. The latter has been of considerable interest to the Russians for some time. In April, 1969, eight extremely heavy, square wooden boxes were unloaded at

\*) See WASHINGTON REPORT No. 69-6, February 10, 1969



night from Soviet ships at the Casablanca Arsenal docks under maximum security precautions, placed on large, 20-wheel flatbed trucks and driven off in a Soviet Army convoy in the direction of the Sierra de los Organos. This operation was repeated the last week in January, 1970, when another eight boxes, each 32 by 9½ by 13 feet, with a peaked, roof-like construction running lengthwise, were loaded on large trailers and convoyed by Soviet troops towards the same destination.

*Conclusion:*

Soviet Russian activities in Cuba suggest a sense of urgency which prompts them to accept increasing tensions with the US in order to achieve their goals.

The importance of Cuba as the prime Soviet Russian base for directing Communist activities in the Western Hemisphere has *increased* and justifies a higher level of Soviet military investment.

While recognizing that their increased level of military activity in Cuba cannot be completely concealed, the Russians are making every effort to hide the full scope of their program from the U.S.

There are signs that the Soviet Russians, emboldened by their greatly increased strategic nuclear capabilities since 1962, including their newly acquired, but fast growing Polaris-type submarine fleet, may be preparing for a new test of will with the US involving another experiment in *fait accompli* nuclear power politics.

The balance of strategic nuclear power in the world has shifted, just as Khrushchev had predicted, in favor of the Soviet Union. Consequently the US would be even less likely than before to risk nuclear war with the USSR.

Communism now has a base on the continent of South America—Chile. But, like Castro, Allende's government faces attack by enemies from within and without.

The Castro regime, unable to solve even its own internal economic problems, has lost the support of the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people, including the rank and file of Castro's army. The possibility of internal revolt within the coming year cannot be discounted.

The forces of revolution in Latin America, particularly in Bolivia, Peru and Colombia are ripe for Communist exploitation provided the continental base in Chile can be maintained.

As a result of the protracted Vietnam War, the US public has forced the Administration to announce a policy of non-involvement in local conflicts in the less developed areas of the world.

Soviet Russian policy of boldness paid off in 1962 and today's balance of power would tend to encourage rather than inhibit new Russian adventures in brinkmanship. The expanded Soviet Russian military program for Cuba clearly involves improving the USSR's nuclear capabilities in the Western Hemisphere.

Taking into account the changes that have occurred since 1962, particularly the United States' loss of clear-cut strategic superiority over the USSR; the fact that on site inspection is still not permitted by Castro; and the great number of reports from members of the Cuban resistance that the Russians are secretly installing nuclear missiles in underground installations; the following Russian courses of action are possible:

The clandestine deployment of nuclear weapons systems into Cuba.

The overt use of Cuba as a nuclear submarine base (thus doubling the on-station time in the Western Atlantic for these subs) but maintaining the fiction that Russian Polaris-type submarines are merely observing their international port-of-call rights by visiting Castro's naval base at Cienfuegos.

Emphasizing Cuba's role as the political and military base for all Soviet Russian revolutionary expansion in Latin America by letting it be known that the nuclear weapons deployed to Cuba will be used, if need be, in direct support of Chile or any other Communist regime that may come to power in the Hemisphere if they are invaded by external armed forces, whether these forces are acting unilaterally or as members of the Organization of American States.

(Excerpts: *Washington Report* WR 71-2)

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## Terror in Ukraine Continues

New reports have reached us from Ukraine about further repressions, arrests and the struggle of the KGB organs with young people and students.

According to the newest reports, *Semen Korolchuk* has been arrested in the Ternopil region on charges of organizing assistance to Ukrainian patriots imprisoned in Mordovia.

In Odessa, *Nina Strokata*, who held the post of scientist-microbiologist, was dismissed from work at the Medical Institute. N. Strokata, the wife of S. Karavanskyi, is the author of many scientific publications. When she refused to denounce her husband, pressure was applied to her to leave her job at the Institute "at her own request". When she did not agree to this, she was discharged "due to reduction of the staff", leaving her without any means of support.

The organs of the government dealt a bit differently with the wife of Valentyn Moroz — Raisa, a teacher of German language at Ivano-Frankivsk, who is of Greek descent. When upon demands to leave the job "voluntarily" she refused, a competitive examination for a teacher of the German language was held, in spite of the fact that *R. Moroz* taught there for a long time and that in such cases competitive examinations are not held. R. Moroz failed the "competitive examination", and her place was taken by a young, inexperienced teacher. Now it is demanded of R. Moroz to leave "voluntarily" the apartment in which she lives with her son and which had been acquired on communal rights.

In the Department of Social Sciences of the Lviv University, a well known scholar Prof. *Stepan Shchurat* has been dismissed from work, as well as an able economist, assistant professor *Obukhivskyi*. Also dismissed from work at the Lviv University were Prof. *Lukiya Humetska* (born in

1911), a well-known philologist, and specialist *Ratych*.

An attempt do dismiss *Atena Volytska* from work "at her own request", a chemical engineer, a lecturer at the Lviv University and an organizer of a professional association, failed when the collective of her co-workers stood up for her. The threats that the laboratory in which. A. Volytska is working will be closed, and all its employees will find themselves without a job, did not frighten the people and they continued to defend their rights. Some frightened workers advised A. Volytska to leave work voluntarily, but she refused.

May 22nd passed this year in Kyiv, just as in previous years, rather violently. In order to neutralize the demonstrations of young people and students near the monument to T. Shevchenko, the organs of the government brought companies of Komsomol members, who with their loud singing were to prevent patriotic or anti-Russian speeches. According to the Komsomol program some girl student delivered a pro-Russian and an anti-Semitic speech near the monument. Reacting to such a provocative speech, a student of Kyiv University (whose name has not been determined as yet) spoke on behalf of the assembled youth, condemning anti-Semitism and emphasizing the great ideas of Shevchenko which call for friendship and cooperation among nations. His speech was interrupted and he was arrested on the spot by the KGB organs. Likewise, a group of his friends who defended him were allegedly also arrested.

*Halyna Didyk*, the former oblast leader of the Ukrainian Red Cross in the Ternopil region, returned to Lviv from imprisonment. H. Didyk, born in 1912, had been arrested on March 5, 1950 and sentenced to 25 years in prison. She spent a long time



at Verkhnye-Uralsk, and later in the Vladimir prison. In 1968 prison was changed to camp imprisonment. Prior to her release H. Didyk was confined to camp No. 6 in Mordovia. Returning to Lviv she is said to have written a protest to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR, which had become known in Kyiv. The contents of her letter is so far unknown.

#### News from Mordovia

*Omelyan I. Polevyi* was released from Mordovian concentration camp No. 17 on June 15, after 25 years of captivity. He was caught by the Russian occupation authorities in June 1946 at the time when he was the commander of the 33rd District of UPA-West. Originally the Russians sentenced him to death by shooting, but later this sentence was commuted to 25 years of concentration camps.

*Stepan Stepanovych Bedrylo*, who was sentenced in Kyiv in 1969, was released from concentration camp No. 3 in Mordovia on June 25th.

#### Further Arrests

According to reports received from Ukraine, arrests and repressions of nationally-conscious Ukrainians continue there, in particular in the Lviv region and in Kyiv. In one locality of the Lviv oblast, *Eustakhiy Pastukh* had been arrested for spreading false information on the basis of Article 18 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR. *Semen Korolchak* had also been arrested in the Lviv region; he is charged on the basis of Article 62 of CC Ukr.SSR with "anti-Soviet agitation" and with spreading underground publications.

In the town of Novyi Rozdil of the Lviv oblast the 18-year-old *Petro Medvid* had been arrested at the end of May of this year in connection with the raising of the blue and yellow flag (the Ukrainian national colors) on the tower of city hall of that town. In line with information received from Lviv, P. Medvid had absolutely nothing to do with the said case. In prison during an investigation the KGB agents are said to have beaten him severely.

On May 28th of this year, 37-year-old *Anatoliy Lupynis* had been arrested in Kyiv because during the Shevchenko demonstration at Shevchenko monument on May 22nd of this year he read his own poem. Lupynis spent 8 years of imprisonment in prisons and corrective-labor camps for "anti-Soviet activity".

#### Ukrainians in Russian Captivity

Below we are publishing an additional list of Ukrainian prisoners, who were sentenced by Russian chauvinists to shorter and longer terms.

1) *Roman Semenyuk*, member of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), sentenced to 25 years. In 1965 additional 3 years were added on for an attempt to escape. His comrade *Anton Oliynyk* has been executed by shooting.

2) *Yosyf Tereza* sentenced to 8 years for "Ukrainian nationalist propaganda".

3) *Mykola Bohach*, born in 1944 in Kuban, a student at the Mykolaiv agricultural technical school, in which he tried to found an "Organization Fighting for Social Justice", sentenced to 4 years of strict regime concentration camp, which was lowered to 3 years by an appeals court.

4) *Lyuba Nastusenko*, a nurse, imprisoned in September 1969 in Kolomyia for "nationalistic agitation". According to unconfirmed reports, she was taken to a special mental hospital for forced treatment. The *Ukrainian Herald* feels that this is the first such case in Ukraine.

5) *Mykola Ruban*, born in 1940, from Konotop, imprisoned at the end of 1968, sentenced in 1969 in Kyiv to 5 years for founding an organization of "nationalist character" and for circulating leaflets.

6) *Petro Tokar*, born in 1909, a Jehovah's Witness, sentenced in 1947 to 25 years of forced labor camps.

Aside from this, among prisoners of the so-called union republics we come across many Ukrainian names, while in Ukraine, many non-Ukrainian names, some of whom can also be Ukrainians.

## Underground Publication on Russian Repressions in Ukraine

### Lviv

A brutal punishment was meted out to *Halyna Dudykevych* and her family in 1970.

Halyna Dudykevych divorced her husband, who is the son of the prominent Bohdan Dudykevych, a former Russophile, then — a members of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, later still — a Soviet party official. For a longer time now he is the director of the branch of the V. I. Lenin Museum in Lviv.

The Dudykevyches decided to take revenge upon the young woman and to take her son away from her. According to Soviet laws the deprivation of motherhood is permitted only in exceptional cases; this happens very seldom. But, having the support of the KGB and the higher party officials behind them, the Dudykevyches did not stop at a crime. They incited the guardian council of the Lenin and the Zaliznychnyi districts of town (the guardian council is made up of several pensioners, former party officials), who "have conducted an investigation" and completely groundlessly have accused Halyna Dudykevych of "immorality", as well as of the fact that she is a member and even a leader of "an underground nationalist organization!". This last conclusion was reached on the basis of the fact that when they still lived together friends came to the Dudykevyches several times and talked about poetry and other things. Besides this, Halyna's ex-husband stole from her the poem "Vertep" (The Crib of Bethlehem) by H. Chubay, which figured at the trial as the sole proof of H. Dudykevych's "counter-revolutionary" activity.

It is on such "conclusions" of the pensioners that the Zaliznychnyi District Court of Lviv based its decision. The case was illegal to such a degree that some judges refused to conduct it, and the case was taken up by the head of the Zaliznychnyi District Court Khorunzhykevych, who did not have any pangs of conscience. Highly

placed persons who lived in the oblast committee building next to the Dudykevyches appeared as witnesses before the guardian council at the trial: the wife of deputy Sadov, the daughter of the hero of the Soviet Union Stebelska, the mother-in-law of the chief of the oblast KGB Poduden, a militaryman, member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Muzyka, and others.

At the instigation of Yuriy Dudykevych, false evidence about Halyna Dudykevych's "nationalistic activity" was given by the student of the Drohobych Teachers College, Yevheniya Khomanchuk.

At the trial it was revealed that the protocols of the guardian council had been falsified, that the witnesses made no sense in their memorized testimony. Dissatisfaction with such a trial had been expressed not only by the defense attorney, but also by the prosecutor. Nevertheless the court decided to take the child away from H. Dudykevych and carried out a separate resolution about her political suspicion, which it handed over to the KGB in order to "take measures". The decision of the district court was confirmed by the oblast court (there the case was conducted by judge Smirnova).

Not wishing to give up the child, H. Dudykevych took it to friends in Leningrad, and herself turned to the all-union judicial institutions. There they felt sorry for the fact that "in Ukraine arbitrariness is taking place", promised to help, but had done nothing to this day.

In the meantime, as soon as H. Dudykevych brought the child home, Yu. Dudykevych organized a group of young men, who broke into the apartment of Halya's father, bound and beat her father and kidnapped the child. Halyna Dudykevych can find no one to administer justice to criminals, who have highly-placed guardians.

In the summer of 1970, poet H. Chubay was summoned for questioning to the KGB



in the "case" of H. Dudykevych. They asked whether Chubay is acquainted with H. Dudykevych, whether he had given her his poem. The poem "Vertep" was declared anti-Soviet at the same time.

In December 1970, upon directions of the party organs, an exhibition "Ukrainian painting of the 14—18th centuries" had been closed on the day after the opening. The exhibition offered Ukrainian icons, a considerable number of which have been restored by the above-mentioned P. Llynyskyi. More people than ever before came to the opening of the exhibition, who were enthusiastic about the unique creations of the national genius.

The sudden ban of the exhibition has been explained in various ways. Some, recalling the intensified attempts at popularization of the Russian icon painting of the Middle Ages in recent times, feel that the exhibition was prohibited so that the Ukrainian icon would not overshadow the poorer achievements of the "older brother". Others report that party leaders were frightened by the enthusiasm of the viewers, which inevitably takes on political coloring in connection with Ukraine's situation. At this opportunity it is mentioned that at the exhibition only an insignificant part of the icon art treasures of Ukraine have been shown, which in any other country would have been proudly shown to the whole world. In Lviv alone hundreds of beautiful ancient icons are to be found, unrestored, under lock and key, in the Armenian Cathedral, in unfavorable temperature conditions, without supervision and due protection. In recent years attempts had already been made to steal or to set the icons on fire.

At the Lviv Polytechnic Institute the KGB uncovered two illegal groups. The membership of these groups was made up of Russian and Jewish young people — the children of high-ranking militarymen, party, Soviet, economic leaders. The groups allegedly did not have a clear-cut program. Both the imitation of the Western "hip-

pies", and the propagation of pornography and sexuality (motto: "down with shame"!), and the ridiculing of the system, the party and the Komsomol, and even the propagation of fascism were involved. Several type-written almanacs have been published; for meetings and parties a house at the summer colony out of town had been hired; they had contacts with similar organizations in other cities.

Allegedly only the "president" of one group *Yeresko* had been arrested (according to other reports — three persons). Other participants were either expelled from the institute, or were reprimanded and warned. On this occasion meetings were held at the faculties of the institute. There was no mention about it in the press.

Although Ukrainians were neither members of the groups, nor was there anything Ukrainian in their activities (on the contrary, all this was deeply anti-national), rumors are being spread about "nationalists". In one of the districts of the Lviv region "the treacherous actions of bourgeois nationalists at the polytechnic institute" have already been discussed officially, from a rostrum.

On November 1st, just as on Pentacost, as part of a long-established custom, the memory of the dead is honored at the cemeteries in Halychyna. On these days flowers are also placed and candles lit on the graves of the Sich Riflemen who died in the struggle with Poland in 1918—19, on the common graves of victims of mass execution by the NKVD of prisoners in jails in the first days of war in June 1941 and others. In particular a large number of people gather on November 1st at the Yanivskyi cemetery in Lviv by the grave of the Sich Riflemen. Flowers and wreaths with patriotic inscriptions are placed at the central symbolic grave; the people sing religious and riflemen songs, etc.

Although the authorities still do not dare to disperse people from the cemetery, nevertheless, specially sent persons note who is present at the cemetery, at times even

photographing people. Cases of repressions for honoring the memory of the dead are known. Thus in 1967 as the result of a denunciation an able scientist *Pletinko* had been removed from a responsible research position at the polytechnic institute only because he spent several minutes among the riflemen's graves and placed flowers. When his action was being discussed, the scientist said that he sees nothing wrong in honoring the memory of people who fought against the Polish occupants.

On November 1, 1970 somebody stuck a banknote — a 100-karbovanets note of the Ukrainian National Republic money with a large trident in the center of the note (done by a well known artist Yu. Harbut) — to the cross of the central grave of the riflemen's cemetery. After some time a raging man from among the "watchers" jumped up to the cross. Tearing down the banknote, crumpling and throwing it away, he climbed with his feet onto the grave and shouted to those present: "What, you want a trident? You want an independent Ukraine? You won't have your trident! You won't have your Ukraine! Well, disperse, disperse!", and so forth. But nobody left. To the contrary, the people who stood further away, thinking that somebody is delivering a speech in honor of the riflemen, came closer. The "speaker" was forced to go empty-handed.

### **The Rivne Region**

The village of Belyatychi (Bilyatychi?) of the Sarnyn region. There is accurate information that in January 1970, several times in a row, leaflets were scattered about the village and posted in crowded places. In particular in the village club handwritten leaflets were circulated with the signature "*Freedom Committee*".

The leaflets briefly informed about the de facto inequality of Soviet peoples in economic and political life, about the fierce Russification of Ukraine. The "Committee" urged the population to recall the struggle for freedom and independence, to honor the memory of fellow villagers and countrymen who laid down their heads in

that struggle, and in their name to put up resistance to Russification.

In a short time three schoolboys (6—8 grade pupils) were arrested. They were lodged in the Sarnensk hotel where the KGB was conducting their interrogations. The questionings were conducted brutally. Shortly after the schoolboys were released. One of them became insane after this.

In April 1970 the physical education teacher of the Belyatyn eight-grade school was arrested (he is an evening student of the Rivne Teachers' College). The investigation is still being conducted without the public's knowledge.

In the summer of 1970 the inspector of physical education of the Sarnyn region was arrested. In September-October he was secretly convicted to 10 years of severe regime camps.

There are reports that even after these arrests the leaflets of similar contents appeared in the village club.

Upon instructions of the Sarnyn Regional Committee of the Party and in line with its script the amateur theater group of the village of Belyatych appeared on November 6th with a musical and literary composition which was to have portrayed the history of the USSR for 58 years and the friendship of peoples. Songs and poems were solely Russian and were performed in the Russian language. And on November 7th a forced festive demonstration took place. Eyewitnesses report: It was cold. The peasants were dressed in quilted jackets and boots. All were sad, grim, bent. With a flag, in silence, with lowered heads the "festive" column moved from the school to the club . . .

To this day the atmosphere of blackmail and intimidation reigns in the village. The interrogations continue.

### **The Ternopil Region**

Last year a group of people, in particular from the armature factory, were arrested in Ternopil and sentenced on political charges. Their names are unknown; only the name of engineer *Yaroslav Skyba* is mentioned.



In the Ternopil region in November 1970 the KGB arrested young poet *Horbal* and an artist from the Borshchiv region Ivan Balan. It is known that in connection with this case searches were also conducted in Chernivtsi, where one of the arrested lives and works. The grounds for the arrest and the future fate of the arrested are not known.

#### **Chernivtsi**

Second-year student at the philologic faculty *Yaroslav Pavulyak* has been expelled from the university.

Ya. Pavulyak managed to get Vasyl Symonenko's "Diary" somewhere and was reading it to students in the dormitory. January 11th had officially been the evening of Vasyl Symonenko at the university. Delivering a lecture, the instructor of the university Dobryanskyi was indignant at the fact that abroad excerpts from Symonenko's diary have been selected tendentiously and are being used for propaganda. Ya. Pavulyak asked to speak. He said that the best way to deprive bourgeois propaganda of the means of subsistence is to publish the "Diary" of Symonenko here without any kind of cuts. Ya. Pavulyak at the same time declared that he had read this "Diary" and told of its contents.

Interrogations were immediately started at the university. Students were asked to whom did Pavulyak read the diary, had it been a typewritten copy, or a book published in Munich. They threatened those who heard Pavulyak in the dormitory and did not inform about it. Pavulyak himself was threatened with jail and expelled from the university.

It has become known that the Ukrainian political prisoners in Mordovia have greeted with unanimous indignation the arrest of V. Moroz nine months after his release and the inhuman 14-year sentence for writing publicistic articles. It is known that political prisoner *Mykhailo Horyn* (Camp No. 19) called a several-day hunger strike as a sign of protest against the mock trial of Moroz.

(*Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald) No. 4)

#### **Lithuanians in Russian Captivity**

ALBINAS TELKINIS, b. 1924, assist. professor at the Kaunas Institute of Botany. Arrested on Sept. 29, 1969, and condemned on April 6, 1970, to three years of hard labor at a camp. He was accused of drafting and planning to distribute a letter, "slandering the party's agricultural economic policies". In fact, all he did was to help an old peasant to draft a list of his complaints. The peasant never mailed the letter of complaints, but after his death it got into the hands of the KGB.

ALGIS STATKEVICIUS, b. 1937, former employee of the Social Research Bureau, a section of the Ministry of Finance, arrested on May 18, 1970. Accused of being the author of the books "Critique of the Communist Manifesto" and "Conclusions from Sociological Studies in Lithuania". In the middle of November, 1970, he was sent to a psychiatric hospital for compulsory treatment.

ANTANAS SESKEVICIUS, priest, tried and condemned on September 9, 1970, to one year in a hard labor camp for teaching religion to children in response to the wishes of their parents. Over one hundred priests have signed letters of protest to the Central Committees of the Communist Party in Lithuania and of the Soviet Union.

Significantly, the "crimes" for which these Lithuanians have been sent to forced labor camps — writing economic and sociological analyses or teaching religion to children — are among the rights expressly guaranteed by the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which the Soviet Union is a signatory.

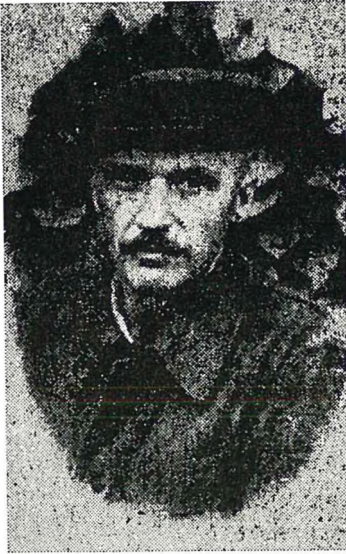
(ELTA)

\* \* \*

Sometime in June *Andrei Amalrik* was transferred from prison to a concentration camp in Kolyma in Magadansk Oblast.

## Mykhailo Soroka Dies After 30 Years in Russian Prisons and Concentration Camps

Mykhailo Soroka, an unyielding fighter for the sovereign, united Ukrainian state, a hero and martyr for the rights of the Ukrainian nation and individual, died on June 16, 1971 in a Mordovian concentration camp.



The late Mykhailo Soroka was born in 1911; he acquired university education in Prague and was an engineer by profession. He was a political prisoner for many years, first in the Polish, then in Russian Bolshevik prisons. For his loyalty to the ideas of Ukraine's liberation and for his nationalist convictions he suffered for over 30 years in the prisons and concentration camps of the occupying regimes. The heroic road of his suffering has been the following: in 1940 he was arrested and sentenced by the Russian occupation regime to eight years of imprisonment, which he spent in prisons and concentration camps, on charges of membership on the executive board of revolutionary OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). In 1949 he returned to Lviv, but was shortly arrested for the second time and deported to the Krasnoyarsk region. He gained "freedom" in 1951, but was arrested for the third time a year later (1952) on charges of belonging to "underground camp organization" and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. All these unusually cruel Russian convictions deprived M. Soroka of freedom for 38 years. Until his death of a martyr he was confined to Camp No. 17-a in Mordovia.

The late Mykhailo Mykhailovych Soroka — an example of heroic Ukrainian individual, lived only for the idea of his unsubdued nation, served it faithfully and died in the service of its noble ideals. In spite of persecution and tortures in prisons and concentration camps, he courageously rejected all demands of his executioners to condemn or at least to renounce his ideals — the sovereign united Ukrainian state, and did not deny either his nationalist convictions, or the dignity of the Ukrainian man. He was one of the infatuated ones of modern Ukraine, whom Moscow fears so much and tries to destroy.

On June 15th news had been received from him, and on the next day he was no longer alive. He was buried in the camp cemetery. None of his relatives attended the funeral. His wife — the hero and martyr Kateryna Zarytska-Soroka — is now confined to concentration camp No. 6 in Mordovia.

Mykhailo Soroka's death of a martyr is the next infamous crime of Moscow, a new proof of Russian homicide and genocide, which is a barbarous tool of Russian domination over the subjugated peoples, in particular the Ukrainian people.

Eternal glory to the unbroken martyr and fighter!



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W. Mykula, B. A. (Lond.), B. Litt. (Oxon.)

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RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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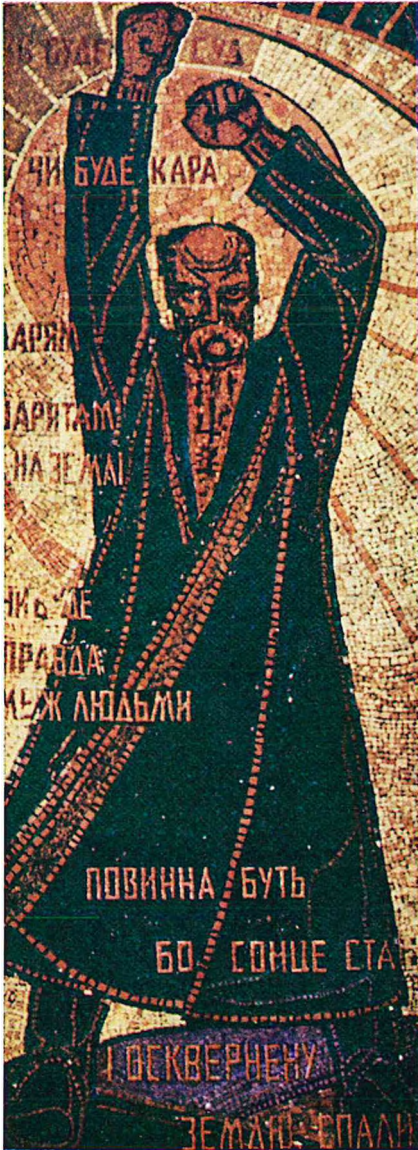
*This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in the Russian concentration camps, including recent works by Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced by the Russians to 14 years of imprisonment for voicing his opinions.*

Price: \$ 2.50

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



## On the First Anniversary of the Brutal Murder of Alla Horska

“Prophet” — mosaic.

*A segment of the monumental stained-glass window for the main hall of Kyiv University by Ukrainian artists Panas Zalyvakeha, Alla Horska and Lyudmyla Semykina which was destroyed by Russian chauvinists.*



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## To the Conscience of the Free World

Horrifying news about the perfidious, intensified terror in Ukraine and other subjugated countries and in the concentration camps of Siberia with respect to prisoners — fighters for the rights of the individual and nation — is reaching us through various channels. The underground of the revolutionary OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) is sounding an alarm in the face of plans prepared by the KGB *to liquidate young creators of culture and defenders of freedom of speech and conscience*, who are in no way connected with the revolutionary OUN. The revolutionary OUN which acts in extreme secrecy, is conscious of all dangers and threats which confront its members. The revolutionary liberation organizations do not recognize any constitution of the USSR or the so-called “union republics” and uncompromisingly combat everything which has any relation to the occupying power, and are invariably ready to make sacrifices. But they are troubled by the unusually barbarous attacks of Moscow upon the fighters and patriots, the noble creators of cultural values, who courageously and openly stand up in defense of eternal values of their countries, without being members of any underground organization, just being honest and high-principled patriots of their homelands and individuals who do not want to degrade their own dignity and the worthiness of man.

The unprecedented murder of an artist — the heroine and martyr *Alla Horska*, who was treacherously murdered by the KGB, having allegedly arranged a quarrel with her father-in-law, the obvious murder of the *prisoner Mykhailo Soroka*, who spent nearly 30 years in prisons and concentration camps, but who did not want to deny his own self and his native land, the now confirmed murder of *Vasyl Symonenko*, who was given an injection of poison after which he died suddenly, the death “in freedom” of numerous Ukrainian patriots, who having been in hospitals, have received injections of poison . . . Their names shall be made public in due time.

We received the following confirmed, horrifying report: prisoners who are due to be released by their executioners from the Mordovian and other concentration camps and prisons are taken to the camp infirmary several months prior to their release (approx. three months) because of this or that minor or major illness and are given a slow-acting poisonous injection of some disease (most likely leukemia). After his release the prisoner dies a “natural” death . . .

What is the purpose of all this? Stashynskyi had already testified that the Russians are aware of the importance of the symbols of inflexibility in the struggle for liberation, in particular among the Ukrainian people and therefore their aim is to *destroy* these symbols physically, in order that they do not appear among the people, in order to extinguish the aspirations and faith of the people, in order to oppress the people.

Therefore, in line with Moscow's plans, Mykhailo Soroka had to die, for he had grown into a symbol of firmness and indestructibility, into a symbol of a disciple of truth, freedom, justice, whose name was echoed throughout Ukraine and across the USSR, in all prisons and concentration camps, as a man of firm character, as a patriot of his unsubdued Ukraine. On June 15, 1971 news had been received from him, and on June 16th he no longer lived.



Vasyl Symonenko died a violent death; he was also murdered treacherously by an injection. Alla Horska, healthy, of turbulent disposition, bursting with energy, was killed by the KGB by simulating a family "conflict". But in fact this was an outright murder by the KGB!

We know how the food of Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko and M. Horyn had been systematically poisoned. A protest action throughout the world had put an end to this notorious method of systematic murder, but Russia changed to the concealed, base, refined methods of "enlightened" terror. People with a mild illness are taken to a hospital before their release and are injected with a poisonous substance and these people die a "natural" death "in freedom". The news which we received from Mordovia is alarming indeed!

Let us recall the unpleasant incident of extradition of a scientist by the English to the Russians, who received an injection during a "hearing" staged by the KGB agents of the Russian Embassy. The English handed him over not because he wanted it, or because they wished to do it — but because they could not give him an antidote immediately in order to save his life. Not wishing to have him die in several hours in "freedom" among the English, they delivered him to the KGB — the Soviet Embassy. In the plane he received a counterinjection and thus his life was saved for "interrogations". Let us recall Stashynskyi, who having fired a poisonous substance — potassium cyanide gas, took an antidote immediately so as not to be killed by the cyanide himself. Russia is a laboratory of means to murder people. The West is not even researching antidotes to save the lives of those who have been systematically destined to die by Moscow. And now in the span of approximately three months some poison or bacteria are being injected into the prisoners in Mordovia and in other concentration camps and prisons, so that the prisoners who remained unbroken, would die a "natural" death in "freedom".

Having received this frightening news from a Mordovian concentration camp we call on the public of the free world to intensify the campaign in defense of the prisoners, the cultural leaders, the martyrs. We call upon the young people to take vengeance upon the Russians for these methods of extermination of prisoners, unprecedented in human history. Mykhailo Soroka is the victim of these methods. Vasyl Symonenko is their victim as well. Alla Horska is the victim of the KGB. If someone released from prison or a concentration camp dies a "natural" death tomorrow — a short time after his release — this was an act of the KGB. When those suspect of activity in defense of human and national rights die suddenly upon leaving the hospital — this is also the work of the KGB.

The people of the West must help the liberation struggle in every possible way — by actions of political, moral and *material* nature. It is very unpleasant to acknowledge that we are leading comfortable lives here while there the martyrs and heroes are suffering and fighting for the cause of their respective countries and Christ. Have we done everything in their defense? Is our conscience clear on that score? Have we helped that struggle, unparalleled in the history of mankind, politically and morally? No, and once again no! The free world is not fulfilling its duty toward martyrs and heroes properly. Let constant pangs of conscience accompany free men to their dying day that they are not fulfilling to the end their duty towards those who are suffering there for their subjugated homelands and Christ.

## Free Asians Must Defend Themselves

*(Excerpts from an Address delivered by His Excellency General Jesus Vargas, Secretary-General of SEATO, before WACL/APACL delegates, Quezon City, 25 July 1971.)*

It is of some note that the free countries of Asia have been steadily undergoing fundamental changes in their relations and attitudes towards Red China and other Communist countries. I refer to the gradual shifts which have taken place, in so short a span of time, in the mood and manner of Asia's capitals concerning their relations with Communist China. Partly obscured by the distractions of the Indo-China imbroglio, these changes have recently been catalyzed by the recent dramatic improvement in Sino-American relations.

Although fighting continues in Kmer, Laos and South Vietnam, that war has been relatively muted compared to a few years ago, and the two century-old Western military preponderance is gradually fading out. The Thais, one of America's staunchest allies, were among the first Asian people to advocate a dialogue with Communist China. Thailand has established trade relations with some 10 Communist countries, and only recently it signed a trade agreement with the Soviet Union. True, Indonesia's onetime "non-alignment" has miraculously given way to normal relations with the West following the abortive Communist coup of 1965, but Djakarta has led the only all-Asian effort so far aimed at pressuring foreign troops out of Kmer and the rest of Indo-China. Additionally, the Indonesian Government recently commenced talking of a possible normalization of relations with Peking. Singapore has firm and inevitable economic links with the Communists. It allows the Communist Chinese to operate a major bank in its territory and permits to call on its port elements of the Soviet Navy which, in the words of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew himself, could be "a useful balancing force" to the increasing Chinese and Japanese power in the area. With the assistance of intermediaries such as Rumania and other third party countries, Ma-

aysia — a survivor of a Peking-supported insurgency — has begun indirect negotiations aimed at the establishment of trade and diplomatic relations in exchange for an undertaking on Peking's part to stop supporting the hold-out Communist guerrillas still active in Malaysian territory. Here in the Philippines, while the Government has continued successfully to hold in check a resurgent Communist insurgency, it has encouraged efforts by third parties and unofficial representatives to open channels to Red China.

Taken in isolation, these developments might appear simply as exploratory initiatives on the part either of the governments or private parties concerned or of the Communists themselves. But they do add up to some fairly definable trend which we cannot simply ignore.

I suggest that the sum total of these changes manifests itself among free Asians in a much more subtle view of the Indo-China war; a fairly confident acceptance by them, as opposed to sheer resignation, of the rapidly diminishing Western military presence in the region and, for some countries at least, a perceptibly receding fear about Peking. More than that, the patent changes in the attitudes of free Asians indicate, in no nebulous terms, that substantial degrees of further change are possible, perhaps inescapable, in Southeast Asia in the next decade or so.

The most potentially revolutionary development in this direction in many years was, perhaps, the recent limited "detente" between Communist China and the United States. This dramatic development, which envisages a visit to Peking by President Nixon within the next several months, has lent itself to various interpretations and has given genesis to wide speculation as to its effect upon the peace and stability of the region and the world at large.



Outside the fact that this development represents a refreshing break in an otherwise dull and dreary stalemate in the relations between the two countries, there are definitely new risks involved. There is no denying the fact, for instance, that the Chinese Communists are not prepared abruptly to change their nature and goals, let alone to renounce their support of Communist parties endemic to the several developing Asian countries and of their so-called "wars of liberation."

All kinds of difficult possibilities have flowed and several searching questions have followed close on the heels of the initial Sino-American "dialogue". As a world power for once unisolated, what role would Communist China assume in world affairs? Would a calmer Chinese attitude influence the war in Indo-China? In the wake of Peking's adamant opposition to current US policy which regards Taiwan and the Mainland as "two Chinas", and in the wake, further, of Peking's demand for the removal of all American troops from Taiwan as a pre-condition for improved relations, how will the United States resolve the question of Nationalist China? Should the American Government recognize Communist China as "the China", at the expense of the Nationalists on Taiwan, how would the other free peoples of Asia and the Pacific react — peoples who have over the years cast their lot with the Western Powers, and grappled with Communist-inspired or -directed subversion and insurgency?

It is to my mind imperative that the eventual solutions to the many complex problems that have convulsed US-Chinese relations during the past two decades should satisfy certain vital pre-conditions. Since the pace of the war in Indo-China will obviously remain a major factor in determining the pace of a Sino-American rapprochement, any American action in the embattled Peninsula should not jeopardize the freedom and the self-determination of the South Vietnamese people nor should it compromise the security of the rest of

the free peoples of Asia. Any measure aimed at bringing to an end the impasse between China and the United States over Taiwan and at eventually bringing Peking into the United Nations should not unduly prejudice the position of Nationalist China in Asia or in the family of nations. And perhaps most important to free Asians who, after all, must themselves be guaranteed an even chance to prosper and be able to keep their hard-earned freedom, Communist China must, once and for all, cease supporting local Communist parties and their struggles.

Unlike Communist China, whose pre-occupation has been to aid home-grown Communists in their subversive and insurgent operations, the Soviet Union has sought generally to attain its goals through diplomatic, cultural and economic activities in order to bring about conditions in the region which favour ultimate political domination. It has supplemented these activities in recent months by enhancing its military potential in the form of naval units.

As it has succeeded to do in the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union has established a substantial naval presence in the Indian Ocean, an area in which Western naval dominance has never in the past been challenged. This does not only dramatize the fact that the Soviet Navy has undergone a remarkable growth during the past 15 years; it underscores, chiefly, the growing importance of the Indian Ocean in terms of the prevailing global situation. This is not to say that, at its present level of deployment, the Soviet Navy in the Indian Ocean is a positive threat to the countries surrounding it. I do contend, however, that if the Soviet Union were to acquire the capability of deploying ships rapidly and of sustaining sizable naval forces in the area, over long periods, either by the re-opening of the Suez Canal or by the acquisition of adequate shore facilities, it is quite possible that such naval presence would be increased to an extent that it could, indeed, pose a significant military threat. Furthermore, while this Soviet military presence appears concentrated in the

Indian Ocean at present, the possibility exists, and persists, that the trend might be extended to Southeast Asian waters.

The contemporary Asian scene has also witnessed substantial, although at least for the present not as deeply threatening, changes in the great-power situation. Scarred by the Vietnam experience and impelled by domestic problems, the United States is in the process of scaling down the profile of its military presence in this part of the world and is determined to be less fully involved in the area in the future. And while the decision of a previous British Government to withdraw its military forces from the Far East has since been modified, the extent ultimately of that presence will very likely fall short of the original British presence before the pull-out decision was made. Accompanying the fantastic growth of Japan's economic presence throughout Asia is its proclaimed intention to play "a leading role" in foreign non-military aid.

Although now partially recovered from the failures and the nuances of the cultural revolution, Red China continues to be festered by internal problems and to be rankled by friction on its borders with the Soviet Union. The Sino-Soviet conflict, which has permeated the entire spectrum of world Communist strategy, persists and continues to resist resolution. One cannot, however, discount the possibility of the two major Communist powers eventually reconciling their differences and joining hands anew in the pursuit of their essentially identical objectives.

What is perhaps the most encouraging positive development in Asia in recent years is the new "area spirit" which has seen Asian initiatives being applied effectively to Asian problems. Most Asians at present display a steadily growing sense of national pride and identity, as well as greater self-reliance. They can now rely, with increasing confidence, on their own efforts and resources for much of their security and economic growth, either as individual nations or in concert with one

another within blueprints for regional co-operation which they themselves have worked out.

Free Asians must realize that their survival depends on their willingness and their capacity to take new and vigorous initiatives aimed at achieving stability not only within their own territories but beyond them.

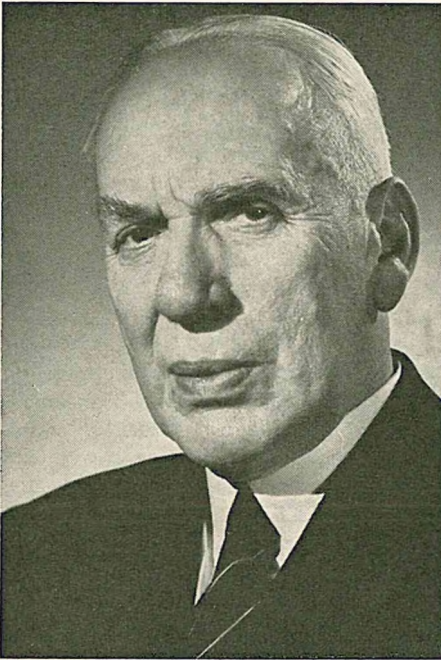
I am happy to report that, on the basis of our experience in SEATO during the past year, there is today among free Asian countries faced with the threat of Communist subversion and insurgency, encouraging signs of a desire to collaborate more closely with one another in countering this type of Communist aggression. These countries have increasingly displayed enthusiasm that knowledge and expertise in this vital field be exchanged and that experience be shared. SEATO's objectives as set out in 1954 have remained valid over the years, and they address themselves precisely to the existing requirements for coordinated action against Communist aggression as we know it in Asia.

For the free peoples of Asia, the goal is simple: the area should develop largely through their own efforts and along lines of their own choosing, with such assistance as it requires from outside countries but with meddling from no one. This will require that every Asian is, foremost and above all, a realist — possessed of enough realism not only to recognize the hard facts of the peculiar problems of the region but also, and more imperative, collectively to apply all the resources at their disposal to the effective resolution of those problems. The oft-repeated thesis, subscribed to by many, that Asians have all along been as pawns on a chessboard which moved at the beck or whim of the Big Powers, is highly debatable. But the sooner free Asians recognize that they can neither delegate nor abdicate responsibility for their development and defense, the more effectively they can serve the ends of peace and freedom not only in Asia but throughout the world.



# Professor Birger Nerman

(1888—1971)



Professor Birger Nerman, renowned Swedish archaeologist, energetic champion of freedom for the subjugated peoples and a great friend of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, passed away silently in Stockholm on August 22, 1971, at the age of 82.

Birger Nerman was born in Norrköping, Sweden on October 6, 1888 and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Uppsala in 1913. He was appointed Assistant Professor of Archaeology at Uppsala University in 1919. In 1923—25 Birger Nerman was Professor of Archaeology at Tartu University in Estonia. This period led to Prof. Nerman's deep interest in and warm sympathy for the Baltic peoples. In 1938—1954 he served as director of the National Historical Museum in Stockholm.

Prof. Nerman directed archaeological excavations all over Sweden, in particular in Gothland, as well as in the Baltic states and Germany. He published more than 300 scholarly works, including over 25 treatises. His most recent major works are "Grobin-Seeburg, Ausgrabungen und Funde" (1958) and a monumental archaeological treatise on Gothland (1969).

Professor Nerman was President of the Swedish Antiquarian Society, honorary member of the Viking Society in London and the Permanent Council of International Archaeological Congress, member of the Swedish Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities and the Academy of Sciences of Finland, and honorary and corresponding member of various European literary and scientific societies.

Aside from his scholastic activities, all through his life Professor Nerman was one of the most active and energetic champions in Scandinavia of freedom and independence of peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism. He was the chairman of the so-called June Committee which together with ABN organized in 1964 the famous anti-Krushchov campaign which echoed the name of Ukraine and other subjugated countries throughout the world and forced Khrushchov to attack Yaroslav Stetsko, the action's organizer, who as part of the action placed a wreath on the sarcophagus of Charles XII, the ally of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the latter's struggle against Russian domination in the early 18th century, and delivered an appropriate speech on the occasion. Being a personal friend of the Swedish king, it was Prof. Nerman who intervened with the royal family for permission to lay a wreath on the sacrophagus of Charles XII. He also published many books, pamphlets and articles on the subject of the subjugated peoples.

Prof. Nerman was chairman of the Baltic Committee and the Swedish Freedom Council, which carried out a number of freedom campaigns. He was a founding member and the first chairman of the Mare Balticum Society. Moreover, Prof. Nerman was Honorary Chairman of the Swedish Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League and of the Scandinavian Section of the International Committee for the Defense of Christian Culture.

In recognition of his merits in defense of Christian civilization, Prof. Nerman was made a Knight Commander of the Sovereign Imperial Order of Constantine the Great.

Prof. Birger Nerman maintained friendly contacts with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council.

We held Prof. Birger Nerman in great esteem as a devoted friend of the subjugated peoples and as a courageous fellow fighter for their freedom. We shall preserve his memory in our thoughts with gratitude.

## **Fifth Archiepiscopal Synod of Ukrainian Catholic Church Holds Sessions in Rome**



*Joseph Cardinal Slipyi*

### **Communique**

**"After the solemn consecration of the Ukrainian Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and the solemn commemoration of the 375th anniversary of the Union of Brest and the 325th anniversary of the Union of Uzhhorod, with the participation of 15 Ukrainian hierarchs under the leadership of His Beatitude Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyi, the Ukrainian hierarchs commenced last evening, October 31, their Synodal sessions and ask the Holy Father for Apostolic Blessings for their work. Presidium of the Synod."**



On October 31, 1971, Joseph Cardinal Slipyi, the Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, convoked a Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Rome. The Synod was called in order to set up an autonomous government with patriarchal powers for the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is an Eastern Rite Church which acknowledges Papal supremacy. However, unlike several other Eastern Rite or Uniate Churches, the Ukrainians do not have the right to appoint their own bishops or exercise other forms of self-government.

Another of the underlying disputes between the Ukrainian Church and the Vatican is the claim of the Ukrainian Catholics that the Vatican has neglected to speak out against the suppression of their Church in the Soviet Union, where there are an estimated six million of its faithful. The Vatican is accused of disregarding the rights and welfare of the Catholics in Ukraine for the sake of drawing closer to Moscow.

Joseph Cardinal Slipyi, 79, spent 18 years in Russian concentration camps prior to his release in 1963, following an agreement reached between the late Nikita Khrushchov and the late Pope John XXIII.

The plight of the Ukrainian Catholics in the Russian colonial empire was also called to the attention of the World Synod of Bishops in Rome in late October in a speech by Cardinal Slipyi. In his address the Cardinal stated that "We are impeded


because of Church diplomacy", referring to the Vatican's policy of coexistence and cooperation with the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

"Ukrainian Catholics have sacrificed rivers of blood and mountains of bodies because of their loyalty to the Church", Cardinal Slipyi said. "And they still suffer severe persecutions. What is worse, there is nobody to defend them."

On November 1st, the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church sent a telegram to Pope Paul VI, informing His Holiness of this event and asking for his Apostolic blessing.

The Synod was attended by 16 Ukrainian bishops, with the absence of four who were seriously ill. As the result of the deliberations a Permanent Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was created, with His Beatitude Yosyf Cardinal Slipyi as its head, with de facto patriarchal powers. Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of Canada was named his deputy. Archbishop Ivan Buchko (Europe), Metropolitan Amvroziy Senyshyn (United States) and Bishop Andriy Sapelyak (Argentina) were elected as members of the Synod.

The recent developments within the Catholic Church and at the Synod of Bishops have aroused much interest in the news media of the free world and reports about these events have resulted in much sympathy for Ukrainians all over the world. Even greater interest and enthusiasm has been awakened among the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.



*Compliments of the season and sincere wishes  
for the coming year to all our friends and readers of  
ABN-Correspondence.*

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

## MEMORANDUM

From: Yaroslav Stetsko

Subject: *The Ukrainian Catholic Church and Its Patriarchate*

*The Ukrainian Catholic Church, united with the Apostolic See over 300 years ago (1595), is the largest Church among the Catholic Oriental Churches. Before the Second World War it had over 5-million faithful both in Ukraine and abroad, and even at the present time 90 % of its faithful in the Soviet Union still preserve their Catholic faith in the underground.*

*Outside of Ukraine the Ukrainian Catholic Church has its Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyi "who presides over an entire particular church or rite" (Council Vat. II, Decr. Orientalium Ecclesiarum, n. 10), as well as two provinces in the U.S.A., one province in Canada, one bishopric in Czecho-Slovakia, in Hungary and in Yugoslavia, and the Apostolic Exarchates in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, England, France and Germany.*

*"Since the patriarchal office in the Eastern Churches is a traditional form of government, the Sacred Ecumenical Synod ardently desires that new patriarchates should be erected where there is need. Their establishment is reserved either to an ecumenical council or to the Roman Pontiff" (Ibid., n. 11. Translation in The Jurist, vol. XXV, No. 2, April 1965, p. 204).*

*On the basis of this conciliar statement the Ukrainians in the free world expressed their desire to achieve the full organization of their Catholic Church by the establishment of the patriarchate as the ecclesiastical organization required by the Oriental discipline.*

*The synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchs in the free world, held in Rome in 1969, presented the formal petition to the Holy Father, asking him to establish the Ukrainian patriarchate, since outside of the ecumenical council only he could do it (v. n. 11 above).*

*But the petition was declined because of the present situation. This evoked astonishment among the Ukrainian hierarchy, clergy and faithful, especially since the petition did not concern something extraordinary, but only the fulfillment of the conciliar decree.*

*The astonishment grew even greater when the great contribution of Ukrainian victims toward the reunion of the Churches was taken into consideration. All Ukrainian Catholic Bishops in Ukraine, after the occupation by the Russian Communists, were imprisoned and died as martyrs and confessors of the Catholic faith and for the Union of Churches as desired by Christ. Among the Ukrainian Bishops was also Metropolitan of Lviv, Andrew Szeptyckyj, Servant of God (whose process of beatification has already started). His successor, now Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, Archbishop Major, was imprisoned in Siberia for 18 years for the same reasons.*

*The above victims and martyrs constitute a treasure of the entire Catholic Church in regard to the reunion of Churches and constitute the moral basis for the elevation of the Ukrainian Church, which produced so many heroic martyrs and confessors, to the top of its canonical structure according to the Oriental discipline by the establishment of the Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate.*



## Ukrainians in Great Britain Appeal to the World Synod of Bishops

To the Fathers of the World Synod of Bishops,  
The Vatican, Rome.  
Your Beatitudes,  
Your Eminences,  
Your Excellencies,

The entire Christian World places great hopes and expectations on the World Synod of Bishops. These days, in response to the Holy Father's call, prayers are offered to the Lord that your synodal deliberations and decisions bring beneficial results for the entire Christian Church. Among this ecumenical offering of prayers, prayers of the Ukrainian People of God are not lacking. This people of God, apart from reasons common with all the Christians in the world, has in addition its own reasons, filled with pains and sufferings, to regard hopefully the Synod of Bishops as "one of the important hours for the Church", as was termed by the Holy Father.

We know that the Synod has chosen two themes for its deliberations and decisions, namely: "De Sacerdotio ministeriali" (the priestly ministry) and "De justitia in mundi" (justice in the world). The first theme, undoubtedly, is essentially an internal Church problem, and as such is considered in accordance with the criteria of the Christian Revelation, Church Tradition and pastoral needs. On the other hand, the second subject, "justice in the world", in our humble opinion, or more precisely the attitude which the Synod will take towards it in its conferences, and above all in its decisions, will also overstep the boundaries of the Synod, the Church, and will concern all men to a greater or lesser degree. From the declaration of the principles, and even more so from the practical instructions regarding the achievement of justice in the world, they will recognize the spirit of the Church.

We, representatives of the organized Ukrainian community, believe that the Synod will profoundly and from all possible aspects consider the real situation of justice in the world, its comprehension in the

light of Christ's Gospel and the doctrine of the Church, will issue instructions for practical action in its realization, and will certainly emphasize the appropriate places of the encyclicals: "Mater et Magistra", "Pacem in Terris", "Gaudium et Spes", and "Populorum Progressio".

We also believe that the world will hear the voice of the Synod of Bishops in this matter, as the voice of the authentic Church which the Divine Founder has made the "sign" and source of God's presence among the people. The following prophecy has been said about Messiah: "I have put my Spirit up on him, he will bring forth justice to the nations... He will not fail, or be discouraged, till he has established justice in the earth" (Is., 42, 1-4 RSV). Yes, Christ came into the world to free men from any enslavement. His Church has to and must continue to carry on this cause. In our times, in particular, she must be a "sign", visible to everyone, of the realization of justice in accordance with the principle, "give to each his own".

Sympathizing with all the wronged, enslaved and humiliated people and peoples in the world, we feel it our special duty to ask the Synod to take a clear position, in accordance with the principles of Christian teaching, with regard to that terrible total enslavement of man and peoples, which had been established by the Soviet Union, and in fact by the godless Russian empire. According to our deepest conviction we admit that, if in discussing various forms of political, class, racial, religious and cultural enslavement and injustice in the world, the Synod would fail to condemn all these forms of oppression in the most modern slave-owning empire in the world, Russia, the Synod would show that it fears people more (blackmail, intimidation, provocations, etc.), than it fears God. Here we are reminded of the words said by Christ's disciples, Peter and John: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to listen to you (people) rather than to God?" (Acts, 4, 19).

We remind the Synod of Bishops that, having enslaved Ukraine, Soviet Russia has surpassed in its perfidy the most cruel tsarist oppression of the Ukrainian people and its Church. In the 1930s Stalin and his henchmen have murdered (starved to death) about 7 million Ukrainians, and the present-day Kremlin potentates, to whom, at present, unfortunately, the officially recognized Russian Orthodox Church serves as a tool, have resorted to spiritual genocide — by means of a “diabolic alchemy”. They are trying to mutilate spiritually the entire nation, that is to create “homo sovieticus” from a Ukrainian, a human being without the feeling of personality, a man-slave. This man, however, like all men, has been created in God’s image! On their own land, God-given to them, the Ukrainian people are forbidden to speak their own language, they are forbidden even with a word to state publicly that which is “formally” allegedly guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, i.e. the right to independent State life within its own ethnic frontiers; a Ukrainian is not even permitted to say loudly that he loves his Ukraine, because this, in the opinion of the Russian occupier, is a crime, “bourgeois nationalism”; a Ukrainian may and must only love Moscow! The powers in the rest of the world know well what is happening in Ukraine but keep silent, because this is demanded by “practical politics”.

Have the Fathers of the Synod kept silent about it, too, those who deliberate on justice in the world? We pray to God that He give you, Most Reverend Fathers, Princes of the Church, the courage of Christ’s Apostles. Do not be silent, we beg you, for “qui tacet consentire videtur”! Speak your authoritative word, that Christ’s Church stands up in defence of all the peoples, that she desires peace in the world, but that peace must not be the fruit of violence, but a fruit of justice. Issue your appeal to the world forum demanding that the Russian empire, the most cruel in the world, be dismembered in the spirit of justice for every nation enslaved in it. If such a dismemberment does not take place, Russia will always remain a great danger

to the world.

Last year, Ukrainian Catholics throughout the world marked the sad 25th anniversary of the arrest of their entire hierarchy in their native country. It was carried out by the Russian secret police whose agencies are, as a matter of fact, undermining all the countries of the world. This was the first cruel step in the plan to force the Ukrainian Catholics under the supremacy of the state-sponsored Moscow patriarch. The subsequent fate of our Catholic Church is known to the entire world. A living witness of its sufferings and its living symbol is its Primate, His Beatitude Metropolitan Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyi Confessor of Faith.

A similar fate befell earlier the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church whose hierarchs, headed by the Metropolitan Archbishop Lypkivskiy and Boreckiy, were killed by the atheistic Russian regime.

May we remind you, Most Reverend Fathers, that since 1595 the Ukrainian Catholic Church united with the Apostolic See has been the strongest part of Eastern Christianity in union with the successors of the Apostle Peter. Many martyrs and confessors of faith have given their lives for this unity. Cardinal Joseph Slipyi spent 18 years in Russian prisons for this unity. Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskiy, hundreds of priests and thousands of faithful are suffering in prisons for this unity which nevertheless is preserved in modern catacombs throughout Ukraine. It is known in the Church circles that the Russian Orthodox Church, at its Synod in Zagorsk, “legalized” the crime she committed together with the secret police when they destroyed the visible structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, by “abolishing” in a brazen manner, the Union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with Rome. But, to our great regret, we have not heard so far of any condemnation of this illegal criminal act by the Apostolic See. Therefore we appeal to you, Fathers of the Synod: condemn before the world this injustice inflicted on the Ukrainian Catholic Church!



Some people explain that "ecumenism demands caution with Moscow so as not to upset her". However, we state with deepest conviction before God that ecumenism cannot be created by tolerating lawlessness, crimes and all that derives from them. Yes, they can be pardoned in the name of Christian love, but first there must be repentance and satisfaction of justice.

It is painful for us to state the fact that ecumenism is not understood in the sense of seeking unity with the catacomb Churches including the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The world knows that although our Church is persecuted, and humiliated, it is alive and militant. Nevertheless, it needs sympathy, understanding and concrete help from the entire Christian world. In particular, at the present moment the Apostolic See ought to come with an all-out assistance to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In the spirit of traditions of the Eastern Churches, in the spirit of decisions of the Ecumenical Council Vatican II, in view of the wishes of the entire hierarchy and the People of God, the time has come to complete the structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with a patriarchate, because everything points to the fact that only a patriarchate can preserve the Ukrainian Catholic Church in diaspora and to prepare it for the great mission in our enslaved country. We address you, Most Reverend Fathers of the Synod: kindly beg

the Holy Father to listen to our pleas to erect the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate.

We know that the difficulties, possible in this case, do not concern the essence of the matter, because there is a legal basis for the erection of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate and justifications commensurable with it. It is true that we are alarmed because we know that Moscow is taking many direct and indirect steps in order not to permit the erection of the Ukrainian Patriarchate. The world knows, however, that Moscow is always against everything which does not agree with its imperial interests, and in the religious sphere — which does not agree with the interests of the "Third Rome". If this is so, then should its spirit of violence also be active in the Catholic Church, too, from the positions of the "Third Rome"? We are reluctant to believe that. We believe, however, that the Synod of Bishops, assisted by the prayers of millions of Christians, will be a genuine voice of the Church of Christ, and that not politics, not diplomacy or other human methods and factors, will be its strength, but her Divine Founder who said: "I am the way, the truth and the life".

We remain with the expressions of our filial devotion,

Yours faithfully,

**The Committee for the Patriarchate**



*Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association demonstrating in front of the Russian Embassy in London on August 26, 1971 to mourn the death of Mykhailo Soroka in a Mordovian concentration camp.*

## A Message by Prince Irakly Bagration to the Georgian People

*This year half a century will have passed from the time that our beloved country was annexed to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

*This saddening fact gives me occasion to speak to all my brothers, as a Georgian and Chief of the House of Georgia, direct descendent of the Kings, Bagrat IV, the Uniter of Georgia, David the Rebuilder, Thamar the Great, George the Brilliant, Wakhtang VI the Legislator, and Irakly II, the last ruler of our national monarchy, all these forgers of greatness and defenders of independence in our beloved Georgia.*

*Fifty years have gone by since Georgia ceased to exist as a free and sovereign nation, and although, in theory, we have been able to retain our nationality and a few special laws, the fact cannot be altered that since then we have been under the inexorable iron rule of Moscow.*

*To all Georgians, and especially to me, the only great consolation and permanent hope has been to see that in spite of this past half century our customs, our religion and culture have been kept pure and untainted, these traits which are the true essence and flavor of our personality, and it is for this reason that there shall finally dawn the day when our people will again recover their sovereignty and freedom.*

*Certainly, nobody questions the fact that, during this last half century, the Georgian people have acquired — like all people throughout the world — a state of better material well-being by availing themselves of inventions which have become part of everybody's life, such as television, radio, etc; yet these are but the result of modern times, and in no way an achievement of a regime which is completely alien to the way of living and feeling of us Georgians who have always been, and still are, jealously aware and anxiously conscious of our freedom and complete sovereignty.*

*It is for all of us, both those that still live at home as well as those of us who are forced to live dispersed throughout the world, the only consolation and hope to know that our people remain united:*

*United in our culture, of which Shota Rustaveli still is the biggest exponent and symbol; united in our history; united in our language; united in our religion; united, at last, in our love for our country!*

*And always hope is with us that the day will come when God permits us to join our voices and cry out in union and freedom: Long live Georgia!*



*Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) demanding freedom for Valentyn Moroz. Edinburgh, Scotland, August 15, 1971.*



# A Work of Art Brutally Destroyed

From the Report on the "Discussion" about Shevchenko's Stained-glass Window\*  
at the T. H. Shevchenko University of Kyiv

April, 1964, a section of the decorative-monumental art of the Union of Artists in Ukraine. The meeting is chaired by the head of the executive bureau of the Artists' Union in the Ukr.SSR for the province of Kyiv, the meritorious art worker, V. Shatalin.

*V. Shatalin:* There seem to be many spectators. This is a closed meeting. Only members of the Union have the right to be present. We ask the rest to leave the room. (Noise and disorder as those spectators fortunate enough to have gained entrance into the room are led outside the door.)

*V. Shatalin* continues: The artists A. Horska, L. Semykina, and P. Zalyvakha made a stained-glass window in the vestibule of the University of Kyiv in honour of the 150th anniversary of the birth of T. H. Shevchenko. The window provoked a general protest and was destroyed at the directive of the party organization of the University and the Department of Higher Education. The secretary of the provincial party committee, comrade Boychenko, proposed that the Organizational Bureau of the Union inspect the window. The decisions reached by the commission (whose members were Shatalin, Friedman, and Panfylov) are that the window is an ideologically harmful phenomenon. Shevchenko is portrayed behind a grating. Their treatment of the subject is severely harsh. It does not resemble the Kobzar's portrait. We must judge the attitudes of Union members, Horska and Semykina, harshly in this responsible act and proceed severely towards them.

*L. Semykina:* I would like to inform you of the work of the artists upon the stained-glass window of Shevchenko. The term of work was short, the work itself tense. We had to work night and day and even slept on the scaffolding. We put our very souls into it. We wanted to show the grandeur,

\* See photo on the front cover.

the indestructibility, the revolutionary rebelliousness that was Shevchenko, his filial ties with mother-Ukraine, whom he defended. We wanted to determine his image by contemporary means. The barbarian destruction of our stained-glass window, which you did not even want to show the community or the students, and the brutal forcing of the commission, made up of artists and writers, from the university — all this provokes a deep indignation. We demand a censure of this vandalism and the punishment of those who allowed it. (During the appearance of L. Semykina, the artist Synytsia supported her by remarks. *V. Shatalin:* "Comrade Synytsia! You're drunk! Leave this meeting immediately!" — Synytsia is escorted from the room).

*M. Chepikh:* The stained-glass window is sloppy work. There is no picture, no forethought; the colour scheme of market flowers on silver paper; a disfigured Shevchenko, a woman. This is a disgrace, not art. This work cannot adorn the Kyiv State University.

*Vaydekov:* It is a terrible cage. Had you concentrated on the vertical, you could have avoided all this. You could have thought of various things. Instead, you followed the road of contemporary abstract generalization. You desired to make an effect, but the one you made was pitiful. It is necessary to consider the outcome more closely.

*S. Ostoshchenko:* The arms and several other minor details are not to my liking. But in general, I also do not like such unprovoked attacks, this atmosphere. It appears to me that the subject matter is appropriate. It seems that in principle this is a good thing. (Applause. The chairman: "Applause is superfluous here.")

*V. Chernikov:* Comrades, turn your attention to the stained-glass window. There

is no picture there, only Shevchenko behind a grating. What exactly is this supposed to be? I have finished.

*Vorona:* The conflict is not over the grating, but rather over the principle. One does not feel that this was done by Soviet artists during the 60's. Besides, this does not show our attitude toward Shevchenko. I question the very project. If this had been a part of a series, then it may have been justifiable, but in this case it brings about doubts.

*Dzyuban* (the chairman of the registration committee): You are aware of the fact that words were always the weapons in the struggle of the working people. Here, however, words are turned a different direction. (Laughter. Shouts of "We don't understand", and "Concretely"). You can't understand that the enemy has used Shevchenko as a weapon? Where did you find these words: "... small dumb slaves"? If

you had done this in a Ukrainian organization during seignorial Poland, it would have rung true. There, Shevchenko's words "rise up and break your chains" would have applied. Only the enemy can phrase it this way. (A voice in the hall: "Why didn't you say this sooner?").

*P. Hovdia:* The very form of the psalm is very complicated. Making use of the forms of religious psalms, Shevchenko added a revolutionary meaning. Dzyuban, although somewhat awkwardly, correctly stated that Shevchenko is taken advantage of 'over there'. We should not forget this. We don't mean to be suspicious, but by the very fact that the artists wanted to complete the work so quickly — there's something in that. If they would have approached the matter practically, they would have shown that Shevchenko's dream has been realized.

(The report stops short)

## Violations of Law Exposed

*Towards the end of 1965, after the arrest of a large group of Ukrainian intelligentsia, Alla Horska was interrogated as a witness in both Kyivan cases of Y. Hevrych and Ye. Kuznetsova, O. Martynenko, and I. Rusyn. She gave no evidence and refuted what those arrested had admitted. She was one of the few among those surprised by the sudden arrests, who adhered to her principles till the end. Her declaration of that time, about the infringements on the law exercised by the organs of the KGB during the inquiry, is well known.*

*To the Public Prosecutor  
Of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic  
From citizen Horska, A. O., residing at the address:  
City of Kyiv, 25 Ryepina Street, Apt. 6.*

### GRIEVANCE

*Please use measures against the employees of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR, who abuse their granted authority.*

*As is known, towards the end of August and at the beginning of September 1965, a large group of intelligentsia was arrested in Ukraine. Among those who are now serving time in prison are a few of my friends.*

*On December 10, I was summoned to the Committee of State Security, where the interrogator, comrade Koval, read me the testimony of the arrested Yaroslav Hevrych. It implied that I gave him some Ukrainian book, "Ukraine and Nationalism", published outside our boundaries, to read. As nothing of the sort had occurred, I categorically denied the validity of such a testimony. After this a confrontation with Hevrych was arranged for me. Obviously under pressure, and struggling within himself, Hevrych repeated his testimony but I again denied it. We were granted the opportunity to question*



one another. Noticing that Hevrych did not look very well, I asked him about his state of health, but the interrogator forbade him to answer this question, leaving it "till later". After this, I asked Yaroslav Hevrych what forced him to give false testimony against me. He answered literally as follows: "After 105 days they teach you to lie." Two interpretations of this phrase are impossible.

Y. Hevrych admitted that some sort of psychological or physical pressure had been applied which forced him to give false testimony.

Paying no attention to my insistence, this phrase was not admitted into the record of proceedings of the meeting, and Hevrych was forced to repeat the invented testimony. Present at our meeting were the interrogators, comrades Koval, Sheko, and Rybak. During the interrogation and the confrontation, the interrogators correctly and politely insulted me and threatened me with imprisonment.

On Monday, December 13, I was recalled to the KGB, where the interrogators, comrades Rybak and Sheko, presented me with an even more unfounded accusation: that supposedly, the arrested Alexander Martynenko, confirms that an extract of some book found in his dwelling, had been copied from a book he had supposedly taken from my studio, and then replaced.

Knowing from past experience how objectively the interrogators hold these confrontations, I flatly refused to say anything if a representative of the prosecutor's office was not present at such a confrontation. I again demanded that Hevrych's phrase, which could bear witness to the forced nature of his confession, be included in the record. In reply, I heard that Hevrych had said nothing of the kind (!!!).

Such conduct on the part of the KGB interrogators signifies that they do not carry out these interrogations objectively, but speed up the testimonies of the arrested and those being interrogated on the basis of ready and essential accusations. Therefore, it is necessary to provide a prosecutor's supervision over their interrogations. Besides this, from these interrogations and those in Ivano-Frankivsk about the matter of P. Zalyvakha, and also from the accounts of other friends who were summoned to be interrogated (and there are dozens of these) — I have gained the impression, that the only guilt of the imprisoned, lies in the fact that they either read or gave someone else to read a Ukrainian book published abroad.

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? I am not taking for granted the possibility of the existence of laws, on the basis of which this would be possible, for this would mean an encroachment on the principle gain of the October revolution. V. I. Lenin justly regarded that the truth does not require the protection of censorship. Yes, during Lenin's time, Shulgyn's book "The 20th Hour" and other hostile writings were allowed to be printed. Finally, the inconsistency of our censorship, when works which were not allowed yesterday are published today, and the absence of an index of prohibited books, disorients the reader, and therefore, none of these reasons can be the basis for punishment.

With regards to the aforementioned, please issue instructions on the intervention of the prosecutor's office in the actions of the KGB, in order to halt unlawful means of holding interrogations with the aid of prejudiced reports, threats, and also about the correction of admissible falsifications, namely: the inclusion into the record of the above-mentioned phrase of Ya. Hevrych.

From this time forward, I personally refuse to give any kind of testimony to the employees of the KGB, without the presence of representatives of the prosecutor's office.

16. XII. 1965

A. HORSKA

## "Crime Doesn't Begin When Crematorium Chimneys Start to Smoke"

I would like you, if you would, to consider two quotations.

The first is a simple paragraph, but to me quite terrifying in its implication. It reads:

"Crime doesn't begin only when the crematorium chimneys start to smoke; crime begins when the public becomes indifferent."

They were written by a Ukrainian, Anatol Marchenko, from the dreaded Vladimir Prison near Moscow, where he spent six years, and they formed part of his appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Commission against the treatment of Ukrainian political prisoners and the continued denial by the Russians of basic human rights for the Ukrainian people and for the other people in the nations held captive in the Soviet Russian empire.

The "crematorium chimneys" is, of course, a reference to the horrible crematoriums used for extermination of Jews and other non-Aryan peoples in the Nazi concentration camps in the 1930's; but it is also a reminder that world indifference to what was happening during the 1930's allowed this horror to develop over more than a decade to a point where it threatened the whole of the civilized world; it is a reminder too that Hitler did not invent the concentration camps, nor did he invent a policy for the extermination of whole peoples — both these affronts to civilization were invented by the Russians, and both are in use today.

Significantly, Marchenko's moving appeal came out to the West in 1968 — the year designated as Human Rights Year.

My second quotation is equally terrifying. The words were written by a Ukrainian housewife in an appeal to the Russian leader Brezhnev. Nina Karavanska addressed her appeal to Brezhnev in December 1966:

"For eighteen years", she writes, "the camp administration (that is the Mordovian concentration camp where scores of Ukrainian political prisoners are held) . . . has been unable to influence prisoner Karavanskyi, and his family is not permitted to maintain contact with him, contact permitted by law. Therefore I, the wife of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, beg that he be executed in order that my husband's long years of suffering and the constant conflicts between Karavanskyi and the administration may cease.

"I am writing this petition in full control of my senses and with full understanding of its gravity."

In an article I wrote in April, 1968, I stated that it took *two years* for Nina's tragic and moving appeal to reach the West.

And today we are concerned about the fate of yet another Ukrainian, Valentyn Moroz, teacher of history, who has been sentenced to 14 years imprisonment for daring to speak up against the present terror and intimidation which goes on in Ukraine as part of the policy of Russification which has as its aims, the complete elimination of Ukrainian history, culture and language.

In selecting these three examples, of Marchenko, Karavanskyi, and Valentyn Moroz, we have to emphasize that these three *are* merely examples of the many thousands of lives which have been shattered by the Russians in pursuing their Russification policy.

Moroz was sentenced in November last year solely because of his writings. And as his so-called trial was held in secret, we know of it only from underground sources.

His sentence — six years in prison, three years in special-regime camps, and five years in exile, is the kind of sentence usually handed out for such offences as being a



member of a subversive organization, espionage, crimes of violence, or large-scale swindling.

In 1965, Valentyn Moroz was a lecturer in modern history in the West Ukrainian town of Ivano-Frankivsk. He was a graduate of Lviv University and had just completed his Master of Arts treatise on Polish-Ukrainian collaboration in the resistance to the Polish regime of the 1930's.

He was arrested in the late summer with about 30 other Ukrainian intellectuals, and in January 1966 was sentenced to four years for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." This was for articles he had written defending Ukrainian national rights, which he also defended at his trial.

Moroz was sent to the now notorious Mordovian political camp complex where, in spite of the rigours of forced labour, he succeeded in completing a scathing indictment of the nature of Soviet society, the role of the KGB, and the psychology of the KGB personnel.

Part of this indictment "Report from the Beria Reserve", was published in Abraham Brumberg's "In Quest of Justice: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union Today", and the full text is contained in Michael Brown's "Ferment in Ukraine" published by MacMillan in London in June of this year.

Two extracts from the essay must have infuriated the KGB:

"KGB Captain Kazakov sent to check how far I had been 'reeducated' (that is, how far my individuality had been eroded) quite frankly admitted to me: unfortunately, we cannot see what is in your head. If we could do this, and throw out everything which prevents you from being a normal Soviet man, there would be no need for so much talk."

And: "During a conversation with the deputy procurator of the Dubrovlag camp administration I drew his attention to the fact that people seriously ill with stomach ulcers were kept on a starvation diet, contrary to law. He answered me with great calm: 'That's just what the punishment consists of — hitting the stomach.'"

When Moroz's four-year sentence was served — in September 1969 — he was released. But the KGB took their revenge nine months later, with his arrest and subsequent sentencing to 14 years. The essay, "Report from the Beria Reserve" and another "A Chronicle of Resistance" figured in the indictment.

This last essay cites the necessity to preserve Ukrainian national traditions, which have been driven underground by the Russian policy of Russification, and which, Moroz believes, have survived in their purest form in the Hutsul area of the Carpathians. This brilliant essay has been published in Ukrainian in Munich and in English in the United States.

The home of Moroz, and the homes of those other intellectuals arrested at the same time, were searched and each was subjected to long interrogation by the KGB.

One of the houses searched was that of Fr. Romaniuk, the priest of the church in Kosmach in the Hutsul area. In May last year, Moroz was attending a celebration of Mass in this church when an attempt was made to arrest him. His arrest on that occasion was foiled: the underground newspaper tells us "the local people prevented this."

His trial at the regional court of Ivano-Frankivsk on November 17—18 was behind locked doors. He was defended by a Moscow lawyer, Kogan, appointed by the court.

I quote from the underground newspaper:

"Several days before the trial twelve citizens of Lviv asked the court president to admit them to the hearing. Two days later many of them were warned at their places of work that if they did attend they would lose their jobs. Nevertheless, people came to the trial from various cities. They were not admitted to the courtroom."

Three writers were summoned as witnesses: Chornovil of Lviv, Ivan Dzyuba of Kyiv, and Antonenko-Davydovych of Lviv, but we are told "refused to give evidence to a court sitting in camera, as they considered this illegal."

"Antonenko declared, quoting the words of Lenin, that the court was anti-Soviet. He added that he himself had twice been sentenced in camera, that both sentences had subsequently been annulled by the Supreme Court as being illegal, and that he did not want to participate in a case for which he might subsequently be convicted.

"The witnesses declared that they would give evidence only to an open court. The court then decided, over the protest of the defense, to read out the evidence given by the witnesses at the pre-trial inquiry."

The defence lawyer also asked for the charge to be changed from "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" to the much less serious Article 181-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code which is about anti-Soviet manuscripts and which carries a maximum sentence of only three years but this was refused.

When sentence was passed on Moroz: "of all the friends and relatives of the accused, only his wife and father were admitted."

So Moroz joined his compatriots in the Beria Reserve — another martyr in the long, long struggle for Ukrainian liberation and freedom.

Where then lies our responsibility for the fate of Valentyn Moroz and all the other victims of Russian inhumanity?

Let me remind you again of the words of Anatol Marchenko: "Crime does not begin only when the crematorium chimneys start to smoke; crime begins when the public becomes indifferent."

Our indifference can mean that many, many others; not only Ukrainians, but Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Croatians, and people from all the enslaved countries, will continue to follow Moroz into the Beria Reserve; and when imprisonment and exile fails to stem the rising tide of protest and the demand for basic human rights; what new horror of terror might not the

KGB conceive?

Are the horrors of the existing camps described so graphically by Marchenko, by Chornovil and by Moroz, so far removed from Hitler's extermination units?

Read the opening lines of Moroz's "Report from the Beria Reserve" and then tell me this is fantasy . . .

"The chase ended, the fugitive came out of the bushes . . .

Recently we heard that Moroz's demand for an open trial, the declared right of every Soviet citizen, has been denied by the Supreme Court.

This has been the fate of Moroz, of Kandya, Horyn, Karavanskyi, Lukyanenko and hundreds of others who have spoken out against injustice and the flagrant violation of their human rights. What hope is there for them?

These men and women, many of them born and raised under the Soviet system, cannot raise the cry "Let my people go".

Ukraine is their homeland. And unlike the Crimean Tartars, there are too many of them to deal with by wholesale forced migration.

But they will not stay in their homeland to see it mutilated, its economy exploited, its culture destroyed. This, in fact, is what Moroz and his compatriots are fighting against and with the only weapons left to them — an appeal to the humanity of the world.

Each and every one of us has a bounden duty in this situation. It is a duty for every free man and woman to bring to the notice of the world the plight of the patriots of Ukraine, and all the other victims of Russian Communism.

We cannot remain silent until the plea of the persecuted is heard and heeded by every government, and by the United Nations Assembly.

No one is free of responsibility in this matter.

"I and my friends are condemned for 'propaganda directed at the separation of Ukraine from the USSR'. But article 17 of the USSR Constitution speaks clearly about the rights of every republic to secede from the USSR."

**V. Moroz — "Report from the Beria Reservation"**



## **Report on the Activities of the European Freedom Council**

In the time which has elapsed since the last WACL Conference in Kyoto, the situation in Western Europe is characterized by two facts. One positive fact, the unification of Western Europe has made some progress. We hope that Great Britain will still this year become a member of the Common Market, and that the political unification of Western Europe will be successful. It is late, but we hope not too late.

The Soviet Russians are doing everything to disrupt this unification, a reason for us to achieve it as soon as possible.

The negative fact is that the Socialist-Liberal, coalition government of West Germany, under the aim of detente, is opening a free path to Western Europe for the Soviet Union, and is compelling the Western Powers to make great compromises against the position of Free Europe.

Not since 1933, after the rise of Hitler, who came to power through the government faults and compromises of our Western neighbors, have the same states made the same faults in their negotiation with the Soviet Russians. Chamberlain trusted Hitler, because he did not know him, but after 54 years of Soviet Russian imperialism, nobody, either the Western European governments, especially the German government, or the government of USA, can say that they don't know the Russians and Mao and that the Communists have fulfilled their treaties. The present German government did not emphasize the right of self-determination in the acknowledgement of all boundaries in Europe and of the status quo. These treaties are against the principles of the United Nations, against the German Constitution, against the right of self-determination, and against the interests of all subjugated nations.

Chancellor Adenauer said "Unite the West, then you can negotiate with the East." This was the basis of his appeal to wait and not to be impatient.

The EFC is against these treaties, and fights in numerous discussions and conver-

sations with members of Parliament and responsible European politicians against a "Super-Versailles", which will never bring peace and detente, but instead, Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism. Have we forgotten the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia? Western Europe will never be united with East European countries, acknowledging the status quo of Soviet boundaries. According to the Soviet Russian understanding, the Federal Republic of Germany cannot, after the ratification of the Moscow Treaty, remain a member of NATO and the Common Market. Soviet Russia wants to prevent the unification of Europe.

France and Italy have the danger of the Popular Front through which Communism has an influence through interior policy.

The Russian fleet in the Mediterranean gets stronger and stronger. Malta, a very important fortress in the Mediterranean, is in danger of becoming a Soviet Russian base.

Many things have changed in one year, not to our advantage, because many of our politicians are optimists and dreamers, and not realists. The EFC was very active in the meantime, however. The most prominent organization in Western Europe fighting Communism and Russian imperialism, through mass actions and publications, is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

A joint International Conference of EFC and ABN was held in Brussels, Belgium, on November 12-16, 1970. All in all, over 100 delegates and many guests were present. Over 300 messages and telegrams from the whole world, from various organizations of the Free World, and the subjugated nations as well, and from prominent statesmen and personalities clearly testify to the ever greater popularity of this revolutionary liberation movement in the world. The program of the conference included both closed and open meetings at which reports and lectures on current problems of the subjugated nations and world

politics were delivered. This occasion was also used to stage a press conference in Brussels and a mass rally. At the beginning of July 1971, ABN, together with the British League for European Freedom, put on a Seminar in Great Britain on the political problems and strivings of the subjugated nations. Both organizations organized a Captive Nations Week in all major cities of Great Britain. In France, our friend Mrs. Suzanne Labin, fought the Popular Front and against the demoralization through drug traffic. She discovered that the main pusher of drug traffic is Mao Tse Tung. Her book "Fifty Years of Communism" has been printed by the British League.

1. Victims of Stalinism (Bonn)
2. Freedom League (Munich)
3. Association of Friends of Enslaved Nations (Bonn)
4. International Committee for Defense of Christian Culture (Bonn)
5. Active Group of Political and Public Activities (Frankfurt)

In Italy, Mr. Lombardo was active in his organization, the Liga de la Liberta. He formulated a political strategy for NATO countries against Russian political warfare.

In Denmark, five organizations cooperate in this action. Minister Kraft held lec-



*The Captive Nations Week Rally in London held on July 25, 1971.*

In Germany we had a meeting of the EFC at the end of June in Bonn. There we adopted two resolutions.

The first strongly protests against and condemns the sequence of crimes and violations of human rights committed by the Russian Communist regime against the Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples.

The second resolution treats our responsibility to the Third World.

In Germany, on July 4th, 1971, the following organizations have resolved to constitute the German Section of the EFC:

tures and wrote many important articles in Scandinavian newspapers. The Danish section published the monthly magazine *Reflex* of 65,000 copies.

The Swedish section fights the enormous Peking-Hanoi propaganda as a measure of subversion and dissemination of hate against the U.S.A. It publishes monthly the magazine *Freedom for Ukraine* in Swedish.

Norway and Sweden gave very good written reports of their activities to the board, especially on the issue of propaganda, and mass anti-Communist actions. In



Belgium in the Ligue de la Liberte Mr. Vankerkhoven and Mr. de Bruyne assisted in our preparations of the conference in Brussels. The youth organization is spreading leaflets in the Soviet Union in defence of persecuted intellectuals.

The EFC has been far from inactive but we should see that the Communists openly encourage wide strikes which could contribute to economic instability, social conflicts and hostilities and a general sense

of insecurity, trouble and unrest, in Europe and the Third World.

It is not easy without any help of the government to fight against a world-wide Communist movement of Moscow and Peking. We are going to meet difficult times, but active minorities will win the spiritual war and freedom if they have better ideas and more readiness to make sacrifices, because we have our nations behind us.

*Roman Zachariak*

## Report on the Activities of ABN Youth

In the months following the 2nd WYACL Conference in Japan, the ABN Youth has rallied behind the resolutions passed there, calling for ACTION against our common enemy — Communism.

In the universities, in the schools and in the streets, ABN youths the world over have been engaging in demonstrations, sit-ins, have been distributing countless thousands of leaflets, and speaking out in protest wherever the causes of freedom are being threatened by Communism — both Red Russian and Red Chinese.

In Australia we have been particularly active in countering the ideologies posed by the radical New Left. These encounters have taken place mainly in the universities

on such issues as the persecution of Ukrainian students and intellectuals, and the deteriorating Asian situation.

Our demonstrations have been successful in all the main cities of Australia, despite a generally indifferent and even apathetic, or seemingly Left-wing dominated press.

We have been strengthened in our beliefs and inspired by such hero-fighters as Moroz, Symonenko, Chornovil and others who, despite tremendous persecutions and sufferings to themselves, have dared to, and continue to, expose the inhuman despotism of Communism from within its domain.

We will not let them die in vain.



*Young Ukrainians from London and the vicinity mourning the death of M. Soroka in a Russian concentration camp. August 26, 1971.*

## Berlin Firmly under Russian Tutelage

Today both Permanent Secretaries of State Bahr and Kohl — each in his own way — will commence providing the ambassadors' Berlin draft with details. That is necessary although it will take almost nothing away from the distress of partition. But it will make even harder viewing the large-scale relations between facts. Even the details of the overall agreement sent to the governments of the four powers for inspection have narrowed the political perspective. However important it is to polish minutely, down to the final nuances, such an agreement, to limit the scope for interpretation of the opposing sides, it would be fatal to get lost in the minute details of procedure.

The impression is already being aroused that the Berlin question implies no more than more or less free access. Herbert Wehner was of the opinion in Scandinavia that what was decisive was not how much one or the other side had yielded in compromise, but only the fact that such an agreement existed. At least since the Munich Agreement of 1938 we know that such a "head in the sand" formula can mean political death by suffocation.

No one will dispute that easing of conditions on access routes — given that what happens in practice contains what theory promises — has its specific value. But it was not and it is not so that Berlin and thus Germany's fate are to be measured by the waiting time of trucks at the traffic lights of Eastern control-points. The presence and representation of the Federal Republic of Germany in Berlin and thus the identification of free Germany with that of free Berlin are the foundation of the claim to the right of self-determination of the German nation, the unity of the nation, the claim against the division of the Fatherland and its capital. If today being reminded of this sounds like empty rhetoric in some ears, then this shows the extent of the success of the opposite side.

"Rhetoric" is translated as the "expression of the highest passion" by Max Weber, admired by many Social Democrats also. He called passion the pre-condition for a politician's calling.

### The Third of the Nation in Captivity

The passion of German politics can however not be concentrated on the sealing of milk-trains. Political aims going beyond these technical settlements, which were met with the cheers of the coalition, are no longer named. The captive third of the nation had to learn on the radio and television that the Russian ambassador was given official German thanks, while frontier guards were re-loading their machine guns after the last rounds fired at people trying to escape. In the hope of trouble-free Berlin traffic the Wall was accepted, division regarded as inevitable, and so the fate of the Germans "in the political beyond" left to the forces whose representative called the thing "perfect".

Anyone being critical of it runs the danger of being labelled, according to Herbert Wehner, as a "spoilsport", although saying something is rotten that is rotten is not spoiling anything but only warning against eating forbidden fruit. People criticizing the ambassadors' draft will also have to count on the shoulder-shrugging of those who consider quicker checking at check points as more important than the insistence on rights which at the moment cannot be realized. But there is no reason to run with the hounds and to "bleat with the sheep", since the shepherds find relief in the fact that the "wolves" are ready to give a written promise to seize only "some" sheep and not the whole herd at once.

On the political meadows in West Berlin there were even at the beginning of the ambassadors' talks the first serious losses: East Berlin, its function as capital of the GDR and its omnipresence on the territory with four-power status were taboo. Contrary to the claim of the present Mayor



Schütz the negotiations were not on all Berlin but — as can be read in the report in the SED central organ on the “complete agreement” between Abrassimov and Hon-ecker on the eve of the adoption of the draft — on the “West Berlin problem”.

#### **Defeat Labelled as Victory**

The satisfaction of the Federal government over the “permission” given by the Soviet Union for occasional visits to Berlin by the Federal Parliament parties and committees (separately and never together) marks a further defeat labelled as victory: not only that Moscow has something to forbid in West Berlin (the Federal Assembly and parliamentary plenary meetings for example) but also that it is allowed to give permission for something, proves how things went downwards (for Moscow upwards) from meddling in things, via being able to have a say in them, to being able to jointly decide them. This is more than the Kremlin can have ever expected. Even the limitation to subjects concerning Berlin, was able to be imposed by the Soviet Union on the freely-elected representatives of the Federal Republic. Political “good behaviour” has now been established as binding. German policies are now hanging on the soil of free Berlin firmly ensconced under Russian tutelage.

The extent of the Bonn coalition government’s deception over the importance of these processes and how much it has become subject to the Russians’ powers of suggestion is shown by the remark of the federal Foreign Minister on the hopeful Monday: the connection between West Berlin and Federal Germany now had “for the first time a legal basis”. Were the constitution of the Federal Republic, the Germany treaty with the Western allies, and the agreements of the Federal Republic with them no legal basis, before they — after substantial loss of substance — received the placet of Russian respect? Scheel’s statement shows how deep Moscow’s influence and the power of its escalating hegemony have already penetrated into the subconscious of Federal politicians in office.

If the Federal President and the Federal Chancellor represent the Federation in future in West Berlin with Russian toleration, but are not allowed to hold office there, then they will find it difficult to answer which German claims, which political rights, which national aims they are representing there. The Federal passport with the special stamp of the Western allies, the spot checks on the access roads and the sealing of trucks surely cannot be meant.

When on the eve of putting the draft into a practical form — the last ambassadors’ meeting before this — eulogies were heard, the list of relief measures included the silent (and temporary!) agreement of Moscow to refrain from describing West Berlin as a “special political unit”. Previously this was only a one-sided label. With the Berlin settlement it has become a fact — the label has become dispensable.

#### **Moscow Gains a Footing in West Berlin**

You can turn it and twist it as you like — the fact remains: the political connections between Berlin and the Federation are being reduced; the Soviet Union has gained a footing in West Berlin; its General Consulate will not be accredited with the Federal government; the Western powers are bound by the officially agreed Russian right to jointly determine West Berlin affairs. Anyone unimaginative enough to picture the consequences will be helped by what happens in practice to imagine them. Nothing in the Russian attitude at the ambassadors’ conference is surprising. Concessions on the possibility of West Berliners’ visiting East Berlin and the loosening of the thumb-screws on the check-point mechanism on the access routes had to be expected for a long time. These concessions would have to be greeted without pessimism, if they were not with probability bordering on certainty the bait for a trap. It was nevertheless right to try to obtain such measures of relief, and the Western powers are to be thanked for their efforts. But the price was too high. Not everyone will grasp this in time, since the political prices are being transferred “by cheque” from West to East and therefore seem

abstract for some "realists". But the debit balance will prove itself to be concrete earlier than can be pleasant for anyone except Moscow and East Berlin.

We shall soon hear it being said everywhere that everything is now OK with Berlin. The settlement is there; the city has its peace. But unfortunately it will not be OK, and the city will not have any peace. The joint aim of Moscow and East Berlin, to make West Berlin shrink in size, to lower its rank, to decimate its political weight, to reduce its rights and in this way

to make it "unharmful", remains. Or does anyone on the Potomac, on the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine or on the Spree believe that this aim has been given up? Even if he does, it won't make him happy. Nothing has changed in the objectives of Moscow and East Berlin. And if nothing has changed, then it is not being alarmist, but showing a sense of political reality to regard the Russian signature on the planned Berlin agreement in this light. It guarantees a political decline in sealed trains.

(*Die Welt*, 26-8-71)

## Anti-Russian Demonstration in Canberra, Australia

As part of the protest action in defense of Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainian political prisoners, who are languishing for long years in Russian death camps, a large-scale rally and demonstration were held in Canberra on September 4 and 5, 1971. About 1,500 persons, three-quarters of whom were young people, attended the events. Aside from Ukrainians there were also Australians, Rumanians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Hungarians. They came from Canberra, Queanbeyan, Sydney, Melbourne, Newcastle and Wollongong.

The rally was addressed by *Mr. Chybyryn*, *Liu Tuong Quang*, the First Secretary of the Vietnamese Embassy, *Kevin Davis*, press secretary of the Democratic Labour Party, *M. Henry*, secretary of "Citizens of Canberra for Freedom", and *M. Tkaczuk*, representing the Ukrainian youth, this year's delegate to the Third World Youth Anti-Communist League Conference in Manila, Philippines.

After the adoption of resolutions and the collection of signatures the participants staged a candlelight march to the Russian Embassy where the Ukrainian national anthem and several patriotic songs were sung. Student *Andriy Havryliv* chained himself to a tree, and standing upon the Russian flag, as the symbol of shame and slavery, remained in that position until

noon the next day, when the police managed to free him. The students from Sydney stood guard by the embassy all night, in spite of severe cold.

On the next day, a Sunday, Ukrainian Catholic priest, *Rev. D. Seniv*, said a Litany to the Blessed Virgin Mary in an open square near the Russian Embassy. The service was attended by a great number of people, who then formed a march which passed through the business section of Canberra and then returned to the Russian Embassy. The march was headed by *Rev. Ananiy Teodorovych*. Six youths from Melbourne carried a black coffin with a large sign over it "Soviet Russia — The Murderer of Ukrainian Freedom." The demonstrators carried hundreds of placards condemning Russian imperialism and demanding freedom for Ukraine, the release of Moroz, an end to genocide, etc. Many of the passing cars sounded their horns, thus expressing their solidarity with the demonstrators.

The press and radio gave broad coverage to the demonstration and the rally. The capital newspaper *Canberra Times* reported about the demonstration on the first page, publishing three photos. Other extensive reports appeared in *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*.



## What Is the Purpose of the Soviet General Consulate in West Berlin?

The Berlin agreement of the four Great Powers has fulfilled, among others, one old wish of Moscow, which has been now and again mentioned by the world press, but not particularly emphasized: the establishment of a Soviet-Russian consulate general in West Berlin.

Of course this consulate is above all to serve as a vanguard which will conduct for the Kremlin the struggle for all Berlin as has been stressed in the West. But secondly, and this is being overlooked, the new authority is to control this struggle with the help of methods successfully applied before by Moscow (espionage, propaganda, subversion, misleading information, etc.). This may have been the reason why the Americans were so long resisting agreement to the establishment of the consulate general and yielding to the Russian claim. The Kremlin, according to *Welt* of 13. 9. 71, was even considering releasing Rudolph Hess from Spandau prison, to obtain the establishment of the consulate.

How the Russians employ their consulates in the struggle against the internal order of the "friendly" host country is shown by the example of Burma.

We have learned a lot from Russian diplomats who have fled to the West about the foreign policy activities of Kremlin diplomats, but we know very little about their activities in the foreign representative posts themselves. A full report is given by the member of the Soviet-Russian embassy in Rangoon, Alexander Kasnasheyev, who escaped to the USA. In his report "Inside a Soviet Embassy: Experiences of a Russian Diplomat in Burma", he describes his experiences and activities as a Soviet-Russian diplomat in Asia, not least the connection between diplomacy and the secret service, for which he worked. Wolfgang Leonhard, the world-famous expert on Soviet affairs and former Bolshevik official, writes in his introduction to the German

translation of the above-mentioned book: "What Kasnasheyev reports is true of any Soviet embassy and its work."

One of the peculiarities of Soviet-Russian embassies is that in many cases the actual head of the embassy is not the ambassador but the head of the secret service (KGB) working in all offices representing Moscow. Sometimes even the Russian employees themselves don't know this, for this head is listed as something else (first secretary, Embassy councillor, attaché etc.) In Burma it was the first secretary of the embassy. His group, the "department for internal affairs", included Kasnasheyev and amongst others — the Soviet-Russian consul and vice-consul in Burma, two members of the KGB.

One of the main tasks of the "department for internal affairs" was the penetration and undermining of the government, as well as taking part in the struggle between the political parties. Attempts were made to place reliable Russian agents in key positions within the parties, to penetrate into trade unions and youth organizations, at the same time to work against Burmese anti-Communist forces and their leaders, to isolate them and discredit them.

The means used by the embassy or consulates were falsified information and data, produced in Moscow, which were distributed by the press of third countries in Burma, not seldom by men and positions whose connection with the Bolsheviks must have appeared completely incredible to the Burmese. To increase the credibility of such co-workers, they were often sharply attacked by the local Communist press, a somewhat childish method, but which is also effective in other, highly civilized countries.

The Russians exploited fully the possibilities offered them, as others, by international law. The privileges of the consul include inviolability of person, offices and

archives. Immunity is not enjoyed by consuls, but it is only a question of time, when the Kremlin will have solved this question in West Berlin in its favour. Breaching treaties continuously without losing face is not the Bolsheviks' greatest trick, — it is that the West despite all its experience believes them again and again!

Older contemporaries interested in politics will remember the "Arcos" affair, which led to the breaking off of Anglo-Russian diplomatic relations in 1927. The English police on the orders of the Home Secretary entered the premises of this Anglo-Russian company, confiscated the diplomatic post of the Russian trade delegation and established that the "Arcos" was a headquarters of Bolshevik espionage and revolutionary propaganda in England. Al-

most two years went by before relations between London and Moscow were normalized after this enormous scandal. The future will show how British-Russian relations will develop after the recent expulsion of 105 Moscow diplomats from England for espionage.

Independent Estonia offers a second example. Here on 1. 12. 24 a Communist putsch led by Russian officials was attempted. After some hours the attempt at revolution was suppressed, since the Estonian workers, the great hope of the Kremlin, refused to take part in it, and many Bolsheviks fell into the hands of the police and the army during the fighting, including employees of the Soviet Russian Embassy and trade delegation, as well as workers of Bolshevik firms.

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#### **Political Trials in Czecho-Slovakia**

The political trials in Czecho-Slovakia, which in the first year of occupation Gustav Husak said again and again in public would never take place, have become a fixed part of political life in that country.

Shortly after the increase in the punishment imposed on the so-called "Trotskyist Group" and a few days after the severe sentences in the second trial of television commentator Vladimir Skutina the mass media had to report further political trials this summer.

Thus several people had to answer before the court because they had published in the Western press official documents connected with the Soviet invasion in August 1968. Dr. Hubert Stein, formerly translator at the Dutch embassy in Prague, was sentenced to twelve years of imprisonment, Milada Kubiasova, earlier employed at the French embassy and a French citizen, to ten years, and Vaclav Cerensky to seven. The court found them guilty of espionage and subversion. Also sentenced for subversion and endangering state secrets were: Alois Polednak, the former head of the Czecho-Slovak film industry (two years), Jaroslav Sedivy, former member of the Prague Institute for International Politics and Economics (18 months), Edita Ce-

renska, former secretary of the National Assembly (12 months).

These severe sentences recall the punishment imposed in the Fifties. They are designed, among other things, as then to deter the population from making free contact with foreigners. In any case the judicial system has been once more made completely political and degraded to a mere tool of the power apparatus. Perhaps the 34 judges whose resignations were announced this summer without further comment did not wish to be associated with this process of making the judicial system a political tool.

#### **Party Minions Well Paid**

The new wage-rates for journalists authorized by the government in Prague are, according to the monthly magazine of the journalists' association, designed "through material incentives to encourage the political engagement of journalists and give editors the possibility to grant better wages to journalists who actively support the party". Writers loyal to the policy of the party who "contribute to achieving party aims" can expect special fat bonuses and wage improvements, up to 50%. On the other hand ideologically lazy and "unengaged" journalists can count on wage cuts. (DINK)



## Evhen Konovalets and the Timeliness of His Ideas and Actions

It was neither from a book nor from the lips of a history teacher that I first heard the name: Evhen Konovalets. It happened 20 years ago, in May 1951, when I heard this name in the Russian slave camp at Vorkuta near the Arctic Ocean. I heard it in the stories of Ukrainian political prisoners and at their secret meetings. Then I did not know a thing about Ukraine. Thus it came to pass that my first meeting with Ukrainians was a meeting with Evhen Konovalets. I realized that where several true Ukrainians get together there is also Evhen Konovalets. This had been the case then; this is the case now. Perhaps this is only an exceptional phenomenon, but the entire history of mankind is made up of phenomena. One of these phenomena is Evhen Konovalets.

No other Ukrainian revolutionary was talked about as often and as passionately then, in Kingir, Karaganda, Taishet, Norlysk and Vyatka, as Stepan Bandera and Evhen Konovalets. They were talked about everywhere, in barracks, in mines, in the forest, in jail. There was no political prisoner, whether Lithuanian, Georgian, German, Turkmen or Pole, who would not have known about Konovalets. The Ukrainians said: "Our colonel" — and all knew who was meant.

From where comes this coherence of thoughts? From where stems the intensiveness of the reminiscence. What bound the Ukrainian prisoners of 1951 with a man murdered in 1938? Was this only a historic memory? No, this was something more.

The cruel, unusual death came to Konovalets, just as unusual as his whole life. It was the bomb of the agent Valyukh, the Russian infernal machine and the blood of the Ukrainian revolutionary in the suburb of Rotterdam. The brutality of this crime was alive in 1951. Was not the whole camp a Russian infernal machine? In the suburb of Rotterdam, or in the tundra near Vorkuta, everywhere the Ukrainian blood was being shed, caused by other Valyukhs and

their chiefs. The death of Konovalets had one dramatic consequence — the mighty feeling of revenge. Revenge, transformed into action, is called revolution.

Between 1938 and 1951 there was still another noticeable fact. The flower of the Ukrainian nation, the young people between 12 and 40, found themselves in the Stalinist camps. Even the person of Konovalets reflected the spirit of youth, in spite of the fact that on the day of his death, May 23, 1938, he was 47 years old. In 1929 in Vienna when he became the head of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) he was 38 years old. Yaroslav Stetsko was then 17, Stepan Bandera — 20, Roman Shukhevych — 22, Dmytro Myron-Orlyk — 18, Yuliy Holovynskyi — 35.

In conclusion, still another, no less significant fact. The field of activity of Evhen Konovalets had not been diplomacy or parliament. He acted and thought like a born revolutionary, the first modern revolutionary, in the history of the old and contemporary young nation. He realized that the freedom of his nation should be won not only with words and writings, but also with arms, that is force. For this reason he organized the UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization). Konovalets conducted a total liberation war as a nationalist and a Christian. He was taken as an example to follow by Ukrainians in concentration camps, for all of them belonged in their hearts to the UVO, the OUN and the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

What is so strange here, what did they say about Evhen Konovalets? It was impossible for them to forget him. He led a dynamic and tireless life, and in that life there was only one goal: the Fatherland and its liberation. A lieutenant in the Austrian army in 1914, a prisoner of war in Russia in 1915, a fugitive from Tsarytsyn, the commander of the Sich Riflemen, an emigre in Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, illegally in Po-

land, a promoter of freedom throughout Europe and North America. A life of adventure? Perhaps, if freedom can be considered the greatest human adventure.

Those who talked about him behind barbed wire had a similar life behind them.

*Dumitru Danielopol*

## **Rumania's Need — Economic Revamp It Can't Afford**

In a recent letter to President Nixon the Rumanian Episcopate of America and the Union and League of Rumanian Societies comprising some 75 ethnic organizations supported the President's efforts "to encourage Congress to grant the most favored nation status to Rumania."

Though strongly opposed to Ceausescu's regime in Bucharest, the American Rumanian organizations said they feel close economic relations between the U.S. and Rumania could improve the lot of the Rumanian people.

The most favored nation clause would permit Rumanian goods to enter this country at the lowest tariff rate accorded to friendly countries. Only Yugoslavia and Poland among Communist nations benefit from MFN status.

Rumanian diplomats in Washington have sought it for years.

Obviously, anything that can be done to relieve the hardships of the Rumanian people is welcome. But, let's face it, MFN is no panacea. It will do little to solve Rumania's disastrous economic situation. It is not likely to alleviate hardships.

The blunt truth is that Rumanian goods are not good enough for sophisticated Western markets.

The most optimistic Department of Commerce figures estimate that if MFN is granted there would be a maximum rise of some 10-15 per cent in Rumanian exports to the U.S. That is, some \$ 10 million per annum — a drop in the bucket for a country in debt to the West for hundreds of millions of dollars, pressed for hard currency and stuck with vast quantities of unsold industrial products.

Prisoners-of-war camp, war, emigration, underground, prison, escape. "Quiet life" was not for them. Indeed, this is appropriate time to talk about Evhen Konovalets. Only those who are forgotten are not mentioned. May 23, 1938 could have been yesterday.

Rumania's plight is illustrated by the fact Ceausescu risked going hat in hand to Peking to obtain \$ 250 - \$ 300 million in credits.

The economic trouble is deep set. It results from over a quarter of century of Communist mismanagement, ineptitude, bungling and incompetence.

In a Marxist urge to create a working class proletariat at the expense of the peasantry which formed 60-70 per cent of the population Rumania's Reds industrialized pell mell, while at the same time ruining their agriculture by collectivization, they destroyed their own internal market for their own produce.

To industrialize, Rumania also went deeply into debt in the West to purchase sophisticated machinery, even whole industrial plants. But even the best equipment cannot produce high quality goods when raw materials are inadequate, management incompetent and the workers indifferent.

Add to this absenteeism, pilfering, a top heavy bureaucracy, slipshod marketing techniques, a lack of quality controls and you have the Rumanian result: millions in substandard products that must be practically given away to underdeveloped countries.

Those who believe this critical situation can be cured by MFN are dreamers. What Rumania needs is a complete and thorough economic overhaul — an overhaul Ceausescu can't afford.

To flirt with the West is one thing; to introduce Western capitalist standards on the doorstep of the Soviet Union is quite another.



## Against the Russification of Ukraine

The recently announced results of the census of the Soviet Union conducted in 1970 reveal a decisive threat to the Ukrainian nation of a long-range change in the ethnical composition of the population of the Ukr.SSR. In eleven years, that is since the 1959 census until 1970, the number of Russians in Ukraine has grown from 7 million to 9.1 million. Today the Russians constitute 19.4 % of the population of Ukraine as against 16.9 % in 1959 and 9.2 % in 1926. In that same time the percentage of Ukrainians among the population of the Ukr.SSR is constantly falling: 80 % in 1926, 76.8 % in 1959, 74.9 % in 1970. Thus in the Ukr.SSR for every 1,000 Ukrainians there were 106 Russians in 1926, 220 in 1959 and 258 in 1970.

A constant increase in the number of Russians in Ukraine is to a decisive extent the result of the planned settlement of Russians and Russified elements of other nations on Ukrainian territories. Russia is channelling non-Ukrainians to Ukraine in the capacity of workers at new construction sites or for work in party and state apparatus. Foreign bureaucrats, settled in Ukraine, together with Russified Ukrainians are the spokesmen not only of the national and political subjugation of Ukraine, but also play the role of the exploiting, designated elite which enjoys special material privileges of the USSR's ruling caste.

The colonization of Ukraine by Russian and Russified elements of other peoples of the USSR is primarily directed at the industrial oblasts (provinces) of Ukraine, particularly important for development of a modern nation. To the oblasts in which the number of Russians increased since the previous census belong: Voroshylovgrad, in which the Russians now constitute 41.7 % of the population, Donetsk — 40.6 %, Kharkiv — 29.4 %, Zaporizhia — 29 %, Dnipropetrovsk — 20.9 %. The aim of this colonization policy can only be an attempt to continue to transform these oblasts into the mixed Ukraino-Rus-

sian territories, and later to cut them off from the Ukrainian mainland. The number of Russians has considerably grown in the Odessa oblast as well, where they constitute 24.2 % of the population.

At the time when Ukraine is being colonized by foreigners, the leaders of the empire are organizing deportations of Ukrainians outside the borders of the Ukr.SSR or are purposely creating conditions which force Ukrainians to search for work in other "republics" of the USSR. In such a way Ukraine is losing a part of her peasants, chiefly from the western oblasts, from the Forest-Steppe Belt, as well as a part of workers, students and professional intelligentsia. Finding themselves outside their native land, the Ukrainian emigrants do not enjoy any rights of a national minority and therefore do not have a possibility to preserve in the long-run their native language, culture and ties to their homeland. When they are deported to other non-Russian "republics", they very often become, although against their will, an instrument of Russification of the local peoples, at a time when other non-Russians, settled in Ukraine, largely perform a similar role there. The process of Russification of Ukrainians is in particular strong on the territories of the Russian SFSR, in the Kursk, Voronezh and Bilhorod oblasts, bordering on the Ukr.SSR, and in the Krasnodar and Stavropol region, in Kazakhstan and in the southwestern Siberia. The result of this Russification policy is such that when according to the 1926 census 6,871,000 Ukrainians were registered in the RSFSR, in 1970 there were only 3,346,000. Even if the official data of the census are in part purposely falsified, they do not change the clear-cut tendency of Russia's policy in relation to the Ukrainian people.

The last and the next-to-the-last census of the USSR reveal phenomena which seriously threaten the biological and the spiritual substance of the Ukrainian nation. If the colonization of Ukrainian territories

by the Russians and the Russified settlers of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR continues at the present rate in the nearest decades, and the Ukrainian self-defense against it and against deportations and migration of Ukrainians outside the borders of the Ukr.SSR will not be adequate, the territory historically inhabited by the Ukrainian people, which has seriously decreased in the time of Soviet rule, will continue to decrease.

The Russification course is being intensified in various phases of life of the Ukrainian people, including universities (with insignificant exceptions in Lviv and Kyiv) and other higher and special secondary schools. In secondary schools with Ukrainian language of instructions Russian classes are being introduced for children of local party and military bureaucrats. In practice the Ukrainian language has been driven out of public usage or has been maimed beyond recognition, turning into a strange Ukraino-Russian slang.

Theories of the so-called merger or drawing closer or consolidation of nations of the Soviet Union, which in practice lead to the denial of national, cultural and historic identity of the Ukrainians and their inclusion, together with other non-Russian peoples, in a single so-called Soviet people, which in reality is to be the Russian people, are forcefully imposed upon the Ukrainian people.

The policy of forced change in the makeup of the population of Ukraine and the Russification of the Ukrainian people, which are conducted by Russian imperialists, should be considered as planned political genocide. Ukrainians who are forced to leave Ukraine whether by way of organized recruitment or on other pretexts, should fight for the right to live and work

in the land of their fathers. This is an inalienable right of every nation. The two greatest tyrants of the 20th century — Stalin and Hitler — wanted to deprive the Ukrainian people of this right by means of deportations and settlement of foreigners in Ukraine.

The policy of Russia in relation to Ukraine, the indicators of which are the results of the census, calls for intensified self-defense of the Ukrainian people not only against deportations and migration of Ukrainians and settlement of foreigners, as well as for a struggle for other natural rights of the nation. In particular, the Ukrainian people have the right to demand that all schools in the Ukr.SSR, with the exception of schools for national minorities, conduct instructions in the Ukrainian language and that the Ukrainian language be used publicly in various branches of life. Outside the borders of the Ukr.SSR, Ukrainians should enjoy the rights of national minorities. In the struggle for their existence, the Ukrainians should cultivate the spirit of national solidarity and mutual assistance, the feeling of historic and spiritual community. A member of every nation is first of all bound by loyalty to his brother in blood, tradition, language, culture and history.

In the free world, a special task faces Ukrainian scholars and educational institutions, which can bring to the international forum the question of defense of the biological substance of the Ukrainian nation and the territory which it historically inhabits. It is the duty of the emigres to influence various circles in the free world to condemn the attempts by Russian imperialists to continue to conduct Stalinist and Hitlerite experiments with Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples.

“Never before has there been such an urgent need to organize and mobilize the experience of Resistance, and to take up arms in defence of those things which have saved nations from losing their identity. Every nation must find such means in its heritage and form its own antidote for the new diseases.”

V. Moroz — “Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine”



## **Violation of Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continues**

*A Ukrainian intellectual sentenced to 9 years of hard labour in Soviet Russian concentration camp!*

*In November 1970 a typical Soviet secret trial was held in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, against a young Ukrainian intellectual VALENTYN MOROZ for alleged anti-Soviet activities. The court sentenced Valentyn Moroz to 9 years of hard labour in Soviet concentration camps, notwithstanding the fact that the relevant article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR stipulates punishment for not more than 7 years of imprisonment. For Valentyn Moroz this is already the second sentence. He had spent four years in a concentration camp, was released in 1969 and shortly afterwards rearrested under accusation of conducting "Anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation."*

### **WHO IS VALENTYN MOROZ?**

*Valentyn Moroz was born in Ukraine on April 15, 1936. By profession he is a historian and taught modern history at the Pedagogical Institute in Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk.*

*Towards the end of 1965 he was arrested and in 1966 sentenced by the Regional Court of Volyn to five years in "severe hard-labour" camps, on the charge of "Anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation."*

*The real cause of his arrest was his active resistance to the policy of Russification of Ukraine and defence of human rights for the people of Ukraine. A cited example of his "agitation" however, his socio-historic work — "Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine", contained no criticism of the political system, Government or constitution, but merely decried the destruction of priceless historical and cultural objects in Ukraine, under the pretext of progress.*

### **WHY IS MOROZ BEING PERSECUTED BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES?**

*It is a well-known fact that the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Soviet constitution are of theoretical value only and in reality for export, being in practice nullified by the Soviet dictatorial and totalitarian system.*

*VALENTYN MOROZ belongs to a large group of young Ukrainian intellectuals, writers and ordinary workers, who waged a campaign against the violation of human rights in the Soviet Union, particularly in Ukraine, joining their ranks with the most outstanding representatives of other nations within the USSR, in an attempt to secure the realization in everyday life of the provisions of the state constitution.*

### **WHAT ARE MOROZ'S PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE?**

*A concerted outcry from all thinking people, those that are against all discrimination and injustice, allied with the efforts of international organizations such as Amnesty International, literary figures such as Sartre, can force the Soviet Government to review his case. Indeed there are thousands of similar cases and similar prisoners in the USSR.*

### **WHERE DOES MOROZ POINT THE WAY?**

*The Ukrainians, the largest non-Russian ethnic group in the USSR, a people and nation with a long history cannot be denationalized and destroyed by the Russian communist oppressors. They will continue to resist these moves, and mindful of what VALENTYN MOROZ stood for, with the other political prisoners of conscience in the U.S.S.R., also mindful of the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians of recent times who have already died whilst fighting for Ukraine's independence, become more determined. Determined to realize the day when Ukraine will break her chains, imposed by Russia under cover of communism and become an independent sovereign nation again in her own right. Then her culture and traditions and her people will be safe.*

## WHICH WAY CAN YOU HELP?

IF YOU wish to help VALENTYN MOROZ, write to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. U Thant, New York 10017 U.S.A., asking that he put pressure on the Government of the U.S.S.R. to release Moroz. He can never be free in the Soviet Union, but he would, at least, be out of jail.

**FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE! EVERY PEOPLE AND EVERY NATION HAS THE RIGHT TO BE IN CHARGE OF ITS DESTINY!**

**Committee in Defence of V. Moroz, Ukrainian Council of N.S.W., Australia**

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### Letter to the British Press

Sir,

26th August, 1971

Whilst the Soviet Union endeavours to manifest itself in the Free Western World as a civilized "democracy", violations of basic human rights and national liberties are everyday occurrences behind the Iron Curtain — notwithstanding that the Soviet Union is not a homogeneous entity but a multi-national society, and notwithstanding the grandiloquent articles of the Soviet Constitution which purportedly guarantees every citizen his human rights.

A reliable clandestine publication from the Ukraine, UKRAINSKYI VISNYK No 1 which has recently reached us, has exposed and detailed to the Free Western World another shameless act in the drama of the present policy of RUSSIFICATION, i. e., linguistic, cultural, and historical genocide. The most recent victims of the Russian drive against Ukrainian resistance were ALLA HORSKA, a well-known Ukrainian artist, and MYKHAILO SOROKA, a staunch member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (an underground revolutionary organization operating in the oppressed republics of the Soviet "paradise", as well as in the Free West) and whose aim is a simultaneous, co-ordinated overthrow of the Russian "yoke" borne by the enslaved nations.

Mykhailo Soroka is a recent shining example of the unbroken will of the many thousands of Ukrainian political martyrs who became participants in underground activities for the realization of freedom, secession, and independence for Ukraine, despite threats of torture, concentration camps, and even death. He, like tens of thousands of others, was arbitrarily sentenced and incarcerated on the alleged charge of "participating in illegal anti-Soviet organizations". Soroka spent altogether 34 years in prison, his last sentence amounting to 25 years. Alla Horska was one of the leading figures in the cultural resistance against Russification. She was persecuted and finally murdered, under dubious circumstances, allegedly by the K.G.B. on November 28th, 1970.

The fate of Horska and Soroka is analogous to that of other Ukrainian intellectuals and prisoners of conscience: Moroz, Kandyba, Karavanskyi, Lukyanenko, etc., who are being persecuted or undergoing harsh prison sentences in labour and concentration camps.

These men and women, many of them born and raised under the Russian Communist system, cannot raise the cry "Let my people go", for there is no place for their people to go. Ukraine is their homeland, and they will not see it mutilated, exploited, and destroyed. Their protest is against the devious methods of Russification. In fact, it is tantamount to spiritual and intellectual genocide, devised by Moscow to deal a deathknell to the Ukrainian people. This is what Alla Horska and Mykhailo Soroka and their courageous compatriots are protesting about and dying for.

It is our duty, and the duty of all free men and women, to bring the plight of the patriots of Ukraine and other victims of Russian Communist genocide to the attention of freedom-loving people. Do not be silent, for by your silence, you become TACITURN PARTICIPANTS OF THE WANTON DISREGARD OF BASIC INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL RIGHTS.

**Ukrainian Youth Camp "Tarasivka", Weston-on-Trent, Derbyshire, England**



## Resolutions of the Fifth WACL Conference

Manila, Philippines, July, 1971

### In Support of Ukraine and Other Subjugated Nations

*Whereas*, the Ukrainian nation is waging a heroic struggle for survival in the face of despotic Soviet Russian subjugation and, being in central position among the captive nations, has paid hecatombs of victims in her fight for liberation;

*Whereas*, Russia deliberately aims at destruction of the Ukrainian nation by doing away with its leaders, writers, artists and other intellectuals, and by suppressing the native language, culture and religion;

*Whereas*, freedom-loving people have been imprisoned in jails and concentration camps for 25 years without trial, as for example, the prominent lawyer Dr. V. Horbovyi, and other intellectuals and writers have been convicted to 25 years in prison, as for example, writer S. Karavanskyi;

*Whereas*, even female Red Cross volunteers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Ukrainian women K. Zarytska, H. Didyk, O. Husyak, all sentenced to 25 years, have been suffering indescribable hardship at Vladimir prison and the Mordovian concentration camps;

*Whereas*, only recently the young Ukrainian historian V. Moroz has been sentenced to 14 years in prison and concentration camps, and a well-known artist Alla Horská has been secretly murdered;

*Whereas*, Moscow's propaganda is obliterating the issue of the captive nations and Russia's smiles and peacemongering always conceal the same objectives of world domination;

*Whereas*, presently inciting and supporting peripheral wars like Vietnam, the Near East and elsewhere, Russia hopes to push the free world into the abyss of annihilation;

*Whereas*, it is the responsibility of the free world to help the subjugated in their struggle for freedom and independence, and the disintegration from within of the Rus-

sian empire and the whole Communist system will help to free the world from tyranny and disaster;

*Whereas*, justice and freedom are indivisible and a just order with full guarantee of natural human rights and independent national states has to replace tyranny and imperialism;

*Therefore* the Fifth WACL Conference resolves:

1) To raise a strong voice in defense of the captive Ukraine and other captive nations and to consider the ideas of national liberation, national independence and human rights as the chief motivating forces in our age.

2) To protest against the destruction of churches, libraries, cultural monuments, against deportations, slave labour and against every violation of human and national rights.

3) To build up information media and to unmask all international fraud of Communist fifth columns and treacherous Russian diplomacy.

4) To encourage Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples by all means to fight for liberation and national independence and to stimulate the joint front of all captive nations and anti-Communist forces of the free world as the only solution to the problem of liberation and salvation of the world from annihilation by Russian imperialism and Communism.

5) To demand the withdrawal of all occupation forces from Ukraine, the liquidation of all concentration and slave labour camps, the release of all political prisoners, writers, priests and others and to protest against the brutal treatment of prisoners, the poisoning of food, secret court proceedings and placing of normal people in lunatic asylums.

6) To combat the spirit of defeatism, indifference, opportunism and coexistence, as intolerable ills of free society.

7) To concentrate our attention on the youth and to bring it up in the spirit of eternal values, humanism and patriotism.

8) To work for a change of policy by the free governments in the direction of adopting the policy of liberation and to organize a global movement for freedom, national independence and social justice, and against Communism and Russian imperialism.

### **On Captive Nations Week**

*Whereas* the imposing reality of the 24 captive nations in Eastern Europe, in the USSR, Asia and Cuba is the opaque fact that divides the world into half slave and half free and is the exploited base for further additions to the long list of captive nations under Soviet Russian and Red Chinese imperio-colonialism; and

*Whereas* the prime objective of both Moscow and Peking is to obtain Free World acquiescence to the permanent captivity of one billion souls under Red totalitarianism as a means both for the progressive deterioration of the moral conscience and will of the Free World and preparation for the further extension of the Red Empire; and

*Whereas* in realistic recognition of the existence of the captive nations and the political warfare objectives of the Red oppressors, the U.S. Congressional Resolution on Captive Nations Week (Public Law 86—90) aims to thwart communist designs and to sustain the faith and determination of one-third of humanity in its eventual liberation and freedom; and

*Whereas* this resolution calls for all free peoples to observe the third week of July in each year as Captive Nations Week, devoted to strong expressions of unbreakable bonds and moral conscience toward all the captive nations, as both an end in itself and a means for the simultaneous preservation and expansion of national and human freedom in the world;

NOW, THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Fifth WACL Conference provide

for a fitting observance of this 13th Observance of Captive Nations Week (July 18—24) in its final communique and to urge all of its members to make preparations for the 14th Observance in July, 1972, utilizing the facilities available through the National Captive Nations Committee in the United States.

### **WYACL Condemning Russian Exploitation and Repression of All Subjugated Nations**

Considering that for 50 years Ukraine and other countries of Eastern Europe have been subject to Communist Russian control but have withstood the attacks on their national consciousness by this latest projection of Russian imperialism and colonialism;

Considering that while withstanding the regime's overt russification policy, Ukraine and other nations of the USSR so subjected have always looked towards recognition of their just rights to political freedom and sovereign independence as free societies;

Considering that WYACL believes in the ideal of freedom for nations — freedom for individuals;

The 3rd Conference of WYACL meeting in Manila condemns the Moscow regime's exploitation and repression of all subject peoples and nations, RESOLVING firmly to:

1. Support in every way any moves to obtain freedom and independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan and other subjugated nations.

2. Enjoin the governments of the free world to take steps to condemn at international forums the continued subjugation of those captive nations by imperialist Moscow, and the accompanying doctrine of "limited sovereignty" applied to so-called satellite states of the regime in control of the USSR.

3. Rally opinion favorable to the cause of freeing the captive nations, by actions within and without Communist Russia's orbit.



# News And Views

## **The Third Conference of the Ukrainian Anti-Bolshevik League**

The Conference of the Ukrainian Anti-Bolshevik League in Australia, which took place on July 31 — August 1, 1971 in Melbourne, was opened by the chairman of the Executive Board of the UAL, Mr. V. Lytwyn.

The program of the Conference consisted of the presentation of two major lectures. The first, presented by M. Shegedyn, was entitled, "The Liberation Movement in Ukraine and Our Emigration". The second, "The Attitude of the Undefeated Youth in Ukraine and Its Resonance in Australia", was delivered by Dr. B. Umrysh. Both lectures induced much discussion. Following the reports of the resigning Executive Board and a lengthy discussion about them, the Conference proceeded to the election of the new Executive Board.

The newly-elected Executive Board consists of: *S. Hryhortsiv* — Chairman, *R. Dragan*, *P. Soroka* — Members; Controlling Committee: *V. Lytwyn* — Head, *Z. Kolomyjets*, *V. Svorak* — Members; Court of Honour: *Dr. B. Umrysh* — Head, *P. Atamaniuk*, *L. Tomy* — Members.

It was agreed that two additional members of the Executive Board are to be co-opted at a later date.

## **Captive Nations Week Observance in Miami, Florida**

On July 25, 1971 a special Captive Nations Committee under chairmanship of Rev. J. P. Nagy organized an observance to mark the closing day of the Captive Nations Week. The following nationalities participated: Byelorussians, Cubans, Estonians, Germans, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles and Ukrainians. The program included a parade from the Main Library, Flager Street and Biscayne Blvd. to Bayfront Park, where an open air rally took place.

Mr. Mario Aquilera, Vice Chairman of the Executive Board of AF-ABN, represented the AF-ABN at this observance and was the guest speaker. The main address was delivered by Hon. Lee Weissenborn, Florida State Senator. Other speakers were Mrs. Lillian J. Miciak and Mr. Luis V. Manrara.

After the meeting Mr. Aquilera gave an interview to the press about ABN, AF-ABN and our activities. The most popular Spanish-language newspaper *Diario Las Americas* published the interview with Mr. Aquilera on the front page on August 4th. The participation of Mr. Aquilera at the observance of the Captive Nations Week in Miami makes the way open for organizing an AF-ABN branch there soon.

## **Two Israelis Make Russia Responsible for the Massacre of Katyn**

Two Jewish witnesses report in the Israeli newspaper *Maariv* on the Katyn massacre. In 1939 thousands of Polish officers were shot in Katyn and buried in mass graves. Both witnesses confirm the conclusions of the international doctors' commission, which investigated this murder during the second world war — that it was carried out by Soviet Russian organs.

The witness Abraham Vidro reported that a Russian officer had confessed to him in a work camp that he took part in the mass murder of Katyn. The chairman of the Israeli Communist Party, Moshe Sneh, declared that he, as an officer in the Polish army, was captured in September 1939 together with about 200 other Polish officers by the Russian Red Army and put on a train. It was said to him that they were to be housed in a camp. Sneh and a captain, who lives today in Great Britain, managed to escape, in spite of strict Russian security. Sneh says: "I don't know what happened in Katyn, I only know that none of these people came back."

### **Moscow Seeking Active Scandinavian Support for a European Security Conference**

The Soviet leaders are at present exerting great pressure upon European governments to secure support for a so-called European Security Conference — with all European countries and USA and Canada participating. Moscow is in great need of having a safe flank in Western Europe in order to be able to concentrate on the tense 4,000 mile frontier with Communist China.

More important, however, is the Russian long-range goal of dislodging the US from Europe and removing Europe from the Atlantic Alliance by driving wedges between Washington and its West European allies. The Russians have called for a Conference on European Security for the purpose of having the European status quo formally recognized, including having their post-war military-political East European conquests internationally legalized. The illusion of peace and stability thus created would increase pressure upon the US to get out of Western Europe and to dismantle NATO. Without US military presence, the Russian influence could become so strong that Moscow might finally dominate Western Europe in the same way as it overshadows Finland, without an actual take-over. The Russians are well aware of the fact that in the creation of a united Western Europe, the US role remains vital. Militarily, the 300,000 US soldiers in Western Europe are still forming a shield behind which the area can unite and deal with Russia without risking being intimidated or blackmailed into accepting Russian terms of peace.

### **The Expansion of the Soviet-Russian Navy**

The English annual "Jane's Fighting Ships" has devoted the centre of its attention in its 1971 edition to the increase in the Soviet-Russian navy. Its details show

that the USSR has overtaken the USA both as regards submarines (including atomic submarines) and above-surface craft. The exception is formed by aircraft-carriers, but even here it cannot be ignored that the number of American aircraft-carriers has sunk from 16 to 13 in three years.

The (estimated) number of ships in the Soviet-Russian navy included 93 atomic submarines, 318 conventional submarines, two helicopters, 26 cruisers, 100 destroyers and 5138 convoy vessels. Between 1969 and 1971 the total number of American cruisers, destroyers and frigates has dropped from 1240 to 1160.

(FKD rps—5/37—15. 9. 71)

### **Anti-Communist Books in Sweden**

Mr. Bertil Haggman, well-known Swedish Conservative writer on Communism and American Conservatism, has appeared in various radio programmes dealing with American Conservatism as well as Asian Communism. In the spring of 1971, Mr. Haggman published in Sweden an important book on "American New Conservatism", introducing for the first time to Swedish public modern American Conservative ideology and organization as well as American anti-Communist thinking of a "freedom strategy for the West."

Another important book, being published in Sweden in 1971 is "Estonia — a study in Soviet imperialism", by the young Estonian author and scholar — Andres Kung. Both of these paper-back books serve as a welcome counter-balance in Sweden to the existing flood of Communist literature. During 1970, the Baltic Committee distributed "The Baltic Drama", by the late Estonian President and Head of State, Mr. August Rei, as well as several other publications and press bulletins concerning the proplems of European captive nations.



## A Letter to ABN Cuban Representative

Luis V. Manrara

Rio de Janeiro, March 8, 1971

My dear and eminent friend,

Thank you very much for your letter dated January 19th, enclosed letter to Dr. Ku Cheng-kang and also many interesting papers dealing with the global situation relating to Communism and its increasing threat to the so-called Free World!

I say "so-called Free-World" because it is a cowardly world, whose peoples lack courage and determination and, besides, are kept downhearted and apathetic mostly due to the utter absence of leaders and statesmen worthy of the name. It is a world that doesn't fight to be kept free! I think Shakespeare was right when he wrote, some 400 years ago: — "Wisdom, thou art fled to brutish beasts

And man has lost his reason . . .

Your estimate of the situation, under the title: "1971 Decisive Year" is nothing short of excellent and truthful. Your letter to Dr. Ku is most opportune, and, like your masterful booklet on "Communist Methodology of Conquest" (which I keep on re-reading every now and then) clearly shows the strategy and tactics used by the rascals of the Kremlin, and also rightly indicates what should be done to thwart the Marxist plague. But most unfortunately the nation on which we counted as being our first and strongest bastion against Communism is failing and deteriorating in a shameful way . . . A huge and powerful country, like the United States, is bound to repeat the historical "Fall of the Roman Empire"! That nation, as you fully know, has been badly led by many of its politicians, some of the worst kind like Senators Fulbright, Edward Kennedy, and many others; and also has had Presidents far from desirable as Franklin Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Johnson and even John Kennedy, who were not skillful enough in matters of foreign affairs and fell deceived and even fooled by the despicable Communists. I deem old Truman as having been the best one ever since World War II.

I did sympathize with John Kennedy and Nixon at first but got deceived later on. The first was duped by Khrushchov on the Cuban missile case, and the second is in a very difficult situation, having, so to speak, two wars to tackle: one outside (Vietnam, Middle East, Soviet Union, China and elsewhere . . .) and another inside (Communist propaganda, university unrest, racial fights, politicians, SDS and Weathermen turmoils and so forth).

The always remembered Teddy Roosevelt (of the Rough Riders fame, so different from Franklin . . .) said once: — "in the future, a few things may destroy the United States. They are prosperity at any price, peace at any price, security first but not obligation first, love for a soft life and getting rich as being the very outlook on life." (sic) He may have been right. But nowadays what is pushing the United States to destruction? That question might be answered this way, so it seems to me: — Marxism with a huge propaganda spread all over the country; irreligion and decline in culture and increase of materialism; excessive technology combined with the former two, meaning Marxism and irreligion. Besides: — decadence of youth through Communist infiltration, whence the "Students for a Democratic Society", the "Black Panthers", the "Hippies", the "Weathermen", and the so-called New Left!!!

The last named, the New Left, including writers, reporters, and mostly those engaged in literature, cinema, television, drama and nasty songs. On top of that: drug addiction, crime, theft and a permissive society molded by Marcuse, Sartre and their filthy kinship.

As you very truly advise, something must be done, but done urgently, to avoid Esclavitud conquering Libertad, as you sharply point out in the article, 1971 Año Decisive.

In your letter addressed to me you ask: — "What is happening in your beautiful country, Admiral?". The answer is that Brazil has now an anti-Communist regime, but not strong enough, and that's why criminals are sometimes exchanged for lives of kidnapped diplomats, as you mentioned. It is a very wrong procedure, beyond doubt, and

let me quote, translated to English *ipsis-litteris* the cablegram I sent to the President of the Republic:

*"Beg to ponder humanitarian gesture rescuing Swiss Ambassador does not justify setting free 70 Communist terrorists, enemies of Brazil. Admiral Penna Botto, Chairman Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade."* (sic)

Most cordially yours,

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto

Tobjorn Jelstad

## Communist Infiltration in Norway

Norway has 18 so-called "peace offices". As a condition to receive public economic support, they work hard to introduce themselves as politically neutral and independent from other organizations. However, it has now been exposed that they act as a kind of "Foreign Ministry" for the strongest left-wing organization in Norway, the Socialist Youth Organization. The peace-offices have important international contacts, and they have received and distributed impulses from outside the country, trying to make a so-called "national" opinion.

Many theaters today are introducing plays with strong attacks against the establishment. Such plays have become "popular" and "modern", and it is difficult to fight them without fighting "the development of culture". At the same time, the theaters are run over by new-examined actors with radical opinions.

In Norway this has gone a bit too far; most of the population today are aware of this. The most well known actor in this kind of infiltration is engaged at the National Theater, the largest theater in Norway. His name is Lars Andreas Larsen, and he is married to Sonja Lid, who is the daily leader of the "peace-office" in Oslo.

The special organization for housewives, being one of the largest organizations in Norway, has until now taken only women as members. However, as a part of the discussion of equality between the male and female, this organization has now decided to take also men as members. The decision was caused by an application for membership — again from Lars Andreas Larsen. And why this?

This organization represents a large part of the voters in Norway. Traditionally the women have a tendency in favour of non-

socialistic politics, and it has been difficult for the radicals to reach this important group. However, the initiative is now taken for political discussion and for "a stronger engagement with the faults within the community". Special "reading circles" are ready to be distributed, produced by the "Pax" publishing company — a company with only radical interests.

Through the Housewife Organization it is also easy to reach the small children in Nursery Schools, because of very close contact. Usually, the local Housewife organization is responsible for the opening of every new Nursery School.

The WACL Norwegian Chapter is much concerned about this, and it is happy to report that it has succeeded in obtaining excellent contacts and cooperation within that same organization. So far the communist infiltration has been unsuccessful.



*The Common Committee of East Exiles in Denmark protesting the visit of the Soviet Russian Navy in Copenhagen on August 18, 1971.*



# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## EAST GERMANY

### Over 135,000 Refugees from the Russian Occupation Zone of Germany since Fortification of Its Frontiers

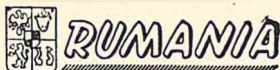
From 13 August 1961 on, when the frontiers of the Russian occupation zone of Germany to the free part of Germany and Berlin were fortified — 135,155 inhabitants of the Red "Workers' Paradise", the so-called "German Democratic Republic", have managed to flee into the Federal Republic of Germany, up to 31 December 1970. Of these only 29,612 used the zonal frontiers, fortified with barbed wire and mines, and the Berlin wall, to escape. The other refugees from the Russian occupation zone of Germany reached the Federal Republic of Germany during official or holiday trips approved by the Communist regime to various, mostly Communist-governed lands.

Since the building of the wall straight through Berlin and the fortification of the zonal frontiers about 150 people from the Russian occupation zone of Germany have lost their lives in escape attempts. They were either shot by Communist frontier guards or torn apart by mines.



### Lenin under the Hairdryer

A number of hairdressers in Budapest are offering a new type of customer service. In the time that the ladies spend under the hairdryer they can either listen to a Russian language course or to excerpts from the works of Lenin.



### Rumanian Bishop in Rome

Bishop Adalbert Boros, one of the Rumanian Bishops secretly consecrated by the Papal Nuncio in Bucharest following the Communist takeover, is on his first visit to Rome. Church sources reported that Bishop Boros, 70, had first gone to Vienna for medical treatment and had continued on to Rome where he was received by the Pope. Like many of his fellow prelates Bishop Boros was imprisoned for 15 years and forbidden to exercise his episcopal duties. He is now serving as an assistant rector in a country parish near Timisoara.

### Priests Arrested

A new number of Orthodox priests have been recently arrested under the accusations that they had illegal Sunday Schools for children, and that they had spread the Gospel. At this time we have the names of two Orthodox Priests, Rev. FELEA and Rev. TUDOR, and also the Greek Catholic Priest, CARACIONI who was also arrested under the same accusation.

### More Political Refugees

France can boast no less than 28 Rumanian political refugees during the months of July and August this year. Most prominent among them is NICOLAE BREBAN, a leading member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party. Editor-in-Chief of the *Literary Gazette*, BREBAN has not yet formally applied for political asylum, according to B.I.R.E., the Rumanian news bulletin from Paris. At the TREISKIRCHEN Refugee Camp in Austria, 18 new Rumanian refugees were recorded during July and August this year. Many more Rumanians, visiting other West European countries, are reported to refuse to go back to Rumania.

Among them most prominent is DR. NICOLAE TANCIU. He is accompanied by his wife and daughter. DR. TANCIU applied for political asylum in Milan.

#### **Rumanian Council of Socialist Culture and Education**

The newly established Council — replacing the State Committee for Culture and Arts — is part of the ideological campaign as approved by the RCP's Central Committee on July, 6. It is designed to provide Party Secretary DUMITRU POPESCU, responsible for internal ideological matters, with a panel which can supply expertise in the field of Communist indoctrination in culture and education. Among the responsibilities of the new Council are undertakings designed to stimulate the production of works in the fields of literature, cinematography, the theatres, music, and the plastic arts in order to demonstrate a "militant spirit corresponding to the interests of the socialist society..." The creation of the Council just proves that the regime is serious about the new ideological campaign. One of the first results of the now unified guidance and control of educational and cultural life is the trend of enlarging supervisory bodies and expanding the already inflated party bureaucracy.



#### **New Communist Monuments**

In the town of Zilina (Northwest Slovakia) a monument to Lenin had been erected. Also the capital of Slovakia has a new monument. A certain Kubac, an official of the Communist Party of Slovakia during the Stalin era, was honored with a monument in front of the Ministerial Building of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

#### **Resistance to Russian Occupation**

In the town of Kosice (East Slovakia) six persons were given prison terms of four to nine years for putting up resistance to the Russian occupying power.

#### **Russification**

In the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava, an intensive course of the Russian language for one hundred teachers was held in July 1971. The course was conducted by Soviet Russian officers. In addition a part of the course's participants were taken to the USSR in order to complete their study of Russian there.



#### **The War for Statehood and Church Is Still Being Waged**

Foreign circles recently approached the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Yu. Shelest, for clarification concerning the matter of the arrest and sentencing of *Valentyn Moroz*. Shelest delegated the problem of explaining and resolving the case to the organs of the KGB. In response to the International Amnesty's approach there appeared new attacks on this international organization in the Soviet press.

During his trial Valentyn Moroz admitted to writing some of the essays but denied the authorship of one work which the prosecutor attributed to him.

\* \* \*

In Ukraine copies are being circulated of the work of the historian *M. Braychevskiy* under the title of "Annexation or Reunion" and the more extensive work of *Vasyl Stus* "Phenomenon of the Age".

\* \* \*

In the decades between the two world wars, the Ternopil province was practically free of Russians. On June 13, 1971, the Regional Council of Workers' Deputies met in the city of Ternopil. According to national composition the first session of the 13th Congress was made up as follows: 111 Ukrainians, 7 Russians. This is actual proof of Russian colonialization of the territories of Western Ukraine.

\* \* \*

In August 1971, the "people's court" of the Zolochiv district, headed by P. Ya.



Kolos, and with the attendance of the "public" prosecutor of the district, N. I. Vasylenko, examined the case of *Stefan A. Dutko*, accused of the "crime" anticipated by Article 209, Section 2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR. The court found the accused, a Jehovah Witness, "guilty of excessive activity, which under the disguise of preaching religious doctrine, was directed at alienating citizens from active citizenship, and preventing them from performing their civic duties", and thereby sentenced S. Dutko of the village of Sasiv to three years' imprisonment.

\* \* \*

The directive of the Communist Party, of propagating atheism under all circumstances, took on various forms in Western Ukrainian territories. All district and provincial newspapers were forced to include appropriate articles in order to popularize atheism. Nonetheless, they all confirm the fact of further intensification of religious life in Ukraine.

\* \* \*

In connection with the anti-religious campaign, Ukrainian priests, among them, *Rev. Vasylii Vasylyuk*, *Rev. Smal*, *Rev. Volosyanka*, *Rev. Choliy* and *Rev. Zaliznyak*, have come under attack. Also being persecuted are *Mykola Mykolayovych Makohon*, the precentor of the Petrychiv Church, *M. M. Terlychko*, a worker in a Lviv ceramic factory, and many other workers of Lviv and the surrounding areas for their attachment to the Church. A certain M. Byelinsky entered a public accusation of the following content: "Why does the party organization of the Lviv ceramic factory, where M. M. Terlychko is employed, not take measures against him. Why does it put up with his anti-social acts in Mshana? The secretary of the party organization of the company, V. H. Zenyuk, is well informed of Terlychko's roguery, and even travelled to Mshana to become acquainted with the acts of his employee. But the case does not progress any further than conversations within the party committee with the stubborn fanatic."

In May 1971, in the hall of the Sambir district cultural building, a visiting assize of the Lviv provincial court headed by V. V. Romanets, sentenced *M. Kurnytskyi* to the greatest possible sentence — execution, on the basis of point "C" of the 93rd Article of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR. Kurnytskyi was found guilty of killing the head of the executive committee of the Nyklovycsi village council in Sambir district, S. I. Kurbyak. The court accused Kurnytskyi of performing the killing in order to avenge himself for the fact that Kurbyak, the head of the village council, excluded a portion of land from his private plot and made a denunciation to the militia, in which he demanded that Kurnytskyi be brought to trial (no reason was given). Kurbyak, furthermore, advanced party criticism, which resulted in Kurnytskyi's dismissal from the post of manager of a farm. The murder, according to the court, took place in darkness. Witnesses and "experts" were presented at the trial.

\* \* \*

Each year in Ukraine, the authorities organize numerous summer pioneer camps, during which they poison the souls of young children, and often their physical organisms as well. In the Russian empire, there are two types of pioneer camps: one is for the children of workers and peasants, and the other, a more privileged one, is for the children of party and state aristocracy. These camps are vastly different as to nourishment, service, equipment, and so on. Workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia are charged 25 rubles per child.

On June 14, 1971, in a pioneer camp in the Skadovsk region of Kherson province, for children of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, the irresponsible criminals in charge fed the children spoiled macaroni, as a result of which 200 poisoned children were sent to hospital. Two later died. It is worthwhile to note that not a single Soviet newspaper made mention of this incident.

## Book Reviews

Günther Wagenlehner: *STATE OR COMMUNISM. Lenin's Decision against Communist Society*. Published by Seewald Publishing Co. Stuttgart, 1970, 260 pp.

Dr. Günther Wagenlehner, author of numerous scholarly publications, essays and contributions to books on the USSR and Communism, comes in this study to the conclusion that the Soviet system built up by the Russian Bolshevik party cannot be regarded as a transition to a "Communist society" in the meaning of Marxist doctrine.

The author states that already after the take-over of power by his party in Russia, Lenin, faced with the alternative: — state or Communism? — decided on the Russian state and the Soviet system. Even the propagation of the right of self-determination of nations was used by Lenin and Stalin only as a tactic in the interests of the Russian empire. The author says the following i.a. on this: "In reality the Bolsheviks tried desperately to do just what Rosa Luxemburg missed in them, that is, the bringing together of the revolutionary forces in the whole area of the empire". They could only, in consideration of the conditions of power, reach this aim by formally recognizing the right to self-determination, so as to be able to build up the power position of the new sovereign, the party, with all the less disturbance".

Under Stalin the priority of the national and imperial interests of Russia over Communist theories and aims was even more promoted than under Lenin. This development was also given ideological support with the idea of "Soviet patriotism". This was only a modern version of the old Russian "imperial patriotism", that is, that all the nations of the Russian empire remain together and acknowledge the leading role of the Russian nation. Accordingly the whole history of the Russian nation was also rehabilitated and the Russian people glorified beyond measure.

"After the failure of the Communist International and the lack of any future for an international dictatorship of the proletariat in the Twenties, no other possibility remained than that of national authority, if the Bolsheviks wanted to be successful in Russia".

Especially after the outbreak of war between Germany and Soviet Russia in 1941 Russian nationalism was propagated in the USSR as the saviour of the empire. "Stalin from the start placed the will for national resistance above the (less effective) will for the defence of socialist achievements".

"The revival of old traditions also finally consolidated the dominating position of the Russian nation. The CPR (Russian Communist Party) was always predominantly a Russian Party".

The author sees no symptoms in the USSR for a development of a "Communist society" according to the ideas of Karl Marx: "The previous development and present plans show that the decision in favour of the Soviet state is irrevocable. The way to rulerless Communist society thus remains closed".

*Dr. C. E. Pokorny*

Ian Grieg: *THE ASSAULT ON THE WEST*. Petersham, Surrey, England, 1968, 357 pp.

In this book the author gives a survey of the Communist agitation, espionage and subversion in the Free World. In the first part of the book he describes the "attack from without" and in the second, "the attack from within".

In the first part of the book, Mr. Grieg informs the reader with numerous facts on: foreign language publishing activities and organizations in the Communist bloc; dissemination of foreign language periodicals; books and pamphlet production; foreign language broadcasting services in the So-



viet Union, the East European states, Communist China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba; the clandestine stations and the role of Communist news agencies. The author gives a full report on international Communist organizations, such as the "World Peace Council", the "World Federation of Trade Unions", etc., as well as on bilateral Communist organizations, such as various "cultural societies" and "friendship associations" in the Free World, e. g. the British-Rumanian Friendship Association", the "Lidice Shall Live Committee", etc.

The author devotes special attention to Communist espionage and subversion. He reports on the Soviet Russian intelligence service, that of Red China and other Communist-ruled countries. In this connection Mr. Grieg refers to the fact that the Communist embassies are used by their governments as bases for intelligence activities.

In the second part of the book, Mr. Grieg discusses the activities and tactics of Communist parties in the countries of the Free World.

The book under review does not emphasize the imperial differences between Soviet Russia and Red China. The book could therefore awaken the impression in non-informed readers that only ideological differences are involved. In addition to this Mr. Grieg often mentions, in one sentence, without any differentiation, "the Soviet Union, the East European states, Commun-

ist China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba". Such a portrayal of the situation can only awaken the impression that there is only one monolithic Communist bloc. Such a simplification of the given situation does not however accord with the realities of world politics. C.E.P.

### The Journal of Byelorussian Studies

This is the same of the scholarly review dealing with Byelorussian history and culture, which is to be published by the Anglo-Byelorussian Society in London, whose president is the Rt. Hon. Lord Harlech P. C. Besides interesting studies on the problems of the Byelorussian historical research, it is to contain valuable information on the culture of the Byelorussian people, as well as book reviews, a chronicle of Byelorussian public life in the homeland, as well as abroad, and reports on the activities of the Anglo-Byelorussian Society.

The Editor of *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies* is Arnold B. McMillan Esq. All correspondence relating to editorial matters should be addressed to: The Editor, The Journal of Byelorussian Studies, 230 Strand, London W.C. 2, England. Correspondence relating to subscription and distribution should be addressed to: Mr. J. Michaluk, 11 Ridgeview Road, London N. 20, England. The price in the United Kingdom and Commonwealth is 0.75 Pounds, in USA and Canada — 2 Dollars.



*On August 26, 1971, Ukrainian students gathered at the entrance to the Russian Embassy in London to demand freedom for Valentyn Moroz.*

Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.

200 Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF, England. Tel. 01—607 6266

## A Catalogue of Books in Print

1. RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE. Reports and Documents. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1962, pp. 576 + 24 pp. of illustrations. Price £ 1.80 (\$ 8.00). Cloth.

Articles, reports and eye-witness accounts on Russian Communist reprisals against the Ukrainian national movement between 1917 and 1960.

2. THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA. Essays and Articles. Edited by Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B. A., B. Litt. Ukrainian Information Service, London 1967, 267 pp. Price: £ 1.25 (\$ 3.50) cloth, £ 0.90 (\$ 2.50) paperback.

A number of authors (mostly Ukrainian) consider the problems of the deep forces motivating Russian Bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

3. REVOLUTIONARY VOICES. Ukrainian Political Prisoners Condemn Russian Colonialism. Publ. by Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich 1969, 156 pp., illustrations. Price: £ 0.60 (\$ 1.50), paperback.

Texts of original protest writings by young Ukrainian intellectuals imprisoned in Soviet prisons and forced labour camps, translated into English from Ukrainian.

4. THE SHAME OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Bolshevik Methods of Combating the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement. A Documentary Report. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1962, 79 pp. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.50), paperback.

Translation of pamphlet published in Ukraine by the underground Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council in 1946. Numerous facts on mass terror, murders and reprisal actions by the Russian security forces, esp. between 1943-46. Included in "Russian Oppression of Ukraine", see item 1.

5. MURDERED BY MOSCOW: PETLURA-KONOVALETS-BANDERA.

Three Leaders of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement assassinated at the orders of Stalin and Khrushchov. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1962, 76 pp. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.50), paperback.

Little known facts and circumstances of brutal murders arranged by Moscow of the three leaders of Ukrainian national resistance in 1926, 1938 and 1959, in Paris, Rotterdam and Munich respectively. Incl. in "Russian Oppression".

6. *Volodymyr Kosyk*, CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE USSR. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1962, 108 pp. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.50), paperback.

Story of the growth of Russian forced labour camps, estimates of numbers of inmates in various years, with particular reference to numbers of Ukrainian prisoners. Texts of Appeals from Ukrainian prisoners in Mordovian camps, written in 1955 to the UN and Ukrainians in the Free World. Included in "Russian Oppression", item 1 above.

7. KHRUSHCHOV'S CRIMES IN UKRAINE. Mass-Murders of Ukrainian Political Prisoners. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1962, 93 pp. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.50), paperback. Included in "Russian Oppression", see item 1 above.

Documented accounts and eye-witness reports on Russian Communist murders of thousands of Ukrainian prisoners in Vinnytsia (1937-38), Lviv and other Ukrainian towns (1941).

8. *Taras Shevchenko*, SONG OUT OF DARKNESS. Selected Poems translated from the Ukrainian language by *Vera Rich*. With Preface by Paul Selver, a Critical Essay by W.K. Matthews, Introduction and Notes by V. Swoboda. London, The Mitre



Press, 1961, 128 pp. with Shevchenko's self-portrait reprod. Cloth-bound. Price: 80 p (\$ 3.00).

Part 1 of the planned series of Shevchenko's works in English translation. Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) is regarded as the greatest Ukrainian national poet who inspired the modern Ukrainian cultural and political rebirth.

9. *Niko Nakashidze*, THE TRUTH ABOUT A.B.N. An Answer to the Provocations of Moscow's Fifth Column in the West. Publ. by the A.B.N. Press and Information Bureau, Munich 1960, 62 pp. Paperback. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.50)

Prince Nakashidze, a Georgian leader, refutes slanders spread in the West by Russian chauvinists about the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which fights for the independence of all non-Russian nations presently included in the USSR.

10. HOW TO DEFEAT RUSSIA. ABN and EFC Conferences, London, October 17th-22nd, 1968. Publ. by Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich 1969, 114 pp., illustr., paperback. Price: 60 p (\$ 2.00).

Texts of speeches and statements made on the occasion of the Conferences of the ABN and the European Freedom Council in London.

11. *Dr. Lev Mydlowsky*, BOLSHEVIST PERSECUTION OF RELIGION AND CHURCH IN UKRAINE. 1917-1957. Informative Outline. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1958, 33 pp. Illustrations. Paperback. Price: 30 p (\$ 1.00)

12. *Wolodymyr Mykula*, THE GUN AND THE FAITH. Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Russian Rule. Ukrainian Information Service, London 1969, 48 pp., paperback. Price: 30 p (\$ 1.50) Illustrations.

An up-to-date account of the persecution of various religious communities, in particular the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite in Ukraine by the militant atheistic power.

13. *Yaroslav Stetsko*, FOR THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PATRIARCHATE. Petition to His Holiness Pope Paul VI and Memorandum to His Eminence Cardinal Testa by Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine. Ukrainian Information Service, London, 1971, paperback, 10 pp. Price: 10 p (25 c).

14. *Dr Wolodymyr Sawchak*, THE STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN VIEW OF STATE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW. Ukrainian Information Service, London 1971, 32 pp., paperback. Price: 20 (50 c).

15. *J(ulian) Birch*, THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.S.R. SINCE 1956, Ukrainian Information Service, London 1971, 48 pp., paperback. Price: 25 p (75 c).

16. *Valentyn Moroz*, AMONG THE SNOWS. Protest Writings from Ukraine. Ukrainian Information Service, London 1971, 64 pp., paperback. Tr. & ed. by W. Mykula. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.75)

This most recent publication of the U.I.S. contains authentic reports from clandestine sources in Ukraine (transl. into English from Ukrainian) about the arrest and trial of the 35-year old Ukrainian history teacher V. Moroz for reading foreign books and underground writings, for writing himself and giving others to read such material critical of Soviet Russian repression of Ukrainian cultural and political development. At a closed trial in Nov. 1970 Moroz was sentenced to nine years imprisonment in prisons and concentration camps and five years banishment to Siberia. This is already his second sentence. The first was four years imprisonment (1966). Translation of Moroz's brilliant article "Among the Snows" is included in the collection. Also a list of prisoners.

17. *Maj.-Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.*, RUSSIA IS NOT INVINCIBLE. Reprinted from the edition by Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1951, by the Press Bureau

of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich 1969, 12 pp. Price: 10 p (25 c). Paper.

18. *Suzanne Labin*, PROMISE & REALITY. 50 Years of Soviet Russian "Achievements". Ed. by John Graham. Publ. by European Freedom Council (British Section), 32 pp. Price: 10 p (25 c). Paper.

19. KYIV VERSUS MOSCOW. Political Guidelines of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Ukrainian Information Service, Munich 1970, 69 pp., paperback. Price: 20 p (50 c).

Contains some of the important statements of the Fourth Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) /followers of the late Stepan Bandera murdered by a Soviet Russian agent in Munich in 1959 / in Spring 1968.

20. *Jaroslav Stetzko*, THE KREMLIN ON A VOLCANO, Coexistence or Liberation Policy? Foreword by Maj.-Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, Publ. by American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., USA, New York 1959, 56 pp. paperback. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.25) Introduction by Dr. N. Procyk, Chairman of AF ABN.

Mr. J. Stetzko, in the form of questions and answers, gives a very broad and thorough account of the revolutionary ferment inside the USSR, the continuing struggle of the non-Russian nations of the USSR to free themselves from Russian bondage and to establish their independent states, and the significance of all this for the Free World and its policies towards the Soviet Russian empire.

21. *Iwan Wowchuk*, IN DEFENCE OF HUMANISM. The Case against Myth-Creation in the U.N. Foreword by Nestor Procyk, M.D. Publ. by Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, 2nd Printing, Buffalo, USA — Toronto, Canada, 1970, 27 pp. Price: 20 p (35 c), paperback.

The author scathingly castigates those in the UN and outside who in the West try to present Lenin as a "humanist" and reveals the real Lenin whose hands are

marred with innocent blood of victims of mass terror.

22. THE STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE FOR FREEDOM. Its Importance for a Free World. Introduction by John F. Stewart. Publ. by Scottish League for European Freedom, No. 7 in a series. Edinburgh, 1952, 40 pp. Paperback. Illustrations. Price: 20 p (50 c).

23. *John F. Stewart*, FRAUDULENT RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA EXPOSED, Publ. by Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh, 1952, paperback, 7 pp. Price: 20 p (50 c). No. 13 of a series.

24. *Oleh Martovych*, 800 YEARS OF RUSSIA'S MARCH TO WORLD CONQUEST. Foreword by John F. Stewart, Chairman, Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh, 1953, paperback, 26 pp. Price: 20 p (50 c). No. 15 of a series.

25. *Oleh Martovych*, UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN MODERN TIMES. Introduction by John F. Stewart. Publ. by Scottish League for European Freedom, Today's World series, No. 5, Edinburgh (1951), 176 pp., numerous plates, incl. 1 coloured. Bibliography. Paperback. Price: £ 1.00 (\$ 3.50)

A valuable introduction into the problem of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle in the 19th-20th centuries, but especially in the period starting with the First World War. The author, a participant in the Ukrainian political and military struggle for independence during and after World War II, describes with personal knowledge many events of this period relating to Ukraine. A live style and numerous illustrations make it a most readable book, although it does not cover the period after 1950.

26. *Jaroslav Stetzko*, AN IMPERIALIST RUSSIA OR FREE NATIONAL STATES? Is a Compromise of the Enslaved Peoples of the U.S.S.R. with the Concept of One and Indivisible Russia Possible? Foreword by John F. Stewart. Publ. by



Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh, 1953, paperback, 16 pp., 1 illustr. Price: 20 p (50 c).

27. *F. Pigido-Pravoberezhny*, THE STALIN FAMINE. Ukraine in the Year 1933. With a Foreword by Moira Roberts. Published by the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, London, July 1953, 72 pp., index, illustr. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.25). Paperback.

28. UKRAINIAN FOREIGN POLICY, Comments on the Fourth Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Z.Ch. O.U.N.). Introduction by John F. Stewart. Foreword by Maj.-Gen. J.F.C. Fuller. Publ. by Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh 1953. Price: 20 p (50 c), paperback, 31 pp.

29. CONVENTION OF DELEGATES OF THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK NATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA. Held in Edinburgh on 12th, 13th, and 14th June 1950. Published by the Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh (1953), 16 pp., paperback. Price: 20 p (50 c).

30. *R. Ilnytzky*, RUSSIAN WORLD AMBITIONS AND WORLD PEACE. Hitler's Fatal Blunder; Britain's Opportunity. A Warning Against the Imitation of Heinrich Himmler (The struggle over the programme of psychological warfare against the Soviet Union). Foreword by John F. Stewart. Published by Scottish League for European Freedom. Foreign Affairs Information Series No. 16, Edinburgh, July, 1953, 59 pp.,

paper. Price: 50 p (\$ 1.25)

A valuable documentary review of differences of viewpoints among emigre groupings of every nationality from behind the Iron Curtain on the possibility of a joint action in psychological warfare against the USSR; from OUN and ABN viewpoint. Critique of American Committee for Liberation of Russia.

31. *Jaroslav Stetzko*, THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR. The Higher Meaning of Our Fight. Address delivered at the Third Congress of the ABN in Munich, in March 1954; with ABN Freedom Manifesto, A Message to all the Nations Subjugated by Bolshevism, An Appeal to the Western World, Resolutions, ABN Statutes, and Greetings. With Foreword by Maj.-Gen. J. F. C. Fuller and Introduction by John F. Stewart.

*Maj.-Gen. J.F.C. Fuller*, FOR WHAT TYPE OF WAR SHOULD THE WEST PREPARE?

*Prince Niko Nakashidze*, THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN THE USSR.

Published in one brochure by the Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh (1954), 54 pp. Price: 40 p (\$ 1.00).

32. UKRAINIAN WOMAN IN THE MODERN AGE. Published by the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain, London 1963, 36 pp, illustr., paperback. Price: 20 p (50 c).

NOTE. These prices are net.

For orders of 5 or more copies a 30 p.c. discount will be given.

## A Decisive and United Stand Opposing Kosygin

As a result of the policies of 'peaceful coexistence' with the USSR, which the Liberal government of Premier Trudeau has been pursuing, beginning with his visit to the USSR this spring and with his co-signing, along with Kosygin, of a treaty of cooperation between the two countries, Kosygin arrived to Canada on Sunday, October 17 of this year. This is the first

time that a Canadian government has invited and hosted the highest representative of Russian-Communist colonialism and tyranny in this freedom-loving nation.

Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, Jews and others joined in the protest against the arrival of Alexei Kosygin. An outraged protest was expressed by the Congress of

the Ukrainian Canadian Committee recently held in Winnipeg, Man. A separate resolution was adopted by the Congress, in which it simultaneously warned Canada and the entire free world that a policy of peaceful coexistence with the Russian-Bolshevik aggressors could only bring destructive repercussions. The gravity of the protest resolution was reinforced by a large demonstration which took place in Ottawa on Sunday, October 17, the date of Kosygin's arrival to Canada's capital. Well over 1500 citizens from Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Oshawa, Hamilton and other cities participated in the demonstration. Predominant in the large crowd were young people — students and members of Ukrainian youth organizations.

On October 18, while walking with Trudeau from one parliament building to another, Kosygin was attacked by a 27-year-old Hungarian, Geza Matrai, Social Credit candidate in the Ontario provincial elections for High Park, Toronto. With a cry of "Freedom for Hungary!" he tackled Kosygin to the ground. Canadian police and Soviet KGB bodyguards arrested the assailant.

Demonstrations against Kosygin's arrival to Canada were also held in Edmonton, Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto, upon Kosygin's visits to these respective cities. Toronto was the scene of a huge demonstration attended by some 16,000 persons. More than 2000 police were mobilized for the protection of Kosygin. During the course of the demonstration, 18 persons were arrested, many of them youths aged 17-20.

Besides these physical demonstrations, Kosygin suffered the verbal attacks of Canadian parliamentarians. Several members of parliament protested his interference in internal Canadian affairs, after Kosygin's declaration that Nixon's American economic policy was at fault in the rising state of unemployment in Canada. Others demanded the release of Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainian political prisoners currently incarcerated in Russian prisons and labour camps. A similar demand, and the demand to halt the persecution of the Catholic Church and its clergy in Ukraine, was expressed in a letter, on behalf of Ukrainian Catholics, sent by Bishop Isydor Borecky.



*One of the many demonstrations held throughout Canada during Kosygin's visit.*






Above: Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain marching silently through the streets of London, August 26, 1971, to mourn the death of Alla Horska and Mykhailo Soroka.

Below: A leaflet distributed in the major cities of Canada during Alexei Kosygin's visit to that country in October, 1971.

**FREE MOROZ**  
AND OTHERS



VALENTYN MOROZ

A Ukrainian historian unlawfully sentenced in January 1968 and November 1970 to 14 years of hard labour in a concentration camp for exposing in his writings gross Soviet Russian policies of Russification, racism and terror against Ukrainians and other peoples captive in the USSR.

END SOVIET RUSSIAN FASCISM AND IMPERIALISM NOW !!!

**JAIL KOSYGIN**  
FOR THE SUBJUGATION AND DESTRUCTION



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BYELORUSSIA  
ESTONIA  
LATVIA  
LITHUANIA  
HUNGARY  
POLAND  
CZECHIA  
SLOVAKIA

ARMENIA  
BULGARIA  
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COSSAKIA  
CROATIA  
GEORGIA  
SERBIA  
TURKESHTAN  
SLOVENIA

imperialism... genocide... Russification... rape... racism... concentration camps...  
Ging squads... terror... famines... All these atrocities against humanity have been, and are,  
perpetrated by Kosygin and his accomplices in over 54 years of Communist Russian domina-  
tion.

**PROTEST KOSYGIN IN CANADA !!!**

SET THEM FREE COMMITTEE