

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



In Memory of the 7 Million Victims of Artificial Famine in Ukraine

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A Year of Horror

Russian Genocide in Ukraine

Forty years ago, in 1932/1933, Russia had perpetrated the most outrageous genocide in the history of mankind. Over seven million Ukrainians, hundreds of thousands of Don Cossacks, North Caucasians, Byelorussians and other non-Russians fell victim to artificial famine, systematically organized by Russian colonialists.

The Russian position in Ukraine had been undermined. Millions of Ukrainian peasants resisted forced collectivization. The collectivization of agriculture is not only an economic category, but also a military one. It is a tool of Russia's domination over the subjugated nations. Collectivization is a Russian way of life, which Russia imposes forcefully upon the oppressed peoples in order to rule over them. It is a means of stifling private initiative, a totalitarian form of imperio-colonialist domination.

Hundreds of thousands of privately owned farms are tantamount to hundreds of thousands of points of resistance to the Russian way of life. A collectivized village means total control over the farmer. It is a massive attempt at mastering him. It is an attempt to prevent food assistance to the insurgents as well. The collective farms in the subjugated countries are the Russian control centers of his phase of life too. A Ukrainian peasant is an individualist. He despises collective economy. He stands for a peasant's private ownership of land. Collectivization of agriculture, therefore, is a thoroughly political and ideological category, not only an economic one. A kolkhoz and private property means a collision of two worlds — Russia and Ukraine — in the national and political respect. It is a clash of an amorphous mass, a herd, controlled by the tyrants and — the individuality which has its own dignity, its own human and national "I". Collectivization is a levelling of life in order to stifle everything creative in a human being. Collectivization is a method of national oppression with the help of massive efforts to impose a hostile ideology of life upon a subjugated nation.

The French, the English, the Dutch or the Belgians by no means imposed their way of life upon the countries acquired by them. The Russians do the contrary. They force their way of life upon the subjugated nations as a means of dominating them.

And thus, for instance, in literature or art soc-realism is a form of Russian imperialism. It is an attempt at spiritual Russification, which hand in hand with linguistic Russification is to force the subjugated peoples to accept the "reality" of Russian slavery, the dictates of Russia as a form of their creativity.

Militant atheism is a form of Russian imperialism in the religious sphere, for, by destroying Christianity and other traditional religions, it attempts to liquidate the millenary spiritual traditions of a nation and to reduce a human being to cattle. The Russian official Kremlin-style "Orthodoxy", as a Caesaro-papist religion, as a "Church" which serves the

atheistic Russian regime is another form of Russian imperialism, which follows the line of the "Third Rome". Side by side with linguistic Russification there is an attempt at the Russification of the spirit . . . Sovietization is Russification. The Soviet people do not and cannot exit. There are only the Russian people and the subjugated peoples, who engage in a ceaseless and merciless struggle for life or death. Widespread nationalization and socialization are also a form of Russian colonialism in Ukraine and other subjugated nations are a difficult category for total control. of the subjugated nations are a difficult category for total control. For this reason, all measures adopted by Russia in the subjugated countries must be viewed as nothing other than the forms of Russian imperialism, and colonialism.

Forty years ago, Russia committed the greatest crime of genocide in order to drive Ukrainians into the kolkhozes. Ukraine — the richest agricultural country of Europe — lost over seven million inhabitants. Russia sent its troops to take away the harvest, the bread, from Ukraine by force.

Hundreds of thousands of Russian troops plundered Ukrainian villages, confiscating all grain and killing people. The Ukrainian peasant resisted joining the kolkhoz, resisted giving his land to the Russians. An uneven battle ensued. The Ukrainian village rose against collectivization. The peasants perished in battle with Russian troops, but did not go to the kolkhozes. The struggle continued for many months. The Russian armies crushed the peasants' uprising against collectivization. They took bread from Ukraine to Russia. The Ukrainian peasants perished by the millions in the villages and in the streets of cities. Dantean scenes were the order of the day. Ukraine did not succumb. When the mothers and children, and the elderly and the sick were dying in the streets of towns and villages, the insurrection was crushed by the Russians. The Russian tyrants, Stalin and Molotov, temporarily crushed the resistance of the Ukrainian nation at the price of millions of Ukrainian victims.

Several million so-called kulaks, i. e. Ukrainian well-to-do farmers, were forcefully deported to Siberia either to concentration camps or to dig canals. At that time, the Ukrainian nation lost over ten million victims of Russian Bolshevik terror.

However, Russia failed to break the Ukrainian nation. It revived again. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) organized the struggle of the nation anew and continue to do so at present. Ukraine continues to fight. The Ukrainian people will never forgive the Russian occupants for the ten million victims of Russia's hunger siege of Ukraine.

On this fortieth anniversary of the greatest crime of genocide known in the history of mankind, Ukraine warns the free world against the Russian tyrants who are preparing a similar genocide for it.

It is a tragedy for the free world that it is silent in the face of such outrageous crimes and continues to support Russian domination over hundreds of millions of people and scores of nations.

Caveant consules !

False Words Leading to True Bloodshed

On December 10, 1922, of which we mourn today the 50th anniversary, the Bolsheviks decided to rebaptize the Russian empire into the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". In fact, during these fifty years, there has been no Union, no Socialism, no Soviets and no Republics. The event occurred once all the national **republics** had been crushed by Lenin's soldiers; once every bit of Soviet power and socialist inspiration had died with the last sailor shot by Lenin in Kronstadt; once the Cheka (secret police) had plunged the **Union** of peoples into the bloodiest terror. Thus, on that date, the Bolsheviks crowned their method of using words to designate the exact opposite of what they meant, a method which they had already illustrated by calling "revolution" a mere military coup, and "emancipation" a black dictatorship.

I often wondered whether the systematic hiding of the Communists behind **fake labels**, meant for them a weakness or a strength. Philosophically, it is rewarding, because the Western world, unused to an absolute lie, has always been mystified by the Communists.

The most cynical and tragic example of the use of false labels is occurring now in **Vietnam**. It is obvious that the Communist forces have assailed a free and peaceful country in order to subjugate it. This is especially blatant since the invasion of the South by the regular army of the North. Yet, those **invaders** are called **liberators**, while the Americans who defend the country against their aggression are called invaders, and not only by Moscow and Peking, but also by the West. It is obvious that the Vietnamese people, by fleeing in mass from the regions occupied by the Reds to seek protection in those governed by President Thieu, have demonstrated that they hate Com-

munism and consider Thieu's administration as the legitimate one. Yet, President Thieu is called an oppressor and an American puppet, while the Communist puppets and butchers are called emancipators. And this is not a mere playing upon words. It leads the Western world to demand the resignation of the elected president of Saigon, not of the tyrant of Hanoi, or the formation in Saigon of a tripartite government including the Vietcong. To properly weigh the partiality involved here, imagine that, during the last world war, America would have suddenly stopped its help to Great Britain, and requested Winston Churchill to include Sir Oswald Mosley and the German Nazis in his cabinet, while Hitler's power would have been left untouched in Berlin.

The fraud is not smaller in **Europe**. During the last Summit Conference held in Paris, the flood of misleading words has been as intense as that covering the sell-out of Vietnam. It was said that Europe had to build an "autonomous civilization" and an "independent personality". In practice, all the values which can be the pillars of a European civilization are identical to those of the American civilization: political freedom, human dignity, respect of the law, social progress, freedom of conscience. Speaking of European "autonomy" in this field is only a hypocritical way of implying that America embodies some inferior kind of society, which is a gross distortion spread to stir up anti-American feeling in Europe, the best trump card of Communism.

The "independent" personality of Europe is also a hypocritical way of saying that Europe should **not** be at America's side in the front against Communism, but must build a so-called "third force" between both

camps. This is pure desertion of European defense. The Communist menace is of such proportions that we hardly have enough of the unified forces of Europe and America to face it. What would the Europeans have said, when confronted by the Nazi aggressors, if Washington had told them: "Well, my friends, you are too systematically opposed. We shall build an independent third force between freedom and tyranny."

The idea of a third force tends to hide the reality of the Communist danger, and thus dissolves the solidarity of the Europeans before a common enemy. The Kremlin adopts the old strategy of the wolf which tries to convince the Little Red Riding Hood that there is no wolf, because now, between the wolf and our villages, there is still an enormous obstacle made up by the American troops. Since the end of the last world war, the Kremlin's paramount obsession has been the withdrawal of these troops which would leave Europe at the mercy of the Russians. But the Kremlin is too weak to break this fortress by an open attack from outside. So it resorts to its old method of dissipating the political will of the opposite camp by deception, infiltration, propaganda and intrigues.

You know that a conference is being prepared to organize — so its title says — "the simultaneous and balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe". This sounds like a treaty of fair play. But, don't forget the usual misuse of words by the Communists. They pretend that there shall be a **balance**, if their forces deploy behind a paper line 400 miles from the heart of Europe, while the American forces will cross the Atlantic Ocean to return to their homes 4,000 miles away from our shores. And from that day on the towns of Europe would be wide open to the crushing superiority of the Russian ground troops. Believe me, there would be no minister in Europe who would take a

decision without looking over his shoulders to see whether it pleases Moscow.

But even that sinister farce finds a lot of advocates in our ranks. They explain that the three hundred divisions of the gentle Brezhnev are there only because of the twelve divisions of the ferocious Nixon; while, obviously, the twelve divisions of the gentle Nixon are there only because of the three hundred divisions of the ferocious Brezhnev.

Moscow can also count on the new **isolationists** in America who are now on the left, and work hard to make the American people disgusted with the heavy financial load of maintaining troops in Europe; while their leftist counterparts in Europe work hard to make the Europeans indignant at the American shield.

But opening our flesh to the Communist dagger is still not enough. Another conference is being prepared about "Security and Cooperation in Europe". Again, nice names to hide ugly facts. By "cooperation" you have to understand that the resources, talents, money and technology of Europe will hereafter fertilize the rotten, impotent and moribund economy of the Communist regimes, without the slightest reciprocity in favor of the democratic world, giving some meaning to the "co" prefix in the word "cooperation". As a matter of fact, for fifty years the Russians have never ceased to pump into their miserable economy, be it by the good will of a thousand capitalists, be it by direct plundering of the occupied countries, goods, machinery and services worth billions of dollars, without which the Communist system would have collapsed a long time ago. The only novelty is that, from now on, this permanent rescue of the executioner by its victims will be called: **cooperation**. In other words, the lean Russian bear has led the fat European sheep to fill

his lair with food and commodities, and, in addition, to bless this lair. This is indeed the true meaning of the other panel of that conference, the one called "security". This means concretely that Europe, which is the threatened area, will guarantee the security of the USSR, which is the threatening power. How? By consecrating solemnly the borders which Communism and Russian imperialism have conquered by sword and deceit, by recognizing openly the legitimacy of dictatorships, which have never been legitimated by the consent of their peoples, and by admitting that, in all the extent of these territories, whatever the aspirations of the nations living there may be, the Russian imperialists have the right to impose their inhuman order by blood and lies. And, last but not least, the security of **those makers of world insecurity** will be guaranteed by denying the right to independence to all the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism behind the Iron Curtain. A right, mind you, which is proclaimed supreme in the United Nations Charter and whose violation should entail the expulsion from the UN.

Here, my friends, we reach the bottom of an abdication of the civilized nations, the parallel of which is unknown in history. Sanctioning the totalitarian power of the Communist in the area of their colonialism, implies not only the betrayal of all political principles, but also the cruel insensibility to the blood, sweat and tears shed by the subjugated peoples. Under the Communist yoke, there are millions of your brethren — who should be the **brethren of all free men** — who suffer every day from physical and moral terror, from police persecution, from an economy of starvation, from a black censorship, from religious persecution, from national oppression. When the civilized countries sprinkle on that horror the blessed waters of their diplomatic agreements, they com-

mit the crime called in our civilized codes: "Refusal to assist persons in danger."

I should like to emphasize that we, whom many liberals try to discredit by calling us "systematic anti-Communists", ought to claim that label with **pride**, for we bear it in excellent company. Indeed, the most systematic anti-Communists of the world are the peoples of the Communist dominated countries, and we can be proud of ourselves for having been always wholeheartedly in tune with them. Yes, the free world owes its survival, today, to the irreconcilable hatred that the masses of Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, China, Vietnam, have never ceased to show to their Communist rulers, be it by silent refusal, be it by open revolt. It is **they who will**, one day, bring our deliverance together with their own.

If the final aim of our policy is to destroy the dictatorship in Moscow and Peking, and to reinstate free and independent states of all the subjugated peoples the best way of doing so, without a world war, is to have it overthrown, **from within**, by its rebellious subjects, for, as long as Communist dictatorship stands no man, anywhere on earth, will be able to face the future with confidence. The liquidation of the Communist system and the dissolution of the Russian prison of nation will guarantee a just and lasting peace in the world. But this policy obliges us to help, with all our heart and might, the resistance of those captive peoples, because they are, altogether, **the most effective, the most valuable and the most exposed** allies of the free world. And their sublime sacrifice, not only obliges us to denounce their tyrants, but also shows us what can weld our union. It is the fire that inspires **them**, all races alike; it is the fire that glows in the forge of all our civilizations, and the name of this fire is: **FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE !**

Withdrawal of Russian Troops from Occupied Countries - A Precondition to Security

The Soviet Russian imperialists and Communists, and their fellow-travellers throughout the world are observing this year, particularly on December 30, 1972, the 50th anniversary of the USSR, allegedly a voluntary union of nations.

As the British League for European Freedom pointed out during Captive Nations Week in June of this year, when the European Common Market is expanded to cover Britain and other countries — it will still only represent half of Europe. The other half, in the main, lies in the Russian Empire, the only remaining empire in the world today.

Britain, which has granted independence to over fifty of her own former colonies, has time and again exerted her undoubted right and duty to demand that Russia does the same. But these demands have so far been unanswered by the Russians, who have also completely ignored demands that basic human rights, as defined by the United Nations, be extended to the peoples subjugated within the Soviet Russian Empire.

Curiously enough, it is Russia — no longer able to point a finger of fury at the British Empire — which now accuses Britain and the United States of what it calls "neo-colonialism." There is nothing "neo" about Russia's imperialism.

The non-Russians within the USSR number as many as the Russians themselves. They all long for freedom and independence from the Russian yoke, which is maintained only by military and police power. When Russia seized the Baltic countries of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, with a large chunk of West Ukrainian territory, in the 1940s, thousands of their people were seized and sent eastwards in cattle-trucks to the slave camps of Siberia, many of them dying on the way.

But much the same happened to peoples which had long been within the Russian Empire. The Ukrainian population was decimated by artificial famine and exile in the 1930s; the Volga-Germans, various Caucasian peoples, the Crimean Tartars, the Mongol Kalmycks and many, many others, suffered a similar fate. Some of these peoples have histories and cultures far older than those of the Russian people (which date only from about the time of the Norman Conquest in Britain).

Inside the 22 captive nations colonial exploitation and a vicious policy of Russification designed to wipe out native cultures and languages, coupled with the persecution and annihilation of individuals who dare to protest about the denial of basic human rights, is carried out by the KGB (Russian Secret Police).

Take as examples, the fate of Yuriy Shukhevych, only one of many thousands that can be cited from every captive nation inside the Russian Empire.

Shukhevych was only 15 when he was first arrested by the KGB. His crime? He was the son of the Ukrainian General who, in the 1940s led the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against the Russians and the Nazi Germans in an attempt to regain Ukrainian independence. **Because he**

refused to denounce his own father, Yuriy served 20 years in Russian concentration camps. He was released in 1968 to live in exile. In January of this year he was arrested again. Now he has been given another ten years in prison, making 30 years in all, and all for loyalty to the memory of his father. Such examples are commonplace inside the so-called Soviet Union.

The fate of Yuriy Shukhevych and the many thousands of non-Russians who inhabit the dreaded concentration camps, the fate of millions of Europeans inside the captive nations cannot be ignored by anyone who professes to love liberty. Lenin himself said: "A nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free." It is well to remember this maxim at a time when the Russians are expressing an interest in "European Security".

A precondition to such security is the withdrawal of all Russian troops from occupied countries and the re-establishment of their national independence. Without this, there will be no security or peace in Europe, and without it, the people of the subjugated nations cannot achieve even basic human rights.

1972

The British League for European Freedom

EFC Opposes the So-Called European Security Conference

London, November 23, 1972

T E L E G R A M

To the Helsinki Preliminary Conference

The Executive Board of the European Freedom Council (EFC) supports the reinforcement and expansion of NATO and opposes the so-called European Security Conference, which is desired by Moscow in order to remove the USA gradually from Europe, to reinforce the status quo of its conquests, to defeat NATO and Western Europe's unification efforts and to open the road to further Russian conquests in the still free part of Europe and the world.

The policy of liberation of nations subjugated by Moscow and Communism alone will guarantee a just and lasting peace in Europe and in the world.

A precondition to security is the withdrawal of Russian troops from all occupied countries and the reestablishment of their national independence. Without the realization of the concept of independence of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, there cannot be security and peace in the world.

The European Freedom Council upholds national independence and human rights.

The EFC Executive Board:

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Peoples' Right to National Sovereignty or European Security as Favoured by Moscow

I. The Object of the European Security Conference

Russians and their satellites are talking nonsense when declaring that one of the most important problems at present is to organize a "conference for the settlement of European security". Moreover, they pretend that world peace depends on the security in this part of the world. We do not share this view at all for we know that, on the contrary, such a conference is rather an instrument of offense at the service of Moscow's policy of conquest.

The Programme of the Conference

Let us start by examining what actually lies behind those grand words: European Security Conference. It should first of all be stressed that tremendous publicity is used to insist on the necessity of such a conference but that it has not been laid down exactly what the **programme** and order of the day of this conference would be. Perusing the innumerable comments expressed through the mass communication media in the West as well as in the East, and looking through the speeches of the Communist chiefs in particular, we have come to recognize its outlines. One of Moscow's most treacherous emissaries, the Chief of the Rumanian Communist Party, helped us in realizing the following:

Two basic ideas can be derived from these speeches:

- 1) Moscow wants the Western powers **to acknowledge** in the debates of the conference **the actual status quo**, and
- 2) it aims, by all means, at preventing European unification. If this game can be played to its very end all of Western Europe will

sooner or later become Moscow's hinterland.

The first idea is **to consolidate the base for an attack** in a first phase, the second **to carry out the attack**.

1) Consolidating the status quo

"The realities of post-war history must be admitted", Ceaucescu, Moscow's emissary, claims. It is the West that must give in and recognize the borders established by Moscow after the last war. Hence, all countries newly acquired by Russia, including East Germany, Slovakia, Czechia, and the Japanese Kurile Islands are going to disappear definitively in the Russian Empire.

As a result of this conference the West should no longer support **any desiderata** of the peoples subjugated by Russia and should abstain from exerting **pressure** favouring the liberation of these nations. Otherwise, such pressure would be regarded as an inwarrantable interference in the internal affairs of the annexationist state.

2) **The attack against a united Europe** comprises a series of measures, such as:

Abolishing political and military blocs: "Europe should no longer be divided into blocs", Moscow requests on all occasions. What is actually meant is the disappearance of the **Western bloc** for, as far as the "Eastern" bloc is concerned, its disappearance would only be apparent. However, in reality the ostentatious existence of the "Eastern" bloc is no longer of use to Communism, but on the contrary, it is detrimental because it uncovers its subversive activity and thus prevents it from displaying efficient activity in free Europe and, in a more general way, in the whole world.

The fear encumbering the Western world must be dissipated as soon as possible. For this particular reason Moscow wants this bloc to disappear formally. The cohesion of the "Eastern" bloc, however, is not guaranteed by the alliance between Moscow and the other Communist-dominated countries within the framework of the bloc, but by **bilateral treaties of alliance**.

On the other hand, Western countries are instigated to actually destroy "their bloc". In other words, they must first renounce their alliance with the United States of America and the free countries of other continents (destruction of NATO), then dismantle their economic community (the European Common Market) and finally integrate themselves in the **political, economic and cultural system** of Moscow.

Politically the Western countries would have to respect the system established by Moscow and not fight against it as well as lay open their real aims before the whole world.

Economically they would have to support the bankrupt economy of this bloc by granting capital loans and supplying goods which will neither be returned nor paid off.

We cannot refrain from citing two examples:

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Republic of Rumania, the Rumanian commercial debts were increasing incessantly, amounting to about two billion German Marks now. Bucharest has only returned a few millions of the total debt. Communist Poland accepted a US loan of more than 1½ billion dollars to consolidate her economy. Half of this sum was given to Fidel Castro for financing subversive activities in Latin America organized by Cuba.

As far as **culture** is concerned, Western countries would have to tolerate Communist literature as well as other Communist intellectual works in their countries. This atheist "pseudo"

culture is destined to neutralize and finally annihilate the Western concepts of liberty and replace them by the precepts of the barbarian Communist doctrine.

Respecting independence and sovereignty: Another object of the proposed conference is to force the West to respect the so-called "national independence and sovereignty" of Communist states. This request is repeated by these countries' representatives on all occasions. The so-called imperative, however, is not directed against Russian imperialism and, if the Western press declares so it is completely mistaken (for these countries consider themselves completely independent and sovereign as regards their relations with Moscow). Their appeal is directed to Western countries only which might threaten this independence. These countries are requested to respect the existence of states which were not created by the respective peoples but were imposed by a foreign power.

Abstaining from interfering in internal affairs: The West should not interfere in the internal affairs of Communist states. Their regime of terror suppressing individual and national liberty should not be disturbed. "The West should definitely renounce the use of force or threats to use force against them". In other words, the West should be brought to give up any activity for the liberation of the peoples imprisoned in the Russian empire.

The Communists know quite well that they will never accept a compromise with the West as far as the fate of these peoples is concerned and that they will **never agree to a peaceful settlement to render these peoples or their countries free**. They also know that the subjugated peoples within their zone act as a forceful dynamite favoring the free Western world, a dynamite that would blow up with unheard of violence in case of armed conflict.

Communism is a form of Russian imperialism. The Communists are its henchmen.

For this reason one of the main objects of the conference would be to force the West to abstain from supporting any struggle of these peoples for their liberation in the future. They must be abandoned to Moscow's discretion which might either tolerate their existence or punish them in case they rise against it. The recent cruelties in the Baltic countries, in Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and so on are obvious examples. The West would have to refrain from any protest against such acts of cruelty (as West Germany does whenever murders are committed at the border of the so-called Democratic Republic of Germany), for protest means interference in the internal affairs of any allied state. On the other hand however, Moscow has abundantly infiltrated the Western countries with its well-instructed agents. And these spies are employing citizens of the respective states to prepare a Communist revolution by any possible means. **Today** these agents are detected and expelled for subversive activity. **Tomorrow** when treaties have been concluded on the basis of the negotiations of the security conference such spies would have to be tolerated and respected as **representatives of friendly states**.

Renouncing aggression: "The West should renounce aggression towards Communist states". This request is constantly repeated and has become a sort of Communist slogan. In fact, Communism requests others to abandon aggression. However, it commits **the most barbarous kind of aggression** all the time towards the peoples subjugated by Communism. It violates liberty, faith in God and these peoples' desire to think and to behave according to their own laws and habits based on their own history. For present history is based on past history comprising their traditions and experience. Com-

munist replaces this history by its own history, the Party history, and forces the peoples to live according to its rules. Whoever refuses to do so is persecuted and annihilated.

The final stage

Finally the delegates of the Communist bloc will constitute a common front with the Communist parties and prepare an **overthrow of the present order**. In other words, **"the forces of evil are going to be united"**. Recently Ceaucescu, Moscow's proconsul in Rumania, declared in an interview that "there are forces in the world sufficient to put an end to imperialist politics (of the West naturally) and insure the development of humanity in the Communist sense". Under the pressure of subversive forces that must act internally (as for example the Baader-Meinhof gang which just takes a rest for the time being) Western Europe would renounce an alliance with America, would no longer have the force to constitute a "united Europe" and would automatically pass quietly into the system of Communist alliances. If the Eastern countries achieved all these results they would not need guns for extending Communist domination over Western Europe. In that case one could really claim that the European Security Conference as advocated by Moscow would be successful. The Russian empire would gradually be extended as far as the Atlantic.

II. Peoples' Right to National Independence

We, free Europeans, reject the European Security Conference as proposed by Moscow. We request "a Tribunal of the Free World" instead, which would compel imperialist Moscow to grant all peoples imprisoned within the Russian empire the right to national independence. These peoples must be allowed to decide their fate themselves. "Any free country has the right to choose a system of government corresponding to its situa-

tion, its country and the customs of its inhabitants", a **Russian minister** declared at the beginning of the past century. This means the retreat of Russia from all countries it conquered, not the consolidation of its power.

"All peoples have the right to free self-determination and they freely govern their state accordingly and proceed with their economic, social and cultural development" (see Human Rights Committee of the United Nations).

Jurisprudence confirms these desires and principles. It also asserts that every nation must be free in order to be able to decide how it wants to regulate its external and internal legal relations (see French Dictionary of Law "Dictionnaire juridique").

In accordance with these principles, we demand the liberation of all peoples living within the Communist sphere of domination, i. e. not only those of the satellite states — the Eastern Zone of Germany, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria — but also those living within the borders of the USSR, i. e. in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Armenia, etc.

At present the fate of these peoples is decided by the Communist Party since according to Moscow's doctrine the Party represents "the people's conscience itself". There could not be any other party for the Communist Party alone is to represent this "people's conscience" and it alone decides that they are obliged to live according to Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This is the real meaning of the slogan "the people should be allowed to decide their fate themselves", which is professed by the Communists on all occasions. And the Communist Party is the spokesman of Russian imperialism and colonialism in modern form.

The Western world must realize that the Communist Party does not intend to satisfy the needs of the people and solve their problems, but that it only

aims at **consolidating its dictatorship!** It does not even respect the laws it decrees itself. Although the constitution of every Communist-governed country without any exception, guarantees freedom of speech and of the press, those who criticize (even indirectly) the regime in power in any way are sentenced to prison or confined to mental asylums. The same Constitution guarantees the right of assembly, but whoever dares to demonstrate is sentenced for "anti-Communist" agitation.

Stalin already declared that "under the Communist regime the right of the working class to consolidate its power prevails over the peoples' right to free self-determination which therefore has to be subordinated to the first" (see Stalin's speech at the XII Congress of the Soviet Communist Party). And this is taking place because a Communist regime is a Russian imperialistic regime which must protect the empire against the peoples' realization of their self-determination, i. e. their national independence.

This conception has absolutely nothing in common with the Western conception of the right to free self-determination. The Communist concept **supports tyranny and imperialism** and consequently we reject it.

If Soviet Russia believes that she can go on subduing peoples in the name of this tyranny she is mistaken for the peoples living on the territory of the Russian empire do not constitute a potential for her to fight against the West, but an explosive barrel that might blow up with a force greater than a nuclear explosion. In case of conflict, this explosive force would definitely shake the foundations of the Russian-Communist structure and destroy the Russian empire.

Tyranny has never been able to restrain the national struggle for liberty, and Soviet Russia ought to know that **she is not an exception to this rule either.**

A MESSAGE FROM THE FRONT

First of all, I would like to thank the European Freedom Council for its message to our President expressing the support of the Council for his stand at this most important stage of negotiations in the Vietnam conflict.

I would also like to thank this distinguished audience for its approval of the above message of support.

I wish to congratulate the Organizing Committee for holding this important meeting today to remind the world that the success of the Communist Revolution in Russia so many years ago resulted in the enslavement of hundreds of millions of people.

The meeting also serves to remind the world that in the search for peace, the free world at Yalta created certain conditions enabling the Russians to impose Communist regimes in Central Europe after the reoccupation of Ukraine, Byelorussia, and other non-Russian nations, with the direct help of Soviet Russian troops, as in the cases of Hungary and Poland, and via a coalition government in Czecho-Slovakia.

The one constant factor in world politics in the last 25 years has been a consistent Communist policy aim, that is, the Communist domination of the world.

The Marshall plan and NATO have stopped Communism from spreading beyond the unfortunate Central European countries. Only collective efforts and immediate response of the free world, under the name of the United Nations, saved South Korea from Communist aggression.

Is President Thieu an obstacle? Yes, he is. But only to the Communists' ambition of conquest; and so are the 18 million South Vietnamese people. The only obstacle to peace is the very presence of 13 North Vietnamese divisions in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

To those who, because they are Communist sympathizers, ask us to accept the 9 point plan of Hanoi, I don't need to answer.

But there are many people in the world who are greatly disturbed by the news of the war in Indochina and who want to see an end to the killing. I would like to remind those people that we, the Vietnamese people, would love, more than anybody else, to see the war ended. The children killed or wounded by the war are ours. The land destroyed by the war is ours. But if these people asked us to surrender to the Communists for their own peace of mind, my answer is never.

South Vietnam is longing for peace, a peace with freedom, democracy and national independence.

Since this meeting was discussing the problem of the European Security Conference, I would like to say that though negotiations are a commendable way of seeking peace — for this reason my Government is always ready to meet the enemy, and to try to settle the conflict in a spirit of reconciliation, past experiences in dealing with the Communists have shown us that we should always remain clear-sighted, vigilant and united in negotiating with the Communists.

Learning their lesson in Europe and in Korea, the Communists are now trying to open a breach in the defence of the free world in Vietnam, exercising their strength by conventional warfare assisted by massive world propaganda.

The Vietnamese people are unfortunate to see their land chosen by the Communist bloc as a battlefield for its war of expansion. But they also feel proud of being on the front line of defence of the free world.

Today I am glad to bring to you a message from the front.

Recent events in the past week have shown that only a close co-operation between South Vietnam and its allies and the clear-minded attitude and vigilance of the South Vietnamese leader, President Thieu, together have saved South Vietnam from a surrender to the Communists.

Indeed, President Thieu has clearly seen in the 9 point plan for which Hanoi has allegedly obtained American agreement, a plan set up to fool international opinion.

Accepting a standstill ceasefire without a North Vietnamese troop withdrawal means another Hungary or another Poland. Accepting a coalition with the Communists only means allowing the occurrence of another Czechoslovakia.

After the failure of their aggression last March, the North Vietnamese Communists are trying now to convince the world that President Thieu is the sole obstacle to peace.

If the Communists' aim is the domination of the world, I think that the free world's aim should not only be peace. We should ask ourselves whether the more than one hundred million non-Russian people now in the Russian Empire — the USSR, or persecuted in Red China, in North Vietnam, etc. are living in peace?

With their fate in mind, I think the free world should oppose the Communist policy aims of conquest with the aims of freedom, democracy and national independence.

DUONG HONG DUC

First Secretary, Embassy of Vietnam, London

For a Europe United in Freedom

(Speech delivered at the Mass Rally in London, November 4, 1972)

What are the European Democrats expecting from the conference in Helsinki? We know that next year a European conference on security will be held in Helsinki. The Soviet Union is demanding a guarantee of security for its gains of the Second World War, the expulsion of the United States from the European soil and the dissolution of NATO.

The Helsinki conference has three options:

- 1) to abolish the division of Europe,
- 2) to facilitate the consequences of the division of Europe,
- 3) to consolidate the division of Europe.

The belt of the satellites, the Baltic states, Ukraine, Byelorussia and the countries of the Caucasus are also a part of Europe. If the Soviet Union feels itself responsible for the Communist parties in Western Europe, then Western Europe must also be responsible for the silent majority of the population of the subjugated countries. The nations of Eastern Europe cannot speak freely, and their dictators receive their orders from Moscow. We, the members of the free nations, fight for freedom and independence of all members of the European community. National socialism once deceived the free states of Western Europe. We do not want to be deceived a second time.

In the time of self-determination we are asked: What are the aims of that conference for us? Peace and security for Europe. How to get this peace?

First of all, we want the political unification of Western Europe. We have the Common Market and we are glad that Great Britain became a member of it. But we do not yet have political unification in all problems of foreign policy, defense, security and

finance. This unification should have been achieved before any decisive negotiations take place. Chancellor Adenauer told us: When Western Europe is united, then it can negotiate with the Eastern powers.

Secondly, we demand an obligatory acceptance of human rights and the right to national independence of the subjugated nations by all the members of this conference. It is impossible to conclude binding treaties between states for which human rights and the right to national independence are a pressing obligation of political life and states which refuse to uphold human rights and the right to national independence in accordance with the Charter of the UN. An equal basis of rights and an equal carrying out of laws are preliminary conditions of the conference.

We propose an examination of all treaties to see whether they correspond with human rights and the peoples' right to self-determination. The accommodation of treaties and constitutions to human rights and the right of self-determination, and the inspection whether these rights are only written or also practiced in everyday life are the most important tasks of this conference. The conference should resolve that all treaties which contradict human rights and the principles of the UN are invalid.

All treaties signed by imperialists and dictatorships without the application of the right of self-determination are not valid. If the Munich Agreement is null and void, then the Ribbentrop-Molotov treaty is also invalid as well as the occupation of the Baltic states, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, etc. Only life in accordance with the principles of the UN gives security. These principles must be restored.

We want the evacuation of foreign troops from Czecho-Slovakia because occupation has been carried out against the will of the overwhelming majority of the population.

We demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation troops from Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia and all the subjugated countries, and from German soil in particular.

Europe is not only Western Europe, but the whole of Europe. We have not abolished our colonial policy in Asia and Africa only to get a new colonial policy in Europe.

All kinds of violence and terrorism, especially on the frontiers, must be forbidden and severely punished. Walls, barbed wire, and orders to shoot upon men are not an expression of detente and security and must be abolished during this conference.

We can only negotiate the unification of the whole of Europe when human rights and the right of the subjugated nations to national in-

dependence become obligatory for all members of the conference. Europe will become a garden of nations in which every nation will grow and develop without interference from any other nation. The European Freedom Council fights for national independence and human rights for all European nations on one united European continent.

Our reflections are suggestions for Western governments which have agreed to negotiate with respect to the so-called European Security Conference.

Our position is as follows: no negotiations with Moscow will ever be successful. The only road to the liberation of the subjugated nations are the national liberation revolutions of these nations, supported by the free world. Only national states, reestablished upon the ruins of the Russian empire toppled by national uprisings, will be a guarantee of a just and lasting peace in the world.



London, November 4, 1972

Presidium of the Mass Rally held to protest the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The Martyrology of Yuriy Shukhevych

In recent years some Klym Dmytruk appears in the press (the newspaper **Visti z Ukrainy** (News from Ukraine), the Lviv oblast newspaper **Vilna Ukraina** (Free Ukraine) and others) with articles about the OUN Movement (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). His book is about to be published by the Lviv publishers "Kamenyar".

The readers have noticed that contrary to other authors who write or have written on this subject (Yu. Melnychuk, T. Byelyayev, T. Myhal and others), this author in particular makes an extensive use of secret files of the KGB, secret documents and testimonies which were made by the participants of the OUN movement during interrogations under merciless tortures in Stalinist times. Therefore, an opinion existed that Klym Dmytruk is a formal employee of the KGB.

Now it has been accurately established that Klym Dmytruk is the pseudonym of KGB major Klymentiy Yevhenovych Halskyi — the organizer or accomplice of a number of serious crimes against justice, for which he should bear criminal responsibility.

K. Halskyi is a Pole by nationality, a native of the Zhytomyr region, aged 45-50. Everybody knows about his service in the KGB (MVD) organs in the last years of the war. It is known that in 1944 he had been in the Radekhiv district of the Lviv region where he was involved in a series of illegal acts toward peaceful inhabitants suspected of links with the underground. He carried out such actions in other districts of the Lviv region as well. In particular, he participated in the murdering of prisoners and in the "fabrication" of "cases". He emerged as a more prominent figure in the post-Stalinist times already, when the most crucial cases were entrusted to him. He worked in the operative apparatus of the Lviv UKGB. He participated in the preparation of such totally or partially fabri-

cated cases as that of Yu. Shukhevych (1958), the case of L. Lukyanenko at al (1960-61), the case of the Ukrainian National Committee in Lviv (1961).

To give an idea of the ethical principles and methods of K. Halskyi's work we shall cite the case of Yu. Shukhevych.

As is known, in 1947 Yu. Shukhevych, a minor, was arrested and sentenced to 10 years actually for the fact that he was the son of the leader of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) movement, Gen. Roman Shukhevych.

One-and-a-half year prior to the expiration of his term, Yu. Shukhevych was released as someone sentenced while still a minor. But the USSR Prosecutor General Rudenko, without any significant grounds, protested against the release of Shukhevych, who was then arrested again and sent to the Vladimir prison to complete his 10-year term.

Shortly before his final release, K. Halskyi came to Vladimir for "discussions" with Yu. Shukhevych.

It was demanded of the latter to publicly denounce his father and take a stand against the movement which he headed. Yu. Shukhevych categorically refused.

On the day of his release, Yu. Shukhevych was confronted with a new charge of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" in the cell and a new, totally fabricated case was instituted against him, on the basis of which Yu. Shukhevych was sentenced to another 10 years of imprisonment.

The "case" was prepared in full by K. Halskyi, having exploited for this two, totally demoralized criminals, especially planted in the same cell with Yu. Shukhevych. One of them — Oleksander Fomchenko from the vicinity of Moscow — was convicted in 1947 to 25 years for robbery; in 1951 he was sentenced to 25 years in prison for the se-

cond time for membership in a provocative camp organization, the "Double-headed eagle".

The second — also a Russian from the Voronezh region, homosexual Burkov, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for cutting somebody's throat with a razor.

Halskyi bought their services rather cheaply — they were not even promised release, but a change from prison confinement to that of camp. Several days prior to his release, the said Burkov signed a grievance, slipped to him, to the prosecutor's office in which he, as a Soviet man, expressed his indignation at the fact that such an enemy as Shukhevych, who engages in anti-Soviet agitation even in a cell, is about to be released.

An investigation was started which was transferred to Lviv. This "investigation", prepared by Halskyi, was conducted by Capt. Vinogradov renowned for the fact that still in the Stalinist times, he tortured prisoners brutally. In particular, he mercilessly beat up the arrested women, K. Zarytska, O. Husyak and H. Didyk.

Yu. Shukhevych was tried in complete secrecy. The testimony of Burkov and Fomchenko was ineffective. For instance, Yu. Shukhevych's "intention" to flee abroad after his release was "confirmed" by the fact that "he studied foreign languages" while in the cell and so forth. The witnesses forgot what they should say and what they had said at the inquiry; they became confused.

After the trial Halskyi again met with Shukhevych. He cynically ridiculed the trial, without denying that it was entirely fabricated. Halskyi said that if Shukhevych agrees to cooperate or writes an article attacking nationalism, the verdict will not be confirmed. All this occurred in December 1958.

Shukhevych refused and spent another 10 years behind bars. In 1961 Yu. Shukhevych was again brought to Lviv, where Halskyi talked to him again,

promising freedom at the price of cooperation.

People who came in contact with Halskyi characterize him as a cunning, treacherous man, a cynic who face to face with a prisoner does not conceal his thoughts and intentions. He is a fierce Ukrainophob, not in the line of duty, but out of conviction. Possibly this is connected with his nationality. He searches for an individual approach to each prisoner: he is "friendly" to some and uses his fists with others. The last recorded fact of this nature is Halskyi's beating of writer and journalist M. Osadchyi during the 1965-66 inquiry, about which M. Osadchyi extensively informed the public and notified the chiefs of the republican KGB.

It has become known that recently Halskyi was transferred from the Lviv UKGB to a responsible position with the republican KGB apparatus. It is also known that in recent time he was given the task of "feeling out" (or possibly even recruiting) Ukrainians from abroad, who come to Ukraine as tourists or on official assignments. In doing this, Halskyi appears under an assumed name. (Ukrainskyi Visnyk, Issue 6)

Dr. Horbovnyi Released after 25 Years of Imprisonment

Dr. Volodymyr Horbovnyi, a one-time lawyer who in 1947 was sentenced without trial to 25 years of imprisonment in Soviet Russian concentration camps, has been reportedly released. Dr. Horbovnyi, now 73 years old, is in extremely poor health.

Dr. Horbovnyi was born in Halychyna in 1898. An outstanding jurist, he gained great stature and popularity as a defender of Ukrainian nationalists at the trials in Poland in the 1930s.

He was arrested in Prague in 1947, deported to the Ukrainian SSR despite the fact that he held Czecho-Slovak citizenship, and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment by an edict of the Ukrainian SSR's Ministry of Internal Security, issued on July 6, 1949.

An Anti-Russian Leaflet from the Prison of Nations

Dear Citizens:

On June 1, 1972, ten years have passed since the day on which the prices for the necessities of life have been raised. Ten years ago the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR emphasized: "The increase in price on meat and meat products, as well as on butter, is a temporary measure. The realization of steps outlined by the March (1962) plenum of the Central Committee will provide an opportunity for decreasing the prices on agricultural products in the near future. There is no doubt that in a short time it will be possible to lower retail prices."

Now the people understand that this was a subsequent "promise", a subsequent unscrupulous lie of the comrades in the Kremlin.

According to newspaper reports, during these ten years our people have successfully realized the decisions of dozens of plenums and two five-year plans. But the prices not only have not fallen but continue to rise. A hidden price increase is taking place on products, food and industrial goods by way of re-classification, the lowering of quality, the sticking of new labels and so forth.

Recall the uproar raised in connection with the adoption of the "Program of the Building of Communism" at the 22nd Congress in 1961. The authors of this fantastically deceptive program promised us: "Already in the span of the first decade (i.e. up to 1970) all strata of the Soviet people will be able to enjoy prosperity, will enjoy financial security... the housing shortage will be done away with". It contained a great deal of figures which proved that at the present time we should have been standing at the gates of paradise leading to material prosperity.

But instead of deceptive promises of a better life, prices continue to rise in the country. In the last ten years, prices on almost all products have risen 20-30 per cent; construction of housing has decreased 20 per cent and co-operatives are being introduced more and more.

Dear Citizens! Our country has the richest resources in the world; it is the second largest industrial country in the world. But as far as the standard of life is concerned, the workers of the USSR have the 26th place in the world, the last place among the developed countries. For his pay, our worker can buy 7-12 times less than the American, the English or the West German one. The average area of our worker's apartment is 2-5 times smaller than that of the workers of other countries. Among the Americans, 80% of the families own a car, among the English — 60%, among the Germans — 50%, while in the USSR less than 0.1%. In comparison with Western countries miserable are the pensions, disability benefits, invalid and child-birth benefits

in the USSR. The USSR workers have the shortest paid vacation among the above-mentioned countries. For his unemployment benefits, the unemployed in the West can buy 2-4 times more products than our worker or employee for his wages. And there are no more than 2-4% unemployed in the West of the total work force. Not without reason do the Kremlin rulers completely muffle foreign radio broadcasts. Even Hitler had not done this in peace time.

Dear Citizens! Very few know that the greater majority of products in our country are sold at prices 2-4 times greater than the expenses of state production and their realization (including the income of the enterprise). As stipulated by our economists, the pay of the Soviet worker makes up about 1/3 of his real earnings. And aside from these hidden deductions, taxes are exacted from our worker in addition.

Where do these huge hidden profits from your work and mine go? These huge hidden profits are secretly and openly appropriated by the Kremlin rulers and their servants — the great and middle particracy, aparatchiks and so forth. These profits are spent on their luxurious life, on their datchas, villas, limousines, on their huge salaries and premiums, on their rations hidden from the people. Special resorts, hospitals, sanatoria. The rulers of the Kremlin and their stooges live better, more expensively, than the tsarist nobles had done prior to the revolution, calling themselves at the same time "the avant-garde of the Soviet people", their servants.

Servants, indeed! They fleece their "master" — the worker — three times over... And "the owners of the country" — the toilers, the workers, can hardly make ends meet.

The second point is the squandering of the national wealth abroad. The Kremlin rulers do not carry out trade in the interest of the people, but in their own vanguard political interests of achieving world domination. For their "unselfish aid" at the expense of the misery of their own nation, they attempt to impose the same yoke in other countries as in their own country.

Robbing their own people, the Kremlin leaders export a huge amount of the highest quality products: meat, butter, fish, caviar, grain, cotton cloth, leather, valuable raw materials and other deficit goods. At the same time, we must import grain from abroad (Canada) spending for this the nevertheless poor national reserves. Huge sums are thrown out by those in the Kremlin in order to supply arms for the so-called "freedom fighters", for the support of dictators who grant military bases to the Soviet Union (Egypt, Syria, Cuba and others) and the maintenance abroad of an immense espionage network, and for bribery of foreigners "advantageous" to our rulers. Billions were wasted on the regime of Mao Tse-tung (now this regime is our fierce enemy). Three million rubles a day were wasted on the arming of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its attempt to seize South Vietnam, one million rubles a day on Cuba, 15 million rubles a day on the Arabs.

The Kremlin leaders do not spare anything. There is enough of wealth in Russia to last for their lifetime.

Dear Citizens! There is no socialism in our country. It is not socialism, when there are 20 times more of various types of parasites and supervisors (nachalniks) than had been in tsarist Russia. It is not socialism when the average wage of a worker constitutes 100 rubles, while the income of a large manager is several thousand a month. It is not socialism when the people are virtually deprived of the most basic rights: freedom of speech, the right to vote, to strike and others. It is the very absence of these rights which makes it possible for the Kremlin leaders to mercilessly rob, both secretly and openly, and to oppress our people.

And we are not advancing toward Communism — all this is a lie. Our system is state capitalism — the worst and the most rapacious system of state which permits the rulers without any control to dispose of all the treasures and profits of the country, to perpetrate arbitrariness and violence. Such form or mercilessly predatory rule prevailed in Germany prior to Hitler's "socialism".

Dear Citizens! The workers of Western countries achieved their high standard of living and broad political freedoms as the result of struggle. The tried weapons of struggle are strikes and demonstrations. When in June 1970 in Poland a strike was declared and a demonstration staged, the results were the removal of Gomulka from office, and the almost complete reshuffling of the Central Committee and the government. The new secretary of the Central Committee, Gierek, reversed the price increase, raised wages and pensions and relaxed censorship.

The people of our country are already taking up the struggle. In the last ten years, strikes, demonstrations and other actions have taken place in many cities: Novocherkask, Temir-Tau, Chyrchyk, Leningrad. The workers at the Moscow factories also went on strike.

And recently, mass actions of workers occurred in Kaunas. Our writers, prominent scientists, employees and workers write protests. They demand freedom of speech, press, unions, improvement of the people's living conditions; they demand the government's account to the people. They are persecuted, proclaimed insane, imprisoned because they take up the cause alone.

Dear Citizens! Fight for your rights, for the improvement of your life. Protect one another: one for all and all for one. Only through struggle is it possible to achieve changes for the better. If we fail to fight, we shall be transformed more and more into slaves of the leadership of the CPSU, into working cattle.

Long live freedom, democracy and independence of the subjugated peoples.

Citizens' Committee

(Familiarize as many people as possible with this leaflet.)

A Nation in Soviet Russian Captivity

The government of the Soviet Russian empire, called the USSR, during the entire year of 1972 widely observed the 50th anniversary of its existence. The USSR was presented as a voluntary union of sovereign states, and an ideal solution to the national problem for all peoples of the world.

The Byelorussian nation is in Soviet Russian captivity today, and it is unable to express its opinions about its own situation inside the USSR. Therefore, we would like to express Byelorussian views on this problem.

Until November 1917 the tsarist Russian empire existed on the territory of the contemporary USSR. The government of this empire openly ruled over many conquered nationalities and states. These non-Russian nations were oppressed politically, exploited economically and Russianized culturally by the Russian tsarist government. In reality these subjugated nations were Russian colonies in the exact meaning of this word.

After the usurpation of power, the Communist government of Soviet Russia wanted to keep all those nations in its possession. However, planning to extend Communist rule to the entire world, the Russian Bolsheviks laid the groundwork for a universal Communist state, the USSR. The formulation for creation of the USSR was invented by Lenin, the father of Russian Bolshevism. Many years before assuming power in Russia, he composed a program for the Bolshevik Party, in which he formulated a status for the non-Russian nations, previously conquered by the tsarist Russian empire. His theses were as follows: a) Complete equality of rights for all nations; b) Granting to all non-Russian nations the right of self-determination including secession from Russia and the crea-

tion of independent states; c) Merging of all nations into class organizations and educating them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

These theses were designed for propaganda purposes. Their obvious contradictions were clarified by Lenin in the article, "On the Review of the Party Program". Lenin stated: "On our part we have no desire for partition. We want as large a state as possible, as close a union as possible of as many nations as possible, which are living in the neighborhood of the Great Russians". In this way Lenin injected into Russian Bolshevism the basic contradiction between propagandistic declarations and real policies intended for the non-Russian countries under Russian domination.

The same false tactics were used by the Bolsheviks after their usurpation of power in Russia in 1917. The basic document of Soviet government, "The Declaration of Rights for Nationalities of Russia", of November 15, 1917, proclaimed the liberation of the non-Russian nations from national oppression. The shameful policies of national oppression, existing in tsarist Russia, must be changed to the policies of voluntary and equitable union of nations, belonging to Russia.

The Bolshevik "Declaration of Rights of Working and Exploited People" proclaimed that the Russian Soviet Republic has to be erected on the basis of a voluntary union of independent nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics. However, the policies implemented by Russia in the non-Russian countries represented a complete contradiction to these declarations.

In Byelorussia the following events occurred at the time. On December 15, 1917 the First All-Byelorussian Congress had assembled in Miensk. It con-

sisted of 1,872 representatives, elected by the people of all the ethnographic territories of Byelorussia. This was a national Byelorussian constituent assembly, whose aim was to decide the future statehood of Byelorussia. The Bolshevik Russian delegates were in a small minority. They were not able to influence Congressional decisions. After the Congress had chosen independence for the Byelorussian state, the Soviet Russian army dispersed this assembly.

However, the Council of the First All-Byelorussian Congress proclaimed independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic on March 25, 1918. In opposition to this independent Byelorussian state, the Soviet Russian government created the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). This fictitious state was created and its government was selected in Moscow. Official proclamation of the BSSR took place on January 1, 1919 in the city of Smalensk which at this time was conquered by Russia.

Subsequently, the Soviet Russian army conquered most of Byelorussia. Concluding the peace treaty with Poland in Riga in 1921, the Moscow government, without representatives from the BSSR, divided the territory of Byelorussia as follows: the BSSR was allotted a territory of six counties of the Miensk region alone, with a population of approximately 1.2 million. Poland was given approximately 100,000 sq. kms. of Byelorussia with a population of 4.0 million. Approximately 250,000 sq. kms. of Byelorussian territory with a population of over 9.0 million were annexed directly by the RSFSR.

The government of the BSSR is always selected by the Russian Communist Party. Its functions are limited to those of local administration for the central Russian government in Moscow. Thus, the Soviet Russian government brutally suppresses the aims of

the Byelorussian people for self-determination and independence, turning them into a colonial people of Soviet Russia.

The formal creation of the USSR took place later, after all the independent non-Russian republics were conquered and destroyed by Soviet Russian armies, and satellite Soviet republics were created in their place. On October 6, 1922, the session of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a draft by Lenin formulating the creation of the USSR. On December 18, 1922, the 4th Assembly of the Soviets of the BSSR adopted a declaration on the necessity of the creation of the USSR. On December 30, 1922, the representatives of the Soviet republics signed the declaration and agreement formally establishing the USSR.

In reality, the USSR is a continuation of the previously existing centralistic Russian empire, using a different name, as well as a different political, social and economic structure. The ruling force in the USSR is the Russian Communist Party. This party represents a new Russian upper class, replacing nobility in the former Russian empire. The Polit-Bureau of this party is a totalitarian and dictatorial body, which establishes, executes and controls all policies for the USSR from Moscow, including those for the non-Russian republics.

A consolidation of the conquered non-Russian countries by Russianization of their population is a continuous political process, pressed by the Moscow government. This action includes: 1. Suppression of ethnic cultures of the non-Russian nations of the USSR and forcibly merging them in the one Russian stream. 2. Spreading of the Russian language by schools, publications, broadcasting, television, administrative use, etc. 3. Erection of buildings in Byelorussia using the Russian style of the present time, and destruction of

the previous distinctive Byelorussian monuments of architecture. 4. Deportation of nationally conscious segments of the population, especially of the intelligentsia, to the other republics in Asia. 5. Sending into Byelorussia of many Russians for all leading positions, from ministers down to administrators of kolkhozes. 6. Annihilation of those Byelorussians opposed to this denationalization. 7. Unlimited and merciless exploitation of the subjugated countries and their population for the benefit of the Russian imperial aims. 8. Giving a high priority to the growth of the Russian formidable military might and imperial expansion, neglecting the needs of the incorporated non-Russian nations. As a result of these colonial policies of Soviet Russia over six million Byelorussians were annihilated during the past 55 years.

Lenin envisaged the creation of the USSR for the entire globe, obviously under Soviet Russian leadership. Subsequent governments of Soviet Russia are gradually realizing this goal. The fundamental means for reaching this goal is military takeover. Communist theoretical considerations and program formulations are only playing a propagandistic role in this expansionist design. At present their military activities, covering many parts of the globe, on land, sea, underwater, in the air and stratosphere, often are surpassing those of other countries. This systematically growing threat to the security of free countries is the greatest menace to humanity of our time. On the occasion of Soviet Navy Day, Admiral of the Fleet,

S. Gorshkov, declared openly that the Soviet Union's nuclear submarines, "armed with ballistic missiles and long-range torpedoes, and backed by missile-carrying planes and ships, are capable of destroying an enemy in any region of the world's oceans".

This menace can be avoided by the liberation of Byelorussia and other non-Russian subjugated nations from Russian bondage and restoration of their truly independent states. The Russian state, limited to the Russian ethnographical territories, will not be capable of armed expansion in global dimensions.

The Byelorussian people are fighting for their liberation from Russian occupation throughout the 50 years of the existence of the USSR. The second All-Byelorussian Congress, which met in 1944 in Miensk, the capital of Byelorussia, annulled all ties of Byelorussia with the USSR. This Congress approved a proclamation of the independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic, according to the declaration of March 25, 1918. The Byelorussian National Defense fought for the liberation and independence of Byelorussia.

However, in the existing totalitarian and terroristic conditions of Soviet Russian occupation, the Byelorussian people are not able to liberate themselves at this time. Therefore, we ask all freedom-loving peoples of the world to support the aims of the Byelorussian nation for liberation from the horrors of Soviet Russian colonialism, and for the restoration of an independent Byelorussian state.

**From a Statement by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman
of the World Anti-Communist League
on President Nixon's Re-election**

We earnestly hope that President Nixon will uphold the American national spirit, act in accordance with his profound understanding of the evil nature of Communism, hold fast to his stand for peace with honor, refrain from deserting any of America's allies, solemnly continue to lead the free world unity, and march steadily toward the form of peace that he envisages.

Moscow and the "Helsinki Deal"

We are on the verge of the "Helsinki Deal" which the Communist bloc proposes to free Europe.

Some political parties in the Western countries make glitter the treacherous promise of a lasting European peace guaranteed at this price. In doing so they want to profit from a climate thus created in an electoral campaign and label the opposing non-Marxist parties that are not enfeoffed by Moscow as "advocates of war".

One cannot repeat too often what Moscow is actually aiming at:

1) It wants your free countries to recognize the status quo as regards the subjugated central and eastern part of Europe. Due to a splendid pledge given at Helsinki, Russia would henceforth remain — as she already is within her fallacious "voluntary union" called USSR — the absolute mistress of the dreadful destiny of the nations belonging to the so-called Warsaw Pact.

2) It intends to coagulate and petrify Western Europe in a neutralist spirit in order to obtain American disengagement in Europe and the Mediterranean area as soon as possible. Politically, economically and militarily this would place Europe, which is still free, at the mercy of Soviet Russia. Is there any other real pledge for maintaining Europe's confidence in Moscow whose superiority in conventional armaments — the ratio being about 5 or 6 to 1 — would be sufficient to sweep Europe away in less than three weeks?

No doubt, the masses in Europe are not blind. However, to make the Helsinki manoeuvre credible, Moscow's blind supporters are displaying a fascinating screen of publicity in order to conceal the trap. On one panel of the screen we are repeatedly told (the French Communist Party being in front) that the USSR has always been paci-

fist and that one cannot blame it for the recent "road incidents" of Gdansk or Prague because these measures were "requested by the local population", respectively, striving to safeguard its "socialist prosperity" threatened by some heretics and slanderers. On another panel we are persuasively told that the USSR is incapable of doing any harm to Europe because "there is China behind its back". On the last panel innumerable alluring offers are presented for profitable trade and investment agreements with the USSR, the USSR requesting long-term loans from the West. Could there be any better guarantee for real peace — Communist spokesmen maintain — than these "constructive" bonds?

Evidently everything is based on confidence in "pacifist" Soviet Russia's willingness. In this case, I really mean Soviet Russia, not Soviet Union, for the invader, destroyer and oppressor is Moscow, but there are people who would like to make the general public which easily forgets realities believe that Russia's main victims, i. e. the Baltic peoples, Ukrainians and Georgians, are responsible for all that.

So far I have not told you anything you do not know already. However, I should like to recall an irrefutable and definite proof of Soviet Russia's "pacifism" showing how far one may trust her promises, engagements and "guarantees". I am thinking of a document entitled "Treaty between the Democratic Republic of Georgia and the Soviet Republic of Russia" that was published 50 years ago (signed in Moscow on May 7, 1920). It seemed to be a genuine treaty of non-aggression implying legal recognition and non-interference in internal affairs. Nevertheless, 9 months later the Russian army invaded Georgia (on February 11, 1921)

without declaring war or avowing its motive and conquered Georgia after 5 weeks of struggle. And one must not attribute this crime to Stalin alone although he committed many other crimes. This criminal invasion, premeditated and preceded by a reassuring treaty took place when Lenin was still alive, the same Lenin who by now is glorified by the UNESCO as an exemplary humanitarian figure.

From this I conclude the following: It is evident that not those few hundreds of signatures placed under the resolution of warning voted here — whatever their prestige might be — will be able to prevent the disaster in this particular case. Even if these signatures, over and above their moral consequence, engage important, experienced organizations — I am thinking of apolitical Associations of Ex-Servicemen — we cannot content ourselves with resolutions. They must be

attended by a general action destroying subversive myths and inculcating slogans favouring a Europe united in freedom and justice.

It ought to be explained to the masses what positive results a united Europe would bring about for them; further, they should be told in what way a security plan that might be contrived in Helsinki would bury the prospect of a united Europe.

As far as we are concerned we do not want a Europe where a conspiracy between totalitarian Marxists and the Big Business supplying the USSR would henceforth create conditions of delusion leading to servitude; we want an independent Europe capable of imposing her own conditions and giving a starting hope to some 350 million people who are compelled to serfdom behind the Iron Curtain and for whom a united Europe remains the last sheet-anchor.

(Text of a speech delivered at the closing meeting of the European symposium of Antibes organized by the European Academy of Political Science, the Movement for European Unification and the College of Young European Leaders on September 17, 1972.)

The European Freedom Council Expresses Solidarity with President Thieu

November 4th, 1972

President Thieu,

We send this testimony of our admiration to you, Mr. President, to the armed forces and people of South Vietnam, who prevented Communism from establishing its tyranny over your country. We congratulate you for firmly refusing that Communism be installed through the political surrender which is being demanded of you by defeatist circles of the West. We ask you to demand free elections in North Vietnam. We are fully at your side in your courageous fight, which is the fight of all free men, and we thank you for the example of fortitude, which you are giving to the world.

Respectfully yours,

Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine)

Suzanne Labin (France)

Jane Birdwood (Great Britain)

Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer (Germany)

Paul Vankerkhoven (Belgium)

Europe — A Realistic View

National and social revolutionary movements are growing more conscious. Methods of political struggle and readiness to act together and cooperate are developing at the international level. The nationalist solidarity is no longer merely an idea but is gradually becoming a reality. The new nationalism has a new quality differentiating it basically from past "nationalism" (incorrectly designated as such) which was often identical with pure chauvinism. Today nationalism implies solving problems with a view to natural human and national interests, whereas Marxism-Communism is trying to solve the problems of humanity by means of anti-natural ideas. Nationalism is the peoples' logical reaction to the Communist attempt at forcing an evil international order on humanity by means of violence and terror. Therefore, a nationalist is always a humanist representing the real interests of his people, whereas a Marxist must be a doctrinaire ignorantly passing over the natural national interests for the sake of an abstract, pseudo-religious ideological substitute. The Communist International is an artificial set-up carried by national minorities and directed by an imperialist superpower. The nationalist solidarity is rooted, even if it is not quite aware of it, in the nations; the Communist International, however, rests merely on national minorities.

Thus, nationalist solidarity in Europe constitutes a particularly valuable sign of progress and, consequently, its ideological and strategic conditions must be precisely analyzed in order to preserve it from unreal intellectual constructions for its maintenance and growth. Though nationalist solidarity among peoples is obvious, it is a precious and easily vulnerable phenomenon. Therefore, national revolutionary movements must finally start to discuss in detail the theory and strategy

of their European conception in order to avoid misunderstanding and failure. It is the psychological background of the European development towards solidarity in particular as well as the political implications of the common European front that must be taken into account. There are the following psychological implications inherent in European nationalism:

(1) Any national revolutionary-nationalist movement in any European country is undoubtedly a minority movement due to the fact that the spoiled population is not committed to politics. In the confusion prevalent in Western society, the national revolutionary associations have the weakest personal, financial and organizational resources which, however, does not give any evidence against their intellectual quality. In such a situation one is very much tempted to try to transform a national weakness into a European force by stepping up to the European level. However, adding a weakness to another weakness unfortunately does not result in strength, but rather remains weakness within the European framework. An ill-considered approach to the European dimension even implies the danger that national efforts are neglected. Other national revolutionary movements in Europe might too easily be regarded as always mobilizable auxiliary forces for overcoming their own national helplessness. Emphasizing the European front against the national front-line results in neglecting one's own political struggle and spoiling the national forces of the movement. Thus the joint force of the national revolutionary movements in Europe is also greatly damaged because everyone is counting on the particular force of the other.

It is, therefore, highly important for achieving a political success that each European revolutionary nationalist movement should try to solve its parti-

cular problems and obtain power in its own country, by means of its own forces. Only if the feeling prevails that a national movement can achieve its ends alone if necessary, without the help of similar movements in other countries, the various national revolutionary forces in Europe can become a considerable force, if put together. It is obvious, indeed, that like-minded European movements support one another in their struggle for a new order, if possible. Setting up a new order, however, must be started in the individual countries: it can organically expand from the bottom only and not from above, i. e. an abstract European idea.

(2) A salient feature of the European national revolutionary movements is their common front-line against the Soviet Russian imperialist, socially reactionist power. This objective is altogether justified and requires a broad European community that might improve the chances of success. One must, however, consider that the solidarity of European national revolutionary movements is not primarily turned against their common enemy but is based on the intrinsic needs of the respective movements. There has not been any general agreement on the basic question of ideology and political struggle. Meanwhile, an exchange of ideas is at best beginning as regards the nationalist solidarity. A lasting alliance of the European national revolutionary movements will be advanced if they do not deny their national origin and aims but incorporate them as dynamic factors in the front of revolutionary European nationalism. The movement for a new order can only be based on the strength and will of the individual national forces. This is where it obtains its energy from, not from propagating an abstract European idea.

(3) The national consolidation of Germany is a rather recent phenomenon within the European family of peo-

ples which, however, is once again being interrupted at present. If, therefore, the nationalist tendency in Germany requests the abolition of the states in favour of a European Federal State, a European nation, the psychological background of this trend is quite evident. Germans have not yet enjoyed their temporary national existence very much and thus easily tend to deny the state as such. However, German nationalists would make a fatal mistake if they concluded from their own readiness to do without a state that there is a similar trend in other European countries. The German problem of identity suggests a break with their own state. It is a particular German concern, however, that cannot be claimed to be generally valid. The national revolutionary movement in Germany must, therefore, keep free of the German extremist tendency striving either to found vast empires or to dissolve itself in vast empires and it should join the front of the nationalist movements instead. Analogous movements in other countries would get irritated if those who presently do not have an acceptable state are emphatically talking about the abolition of states. The creation of a joint Europe of nations must be looked upon as a natural process of gradual mutual approach. Artificial precipitancy does not serve a new order in Europe, but rather prevents its being set up.

(4) The European idea is not at all new. If it is put in the foreground by a national revolutionary movement, the movement gets into conflict with the established European idea, in particular that of the 50s showing Carolingo-West-European traits, while disregarding the subjugated East European nations. The European national revolutionary movement must eliminate the danger of being confused with this insufficient and one-sided vision of Europe if it does not want to play a subordinate rôle. Up to now, however, the traditional national movements have not

succeeded in clearly distinguishing their conception from the established narrow European idea. This again shows that the European idea is playing a secondary rôle in a helpless national situation. The European idea of the revolutionary movements, however, has not gone beyond some general slogans either. It is not sufficient to talk about a nationalist Europe other than that of "Strasbourg and Brussels" for convincingly showing a substantial difference. Therefore, a discussion should finally begin in order to clarify what the new European order meeting the requirements of the peoples should be like. The national revolutionary view must be clearly and unambiguously defined and the principles must be laid down.

After clarifying the psychological background of the nationalist view on Europe the political implications must be examined. The result will show that it is necessary to take a clear position and differentiate.

1) West-European integration cannot be considered a precursor of a new European order for the benefit of all nations. On the contrary, it consolidates the existing European condition and stabilizes the power of the Communist Russian regime. It does not strengthen the camp of the European national revolutionary movements, but only that of their oppressors.

2) The presently prevailing European idea which, at any rate, has lost its political force and fascination long ago and has fallen back to economic cooperation is limited only to the countries of Western Europe. In spite of much ado, it does not have an all-European character. Its political structure does not allow an overall European dimension either, because it does not support the liberation of the subjugated nations. If the West-European conditions are in favour of integration this "partly European" path cannot be recommended as

an adequate means for a new all-European order. The premise of West-European integration is the political and social status quo in Europe. Thus, the West-European conception of the status quo in Europe is diametrically opposed to the all-European national revolutionary path which is to help all European nations to freedom, national independence and social reform. It is left to the East-European peoples to approach the West-European Bloc; however, it is certain that these countries cannot make such a step. The fact that the Soviet Russian imperialist power smothered Czecho-Slovakia's attempt to approach Europe and that meanwhile West-European politics passed over this European tragedy with equanimity clearly shows where the enemy of all-European liberty and reform is to be found. The established West-European governments are harmoniously compromising with the imperialist, socially reactionist superpower of Soviet Russia suppressing Ukraine, the Baltic nations and other East-European peoples. This way they have lost their claim on representing the interests of an all-European peaceful order. The so-called European Security Conference promoted by the Soviet Union and the West-European countries is to round off the recognition of the German border through a general recognition of the status quo at the European level. If the European national revolutionary movements want to maintain their chances of success, they must decisively safeguard their European conception against the prevailing West-European idea and offer their respective nations a clear alternative, including in the European concert the liberation of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and other subjugated nations.

3) The national revolutionary movements cannot justify tolerance towards the West-European process of integration by expounding the economic implications alone. If it is recognized

that peoples are led towards Soviet Russian imperialist domination by their short-sighted governments being in a state of material abundance and political shortage, it should not be too difficult to make a decision. Whenever a nation faces great danger any political movement gets the chance to draw the attention of the population to its own conceptions and thus accede to power.

4) The conditions of a national revolutionary struggle greatly vary in European countries. Apart from the front-line position vis-à-vis reactionary Soviet Russian imperialism the national revolutionary movements have different starting points in their respective countries. The German national revolutionary movement must conceive the national and social question as a unity. Apart from this particularity there is the central geographical, political and psychological significance inherent in the German attitude towards Europe. The destiny of Europe, the liberty and independence of all its peoples depends, it may sound phantastic, on Germany's destiny. If the Germans fail to solve their national problem, Europe will also fail. There won't be liberty and self-determination in Europe if the Germans capitulate before the Russians. To adhere to an all-German national revolutionary movement thus means to serve the interest of an all-Europe. Europe needs the maintenance of Germany's existence as well as Germany needs Europe in a joint struggle for liberation. In this joint liberation struggle either Europe will grow up or there will be no free, self-determining, humanistic Europe comprising the united peoples. A. E. (Berlin)*

*) The above article was received from the young German anti-Communist circles, who favor the dissolution of the Russian empire into national states, as a subject for discussion.

Released after 25 Years

After having served a full 25-year sentence in prison, **Kateryna Zarytska**, physically ill and an invalid, was freed from a concentration camp in Mordovia. She was forbidden to live with her loved ones in her birthplace, Lviv, as well as in any part of Western Ukraine, where she was born.

Kateryna Zarytska, a volunteer of the Ukrainian Red Cross, who took care of the wounded of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, was sentenced by a Russian court in 1947 to 25 years' hard labour in prison and concentration camps under severe regime. A large portion of her sentence was served in the infamous Vladimir prison.

*

Ihor Kalynets Sentenced

Ihor Kalynets, a well known Ukrainian poet, was sentenced by the Russian occupation regime in Lviv in November 1972 to three years (according to another report to 5 years) of imprisonment and three years of exile. He was tried on the basis of Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. He was immediately taken to the Vladimir prison.

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Telegram to ABN

Thank you for your congratulations on the World Freedom Day. Large-scale world rally will be held in Taipei and information regarding the rally will be forwarded to you afterwards. I sincerely hope that your organization would initiate world activities there, echoing our common cause for consolidating freedom efforts and endeavouring to emancipate the enslaved peoples.

Dr Ku Cheng-kang,
Honorary Chairman of WACL

ABN Appeals for Joint Action

at the Mass Rally in London, November 4, 1972

A wave of Stalinist terror is again inundating the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. This is coupled with a threat of famine, resulting not so much from crop failure, as from the anti-natural collectivistic economic system which contradicts the substance inherent in the subjugated nations and is forced upon them by the Bolshevik bayonets, as a means of national and social enslavement. Moscow's colonial and imperialistic policy, which does not take assiduous care of the needs of the population of the subjugated nations, fulfils its avaricious commitments toward its new, planned victims, thus undermining the means of livelihood of the population of the oppressed nations. They face starvation. Moscow is short of 70 million tons of grain, even according to the needs stipulated by it. In Ukraine, one kilogram of bread already costs one ruble. Crop failures occur in other countries, as well, but they do not have such catastrophic consequences, when the government is not colonialistic and imperialistic and when it does not impose a way of life which is anti-natural for other nations. Moscow exploits the economic situation for an even greater curbing of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. But the peoples are rebelling.

Forty years ago, Russia attempted to break resistance to her colonial domination and forced collectivization, as means of national subjugation, by a hunger siege of Ukraine, the peoples of the Caucasus, Byelorussia, the Don Cossacks and others.

The free world should not only reject the so-called policy of peaceful coexistence, so destructive for it, but also counteract the policy of so-called world balance of power between the thermonuclear, technological super-

powers, and launch a policy of liberation of the subjugated nations — the neglected superpower to whom the future belongs.

The catastrophe caused by starvation can be prevented by the pressure of the free world's powers on the USSR compelling the Russian imperialists to discontinue armaments, by the West's opposition to the expansion of their navy in order to oust the aggressive Bolshevik influence from Cuba or Bangla Desh which Russia supplies with food stuffs in order to keep these countries under its dictates. A prompt political offensive of the West is capable, while reinforcing resistance of the subjugated nations, to help make it impossible for Moscow to lay a new hunger siege of the enslaved nations, which rose to a decisive battle.

Not indulgence with respect to Moscow in the convening of the so-called European Security Conference, but its rejection and an active opposition to its acts of aggression in the whole world will assist the subjugated nations in raising a new hunger siege prepared for them by Russia.

It is not a chance occurrence that terror has been intensified against the subjugated nations, against their fighters for national independence and human rights of their nations.

It is not a chance occurrence that the Russians advance against workers and peasants in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, on the Don, in Estonia, Latvia and Siberia, against the Tatars, because the carriers of the ideas of the national struggle for liberation in the subjugated countries are not only the intellectual elite, but the broad popular circles of peasants, workers, intelligentsia, youth, of the people as a whole. The entire nations

are the champions of struggle. Therefore events as those in Kaunas (Lithuania) and in Dniprodzerzhynsk and Dnipropetrovsk (Ukraine), characterizing the quality and the universality of struggle, came to pass.

II

Against this background, the figure of Yuriy Shukhevych, sentenced anew to 10 years of prison and 5 years of exile after spending 20 years in confinement as a young boy solely because he had been and remained a loyal son of his heroic father, is characteristic of the struggle of the entire nations.

We appeal to the entire world to stage a massive campaign in defense of the **son** who did not betray his **father**, and for this must languish in prisons for 35 years.

We appeal to the whole world to launch actions in defense of I. Svitlychnyi, I. Dzyuba, Ye. Sverstyuk, Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk and three hundred other cultural leaders in Ukraine, as well as those in other subjugated countries — Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the nations of the Caucasus, Slovakia, Czechia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania . . .

Infatuation with the national idea is so great and so powerful that nothing will destroy it.

Along the path of its development stand the 58-year-old **Vasyl Makukh**, a peasant, member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who immolated himself in Kyiv in 1968 with the exclamation: "Long live free Ukraine!" and the young student **Jan Palach**, a Czech nationalist, who perished in flames of his own free will with an insurpassable exclamation: "It is better to die in flames, than to live under Russian colonial yoke", Prague, January, 1969. "Long live free Lithuania!" was shouted by the worker and evening student Romas Kalanta in Kaunas in 1972, while immolating him-

self as a sign of protest against the Russian colonial slavery in his native land. "To wait or to act" was asked by the Estonian intellectuals announcing a march of tanks not on Prague or Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

The Russian Communists have erected a monument to Pyotr Morozov in Leningrad for denouncing his father to the CheKa, while the Occident should not only bow its head before Yuriy Shukhevych, a loyal son of this heroic father, for which he has been suffering for decades, but his name should become a banner for all the young people of the West.

He stood up for the ideals which were always cherished by the Occident. Hence, we call to a joint action in defense of all fighters for national and human rights, for freedom of creativity, for freedom of religion, for independence of nations and freedom of individuals.

"It is better to die in flames than to live under Russian colonial yoke!" — this is a testament left for us by the martyr JAN PALACH.

**Central Committee of the
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)**

Russia Will Be Put on Trial

In the event of the Russian mock trial of I. M. Svitlychnyi and his associates, as well as of continued imprisonment and systematic poisoning of Valentyn Moroz in the Vladimir prison, **public court proceedings** will be instituted against Russia thanks to the efforts of the legal, intellectual, ecclesiastical and humanitarian circles in various countries of the free world. They will be based on the legal precedent of the Nuremberg trials, on the UN Charter, which was signed by the USSR, but trampled by Moscow, as well as on the Constitution of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR.

Our Strongest Allies

All know Communism's glowing promises. But what does it do to and for people?

There is one sure test.

Which way does the human traffic go on the border between a Communist and a free country?

Are people escaping over the Berlin Wall from West to East? Or from East to West?

From Florida to Cuba? Or from Cuba to Florida?

From Hongkong to Communist China? Or the reverse?

Fleeing from South Vietnamese defenders to join the North Vietnamese invaders? Or desperately seeking to escape to the South?

Our most important task still is education regarding the true nature of Communism — its philosophy, its goals, its basic strategies and its skilfully deceptive tactics. These and the determined dedication of its disciples are the main reasons for its successes, coupled with the failures to appreciate its dangers on the part of the free peoples who are its intended victims.

The most crucial reasons for these failures, as I have observed them, are: ignorance, wishful thinking, infiltration, pride.

Communism is said to be mellowing, moderating, maturing, evolving. Isn't the Soviet Union introducing some capitalist incentives? Yes, but that is not evolution; that is **reversion** — reversion to what Lenin had done in his New Economic Policy when he offered the people land — private property — to get their political support. Once in control, the land was taken away from them.

The USSR doesn't want to wage military warfare if it doesn't have to. It just wants us, free peoples, to leave the Communist apparatus completely alone while it is permitted, during "peaceful coexistence", to wage its revolutionary warfare against us, within our own borders and everywhere else.

That is, when they advocate "peaceful coexistence" it is to them not a declaration of peace, but a declaration of their kind of war.

Brezhnev made this point crystal clear in both his welcoming and his farewell speeches during Castro's visit only some months ago. He said there must be international peace and security — that is, peace between **nations**. But, he added, "Success in this important matter in no way signifies a possibility of weakening the ideological struggle. On the contrary," he said, "we must be prepared for intensification of this struggle between the two social systems, and we have no doubt as to the outcome".

The friendlier attitude is because both Peking and Moscow are in trouble. Peking is afraid of the Soviet Union and Russia is concerned about possible Peking action against Siberia. Each needs and seeks to use the US against the other. If either can establish a link with the US, that is bound to give the other a pause. So why shouldn't each appear cordial in receiving the President of the United States?

But there is one more component of the total picture we must not neglect. Our concern for the free is not enough; we must also keep faith with the enslaved. We must help them become free again.

Any proposal from whatever source must be tested by this criterion: What would be its probable effect on the

more than a billion people behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains? They are our strongest allies; they cannot be fooled by any Communist tricks; and they are in a position to do the enemy great damage at the right time.

We must never do anything to destroy the hope or weaken the will or strike despair into the hearts of the captive peoples. They cannot be expected to continue to resist the tyrants from within if we help those tyrants from without.

Our true hope is in the oppressed, not in the oppressors. I believe that you and I were born to be free. If that is true, then so were the Czechs, and the Chinese, the Ukrainians and the Koreans. If they were not born to be free, then neither were you nor I.

On April 27, 1941, Mr. Churchill went on the air to say this to the British people:

"In their mortal peril, the Greeks turned to us for succour. Strained as were our own resources, we could not say no to them. By solemn guarantee given before the war, Great Britain had promised them her help. They declared they would fight for their native soil even if none of their neighbors made common cause with them, and even if we left them to their fate. But we could not do that. There are rules against that kind of thing, and to break those rules would be fatal to the honor of the British empire, without which we would neither hope nor deserve to win this hard war."

That is true greatness. Mr. Churchill could not save Greece but he rallied his own people and saved England — and much of Western civilization.

We must be as true and as steadfast now. Military defeat is not fatal to a great nation, moral default is.

His Excellency

October 20, 1972

Richard M. Nixon

President of the United States

The World Anti-Communist League representing sixty-four nations of five continents expresses to Your Excellency its deep concern for alarming news that by accepting different pressures you are willing to impose on the heroic people of South Vietnam arrangements on armed struggle in that country which would practically result in US defeat in the face of Communist aggression along with hopeless consequences of future takeover by Communist aggressors first of South Vietnam and later of the rest of Southeast Asia.

We ask Your Excellency not to be dominated by pressures and to consider above all the sacred interests of the Vietnamese people, of the American nation and of the free world, abstaining from accepting agreements which would mean a shameful defeat for the United States and a tragedy for the peoples of Indochina.

Raimundo Guerrero

Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League

The Restive Non-Russians

Leading figures from all the world's other 13 Communist countries, except for Albania and China, joined Soviet leaders in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses on December 22, 1972, for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union. In February a Soviet central committee resolution extolled the Soviet Union as "the most viable and perfected form of organization for a multinational state". But the growing unrest among the country's non-Russians suggests that its nationality problems are far from solved, and could be getting worse.

On December 30, 1922, Joseph Stalin, then Lenin's commissar for nationality questions, proudly hailed the merger of the Soviet republics of Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine and Transcaucasia into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as "the triumph of new Russia over old Russia, over Russia the gendarme of Europe, over Russia the butcher of Asia". By an ironic coincidence, his ailing leader, Lenin, was that very day complaining in an official note about the suppression of the independent socialist government in Georgia. That, had been carried out earlier in the year by Stalin, a native son of Georgia but by 1922, in Lenin's bitter words, one of those "russified people" who "always overshoot themselves in the matter of the true Russian disposition".

But even before that, when Lenin himself was still well and in control, the government in Moscow had suppressed the "national liberation" movements of such non-Russian peoples as the Ukrainians, the Tartars, the Armenians and others, many of whom had originally supported the Bolsheviks because of their opposition to the tsars' policy of systematic russification of their non-Russian subjects. Stalin saw himself very much as the heir of the tsars. By the time of his death in 1953, all their former subjects except

the Finns and Poles had been brought back under Moscow's centralized rule. But this was done without upsetting the formal federal structure of the Soviet Union, and it was done under a "liberal" new constitution adopted at the height of Stalin's great purges in 1936.

That constitution is still in force today. Under it, the Soviet Union is divided into 15 "union" republics, each of which is at least ostensibly identified with a nationality — the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Uzbeks and so on. There are 16 "autonomous" republics which are dotted about on the territory of the biggest, Russian republic, which extends from Kaliningrad in the west to Vladivostok in the far east. There are also a number of small autonomous regions. The "union" republics have their own governments, legislatures and Communist parties. They have, in outward form, the right to their own armed forces and diplomatic relations with foreign states. (Two of them, Byelorussia and Ukraine, have been members of the United Nations since 1945.) Under Article 17 of the 1936 constitution, these republics even have the right to secede from the Soviet Union.

This federal structure, like the whole formal political structure in the Soviet Union, is a gigantic piece of window-dressing. Political decisions are taken by the leaders in Moscow without any reference to any of these federal institutions. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that a county council in Britain has more real autonomy than the supposedly sovereign Soviet republics.

But why should it matter, in a country so lacking in even the most basic political rights, whether somebody is unfree merely as a Soviet citizen or, on top of that, unfree also as a Latvian, a Ukrainian, a Jew or a Tartar? Apparently it matters a good deal. The per-

sistence and the growth of nationalist dissent among the Soviet Union's non-Russians show that Lenin and other Marxist prophets were wrong when they predicted that national feelings would wither away under Communism. It may be that such feelings help to fill the vacuum left by the declining attractiveness of the official Communist ideology. Even more important, nationalism becomes a vehicle for expressing a desire for more freedom and for ventilating various (not always nationalist) grievances against the remote, unresponsive government in Moscow. Moscow's support of "national liberation" movements in Asia and Africa has also acted as a spur to non-Russians inside the Soviet Union.

Where is most of this sense of nationalism to be found? Ukraine has the largest non-Russian population in the Soviet Union — more than 40m — and is by far the most important centre of nationalist agitation, which comes from the fear of assimilation by the Ukrainians' Slav cousins, the more than three times more numerous Russians. After Stalin's death, hopes for a more liberal policy in Ukraine were disappointed. In the late 1950s many Ukrainians were alarmed by Mr. Khrushchev's plans for a gradual "coming together" and even "merging" of the nations of the Soviet Union. The new policy was embodied in the programme which was adopted at the 22nd party congress in 1961, which predicted a rapidly diminishing significance of the boundaries between the republics and even the achievement of "complete unity" among the nations of the USSR.

There was a brief period of relaxation after Mr. Khrushchev's fall in 1964, followed by another crackdown on Ukrainian intellectuals in 1966 and 1967. A number of leading intellectuals, some of them party members who demanded more teaching of the Ukrainian language and history, were sent to prison camps. There have been more arrests this year; some hundreds of alleged

Ukrainian nationalists were reported to have been arrested in January and May. The demotion in May of the Ukrainian party secretary, Pyotr Shelest, was probably a punishment for his failure to deal with the nationalist agitation.

The three small Baltic republics, **Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania** (total population 7 million), are in a special category. They were independent from 1918 to 1940 but were occupied by the Soviet army in 1940 and incorporated into the Soviet Union after the second world war, when large numbers of their people were deported. But by the 1960s the arrival of substantial forces of Russian immigrants led to changes in the party leaderships in Latvia and Estonia. Latvian dissidents complain that the proportion of Latvians in the population of their republic has dropped from 62 per cent in 1959 to 57 per cent in 1970; the proportions are similar in Estonia. This year the centre of dissidence moved to predominantly Roman Catholic Lithuania, where a young protester burned himself to death in May. This was followed by riots in Kaunas and two more instances of self-immolation.

Stalin's home republic of **Georgia** has been involved this year in a series of political upheavals whose climax was the sacking of the party secretary, V. P. Mzhavanadze, in October. The purge was set off by the publication of a book praising the work of the socialist government of independent Georgia before it was overthrown by Stalin in 1922. There is plainly a resurgent sense of nationalism in what has always been one of the most independent-minded of Soviet republics.

Elsewhere, too, there are continuing signs of dissent. The Crimean **Tartars**, whom Stalin brutally deported to Uzbekistan because some of them had collaborated with the Germans during the second world war, are still asking for permission to return. Even the

Meshkethians, a small Moslem people who suffered a similar fate during the war, have started campaigning for permission to emigrate to **Turkey**, whose language resembles theirs.

A lot of the new pressure for past injustices to be remedied has probably been inspired by the relative success of the Jewish campaign for free emigration to Israel, and by the Soviet government's decision to allow 3,000 ethnic Germans (out of a total of 1.2m) to go to West Germany. The 2.5m Jews and 1.2m Germans who remain in the Soviet Union are no doubt a continuing source of worry for the Soviet leaders. But the problem of what to do with the other discontented nationalities is far worse. The Soviet leaders may be tempted to apply to them too the policy of selective emigration and expulsion that they have been using with some success on the Jews and the liberal intellectuals of Moscow. But where would exiled Ukrainians or Tartars or Balts go? And what would the effect of further emigration be on those who stay?

The unrest among non-Russians has the makings of a real crisis. To give the republics and autonomous areas some real power is not on the cards: it would dilute the central Communist party's monopoly of power and be a step towards the political pluralism the Soviet leaders abhor. Open and harsh repression, on the other hand, could create martyrs; it could widen public sympathy for the nationalists; it could alienate whole regions of the country. Stalin's purges in the 1930s created great numbers of disaffected people who were ready to welcome any foreign enemy provided he was also the enemy of their persecutors. Many Ukrainians and Balts (and even Russians) welcomed the Germans in 1941 not out of any affection for Germany but because they hated Stalin's policies.

The thought that China may now be intriguing with disaffected nationalists

in Ukraine is plainly worrying the Soviet government. But its concern must be greatest for the central Asian republics such as **Kazakhstan**, **Tadzhikistan** and **Kirgizia**. These places have so far seen the least nationalist dissidence, and have benefited most from the Soviet policy of industrialization. But they have a major problem in the high birth-rate of the local Asian peoples, which means that the Russians are rapidly losing the numerical preponderance they have enjoyed in much of Soviet central Asia. In the near future they may even find themselves under pressure to give up some of the positions they hold there as the local Kazakhs, Tadzhiks, Uzbeks and others start leaving the over-populated countryside and looking for jobs in the cities. To avoid racial conflict in these strategically important areas near the Chinese border the Moscow government may even have to allow these Asians to emigrate to labour-scarce areas in European Russia — which could cause racial tension there. The Moslem peoples are probably going to number 50m, up to a fifth of the Soviet Union's total population, by 1980, while the proportion of Russians, who still formed a majority in 1970, is steadily declining, and has just probably fallen below the half-way mark.

The Soviet leaders do not want an outbreak of racial tension between their own "white" and "coloured" peoples in areas close to the Chinese border. But the growth of nationalism will be used by Soviet hardliners as an argument against the sort of political and economic reform that could keep the racial problem under control. The sense of insecurity felt by many Russians because of their declining share in the total population could well strengthen the hardliners. So the growth of the spirit of liberation nationalism of the subjugated nations is likely to go on as the Soviet Union enters its second 50 years.

(The Economist, Dec. 23, 1972)

AF-ABN Protest on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the USSR

A mass protest action was organized in New York by the American Friends of ABN on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

On behalf of all the captive nations, the AF-ABN sent an open letter to President Nixon. The letter was also sent to all US senators, congressmen, governors and high government officials.

On December 29, 1972, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Rumanians, Germans and Ukrainians distributed over 20,000 copies of the above letter in the streets of New York. On December 30th, the day when this anniversary was being celebrated in Moscow, an impressive motorcade made up of cars of Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Cubans, Germans, Slovaks, Cossacks and other nationalities passed through the streets of New York City in protest. The motorcade stopped in four places crowded with thousands of people and speeches were delivered through a loud-speaker.

After the demonstration, a lunch was served to all the participants by the Ukrainian Women's Association. **Mr. Leo Borscz**, Chairman of the AF-ABN Ukrainian Division, made the opening remarks. **Dr. Ivan Docheff**, Chairman of AF-ABN, then addressed the gathering. **Mr. Aristide Nicolaie** (Rumania) and **Mr. Mario Aquilera** (Cuba) spoke briefly. **Prof. Ivan Wowchuk** (Ukraine) delivered the concluding speech.

From an Open Letter to President Nixon

"The Russian tsarist empire had dominated, oppressed and exploited many non-Russian nations until its destruction in February 1917 when these nations revolted and started to establish their own national, free, independent and democratic republics . . .

"The emerging freedom for the non-Russian republics of the former tsarist

empire did not fit the blueprint of the Russian Communist rulers. Therefore, through direct military invasion by the Red Army, the Russian Communists occupied all the newly independent republics except Finland, the Baltic states and Poland.

"It took the Moscow government about five years to conquer and occupy these republics. Some of them were completely liquidated — such as the Cossack Republic — and others were transformed into Soviet Socialist Republics with selected obedient governments that included Russian members.

"Then, on October 6, 1922, the session of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted Lenin's draft to create the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). On December 30, 1922, the Moscow government, using its own appointed delegates from the four Soviet Republics of Russia, Byelorussia, Transcaucasia, and Ukraine, formally proclaimed the founding of the USSR.

"The voices of all non-Russian nations were omitted — their will was suppressed and their right for self-determination was brutally destroyed. The 'Prison of Nations' which Lenin denounced during the tsarist regime was re-established under the Russian Communist dictatorship following the December 30, 1922 proclamation."

The letter goes on to mention further Russian conquests during and after World War II in Europe (the Baltic states, Poland, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, etc.) and Asia, as well as the economic aid of the West to the USSR.

"Terror, torture, murder, genocide, forced famine, slave labor, concentration camps, denial and suppression of the basic human rights, mass deportations, mass killings, systematic destruction of faith in God, systematic Russi-

fication of all non-Russian nationalities within the USSR, and many other methods are the tools which have been used to this very day by the Russian Communist regime to insure its domination. Millions and millions of innocent people were murdered — young and old, men and women, learned and illiterate — without distinction for creed, race, social status, or national origin. The mass graves of Katyn, Vynitsia, Vyaleyka and others are silent testimony . . . And we cannot think of a more infamous act of help to the Soviet Union than the forced repatriation of over five million refugees of various nationalities to the USSR in 1945 and 46 — and the horrible 'Operation Keelhaul'.

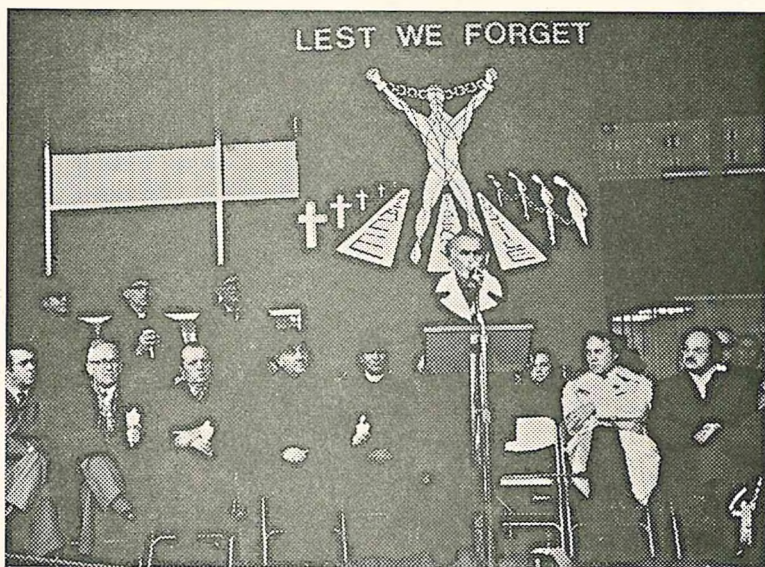
"The Red leaders have achieved through treaties and agreements with the Western Powers a recognition and approval of their brutal conquests — approval of their bloody crushing of the various freedom fighting forces within their empire; approval of their

suppression of religion, political activities and dissent; approval of their subversion and even aggression within the free countries throughout the world . . .

"The greatest desire and struggle of the nations within the USSR is to become free and independent . . .

"Mr. President, we ask you to help all captive nations in their struggle for liberation and restoration of their national sovereignty."

The letter was signed by **Dr. Ivan Docheff** (Bulgaria), National Chairman of AF-ABN, **Dr. Stepan Halamay** (Ukraine), **John Kosiak** (Byelorussia), **Edward Derrik** (Estonia), **Col. Nicolas Nazarenko** (Cossackia), **Aristide Nicolaie** (Rumania), **Charles Andreanszky** (Hungary), **Dr. George Young** (China), **Mario Aquilera** (Cuba), **Erich Jenssen** (Germany), **Anthony Nosich** (Croatia), **Capt. Arslan Bek** (North Caucasus), **Ivan Samel** (Slovakia), **Helen Kolbert** (Lithuania) and **Vern Michael** (American Friends).



Toronto, Canada, November 11, 1972

Mr. Avraam Shifrin, a long-time prisoner of the Russian concentration camps, speaking during a demonstration in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych.

From Letters to ABN:

We now live in an hour of the greatest confusion and danger in the history of mankind. It is our belief that the greatest cause of this chaotic situation stems from Communist ideology. Because of the ignorance of the people and the failure of leaders in free nations to make people understand the fallacy of Communism, the world has been gravely disturbed with hatred, violence and subversive activities by Communists. As a result, one-third of the world is under Communist subjugation and freedom in other countries is also gravely threatened. It is the most pressing necessity of our time to take counter-measures against direct and indirect aggression...

The International Federation for Victory over Communism (IFVC) was organized to meet this urgent need. Since its establishment, the IFVC has been making various kinds of activities with energy and passion...

The IFVC is now considered as one of the most powerful international organizations in Japan dedicated to the cause of freedom and justice as ever against Communism. The IFVC has a powerful ideological weapon called the "Theory of Victory-over-Communism", which is a synthetic philosophy of politics, economics, history, ethics and religion. It is a complete answer to the Communist theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Everybody can become a freedom-fighter once he learns this Theory of Victory over Communism. Therefore, the purpose of the IFVC is not simply to object to Communism, but to represent positive and moral ideology and persuade all people to join in realizing on earth a just and lasting peace, based on love and freedom for all mankind and independence for all nations...

Sincerely yours,

Osami Kuboki, President
*International Federation for
Victory over Communism*

Freedom for the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania!

Please do your utmost to help to restore independence to the Baltic States and freedom to the Baltic Peoples. The case of the armed Soviet Russian occupation and incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union must be brought before the United Nations and the attention of the world must be directed to the denial of the right of self-determination to the peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The Baltic States commemorate the 55th anniversary of their independence (1918-1973) in 1973: Lithuania on February 16th, Estonia on February 24th and Latvia on November 18th. These three Baltic States fought their War of Liberation against invading Soviet Russia's Army from 1918 till 1920 when

a peace treaty between the Baltic States and Soviet Russia was concluded. After 22 years of independence and liberty, the Baltic States were again invaded by the Russians in June, 1940 and forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. Many thousands of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians were murdered, deported or imprisoned by the Russian regime of the Soviet Union during the occupation which continues until today. (There was an intervening break in the Soviet Russian occupation of the Baltic States during the time of German occupation 1941 - 1944/45.) Genocide of the Baltic Peoples is the grisly goal of the Soviet Union.

V. Grundmanis

„Crackdown on Dissent“

In an article entitled "Crackdown on Dissent", the **Time** magazine of December 18, 1972 wrote the following about repressive measures in Ukraine:

"... From Ukraine where more than 100 intellectuals have been arrested since last January (1972), the **Chronicle** reported the trial of eleven members of the Movement for Ukrainian National Rights, a moderate group devoted to Ukrainian civil rights. Charged with disseminating "anti-Soviet" propaganda, the defendants were sentenced to an average of ten years' hard labor and exile. Among those convict-

ed was Danylo Shumuk, 58, who had previously spent 28 years in prisons and camps — in prewar Poland for being a Communist, under Nazi occupation for the same reason, and under the Soviet government for "Ukrainian nationalism". After his release in 1967, Shumuk wrote his memoirs of prison life and apparently circulated the work of Yugoslav Writer Milovan Djilas (**The New Class**), for which he has been sentenced to an additional 15 years. His wife has been arrested and his two-year-old son placed in an orphanage.

NOTICE

We hereby bring to your attention that Mr. **Yaroslav Shevchuk** is the Chief Representative of the Financial Department of the Central Committee of ABN in the U.S.A.

Mr. Ya. Shevchuk is authorized to collect debts owed to ABN. We, therefore, kindly request your cooperation in this respect.

Please contact him at the following address:

Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk
3438 Heresford Drive
Parma, Ohio 44134
U.S.A.

Financial Department of the Central
Committee of ABN in Munich

News and Views

Communist Governments Exploit Human Misery

In the numerous news reports, columns and editorials, the newspapers of the West continuously and subjectively imply that the administrative ransom-exit decree "recently" adopted by the Russian Communist government applies only to educated Jews seeking to emigrate from the Soviet Union to settle in Israel. Actually it is an old decree practiced since Stalin's time (in the early 1930s Moscow openly offered to sell exit passports to Soviet citizens for foreign currency). It applies to members of all nationalities of the USSR and not exclusively to the educated but to all strata of Soviet society, and has been in use in all Communist countries for a long time.

In a dispatch from Moscow, dated October 9, 1972, under the heading "Soviet Fee Blocks Exit of Non-Jews", the **Washington Post** said the following: "Two Canadian-born Ukrainians seeking to return to the land of their birth have been told they are subject to the new Soviet education tax on emigrants to the West, according to informed sources here.

"They are Eugene Lenko, 34, and Mrs. Demidenko, 33, of Kyiv, who together with their Soviet spouses staged a sit-in protest at the Canadian embassy here in August in support of their bid to emigrate.

"The source said they had planned to come to Moscow during the weekend to ask the embassy for a loan to help pay the education tax, but they were detained for four hours by Kyiv police, who confiscated their identity papers.

"They have received no indication whether their applications for exit permits will be granted, the sources said. They were, however, told that they and their spouses would each have to

pay 6,800 rubles — \$ 8,160 at the official rate — for education they have received in the Soviet Union.

"It is the first time a non-Jew is known to have been told he is liable for the education tax.

"The parents of Lenko and Mrs. Demidenko brought them to Ukraine 16 years ago. They have been trying for two years to get exit visas."

On February 21, 1968, the **Washington Post** carried a report by Charles Foley of the **London Observer** concerning the secret traffic in refugees which has enriched the coffers of the East European Communist countries by several hundred million dollars. Communist Rumania, the country considered by the US "Soviet experts" as the most "progressive" of the Russian satellites and closest to the West, is in the forefront having grossed an estimated \$ 250,000,000 by selling her unwanted human cargo.

The closed conference room has replaced the slave block and the secret barter of humans is engaged in, directly, by the Communist governments and Western agencies. Ransoms range from \$ 7,000 upwards depending on the individual's profession, age, ability, etc. The greatest number of people to be ransomed by Western agencies, according to Mr. Foley, are Jews who are sent to Israel while other nationals, mostly Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Armenians are usually taken to America. This lucrative trade in humans is only one phase of the widespread exploitation of human misery by Communist governments.

The only thing new in the Kremlin visa ransom is a higher price scale and that the decree is now officially "ratified" by the Supreme Soviet. Since the U.N. Human Rights Commission is silent on the violation of human rights

by Moscow and since the US government is more interested in the trade status and "detente" with Moscow, it would be well for the Western press to focus objectively on this blackmail-and-ransom indignity imposed by the Kremlin leaders. V. Y. Mayewsky

Protest by Ukrainians from Boston and Hartford

An exhibit, "Soviet Union: Arts and Crafts in Ancient Times and Today", was on display at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from August 4th to September 3rd, 1972. Many of the items in the collection were falsely identified with the Russians taking credit for the works of artists of other nationalities of the Soviet Union or were left unidentified. This was particularly true of the Ukrainian articles. For this reason, the Ukrainian communities of Boston, Mass. and Hartford, Conn. staged two protest demonstrations on August 6th and 26th respectively to call the attention of the public to these misrepresentations.

In the course of the second demonstration a letter was handed to the museum's director calling his attention to the false identification of articles in the exhibit which "is an example of the techniques used by Russia to conceal the true identity of the contributions of the artists in those nations enslaved by her," and additional literature was provided. The letter was signed by John Woloschuk, Vice President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Boston Chapter; Orest Szczudluk, Ukrainian Branch of American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; and Mrs. Sophie Radio, the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Hartford.

Subsequently, the above letter was forwarded by the museum to the Department of State in Washington.

During both demonstrations leaflets demanding freedom for Ukrainian in-

tellectuals were distributed and reports on them were carried on T. V. in the evening news.

Communism Incompatible with Islam

On July 19, 1972, a resolution was enacted by the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union of Egypt to dismiss the Russian Military advisors from Egypt. The number of the advisors was estimated to be between 10,000 and 20,000.

Egypt's relations with the Soviet Union started in 1956 when the USA stopped financing the Aswan Dam. The Egyptian president found himself obliged to look for other resources. Russia was the only one available at that time.

By the agreement signed between Russia and Egypt for the construction of the Aswan Dam, the Middle East was opened for Russia. Syria, Iraq, Sudan and South Yemen were invaded by Communism.

However, in 1971, Sudan discovered a military coup arranged by the Russians, and an immediate action took place to dismiss all the Russians from Sudan. The Communist Sudanese leaders were dismissed from key positions.

The withdrawal of Russian military advisors from Egypt is the first step for a thorough withdrawal from Egypt, and gradually from the Arab world and the Middle East.

Communism will never find a favorable atmosphere in the Moslem world, since it is a doctrine destructive of all religions and noble principles.

Saudi Arabia, the original home of Islam, is religiously immune to Communism and all other destructive doctrines. This is illustrated by the fact that no relations have taken place between Saudi Arabia and any country of the Communist world, neither admittance, nor political representation. This is its policy from the beginning and will continue for the future.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Arrests and Sentencing of Ukrainian Intellectuals

Three Ukrainian intellectuals, all from the group arrested last January by the KGB (Soviet Secret Police), were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and exile at a trial in Lviv last July.

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Stephania Shabatura and **Ivan Hel** were tried on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and meted out heavy sentences under Article 62 of the Ukr. SSR Criminal Code.

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, the 32-year-old poetess, was sentenced to six years of imprisonment and three years of exile.

Stephania Shabatura, the 34-year-old artist in carpet designing, received a five-year prison term and three years of exile.

Ivan Hel, who was previously arrested in 1965 and sentenced to three years at hard labor in 1966, was now sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and five years of exile. (The maximum penalty under Article 62 of CC Ukr. SSR is seven years of imprisonment and five years of exile.)

Hel has been working as a welder while attending evening classes in history at the Lviv University. Because of previous arrest, his sentence exceeds the maximum penalty.

At the same time, it was reported that **Ihor Kalynets**, 34, the husband of Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets and one of the brightest and most popular Ukrainian poets of the younger generation was arrested in Lviv on August 11, 1972. Also arrested was Ivan Hel's sister.

It has been reported from Ukraine that in September 1972 the poet **Vasyl Stus** has been convicted in Kyiv on

the basis of Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to five years in prison and three years of exile. Approximately at the same time, the writer **Mykhaylo Osadchyi** has been sentenced in Lviv to seven years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile. He was tried according to Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

Vasyl Stus, a poet and literary critic, was born in 1938 in the Vinnytsya region. He studied pedagogics. In 1963 his works began to be published in Kyiv periodicals. In 1965 he did research work at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. He wrote letters in defense of those repressed and arrested. In December 1970, he delivered a eulogy at the funeral of Alla Horska, a Ukrainian artist who is believed to have been murdered by the KGB. A collection of poetry by V. Stus "Zymovi dereva" (Winter Trees) was published in Brussels by the "Literature and Art" Publishers.

Mykhaylo Osadchyi, a writer and lecturer, was born in 1936 in the Sumy region. He graduated from the Faculty of Journalism of the Lviv University, where he later became a lecturer. He was first sentenced in 1966 to two years of imprisonment. He served his sentence in Mordovia, returning to Lviv in 1968. He is married and the father of two children.

Osadchyi is the author of the collection of poetry "Misyachne pole" (Moon field) which was destroyed immediately after its publication by the "Kamenyar" Publishers for ideological reasons. The essay "Bilmo" (Cataract), the authorship of which is attributed to Osadchyi was published in the West in several editions. At his trial in Lviv, the investigators were unable to prove

that Osadchyi was the author of the said work. Therefore, he was tried only for poems of "anti-Soviet character", which were allegedly found in his home during a search.

According to reports from Ukraine, all trials held in 1972 were conducted in secret and in most cases not even the closest relatives were admitted to them. All those convicted prior to October are said to be still in Ukraine.

Terror Victims in Ukraine

The trial of 58-years-old **Danylo Shumuk** began in Kyiv on July 5, 1972, and in the sentence, he was condemned to 10 years of imprisonment of most severe regime in concentration camps and 5 years of exile. For Danylo Shumuk it is already his fourth conviction. Up to now he already spent 27 years in Polish and Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps.

Born in Halychyna, Danylo Shumuk was formerly a member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and spent 7 years in prisons as a prisoner of the Polish Defense. Liberated during the Second World War, he served in the Red Army and, becoming prisoner in 1942, he escaped and got in touch with the Ukrainian Underground Movement. In 1945, Shumuk was arrested by the KGB and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in Soviet concentration camps. Released in 1956, he lived in Dnipropetrovsk but was arrested again in 1957 and, after refusing to be an informer among the political prisoners as was proposed to him by Major Svedlov of the KGB, Danylo Shumuk was once more sentenced to 10 years of jail. After the completion of that sentence, he had difficulties in obtaining a residence permit in Kyiv but finally received it and, in 1969, he married Nadia Svitlychnyi and they had a son named Yarema.

In his actual trial, D. Shumuk was charged under Article 62 of the Cri-

iminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. as being the author of an extensive work about Stalin's concentration camps during and after the Second World War, in which he underlines the widespread persecutions and the hardships of life in those camps.

His trial was the first of a series to come for those arrested of the so-called Kyiv group. It was followed by the trials of **Oleksander Serhiyenko**, a teacher, arrested on January 12, 1972, and **Volodymyr Rohynskyi** also arrested in January 1972. Both were sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment of most severe regime in concentration camps and 3 years of exile.

In Ivano-Frankivsk, a young poet, **Taras Melnychuk**, was sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment. He published his works in literary newspapers and journals in Kyiv and Lviv. Also in Ivano-Frankivsk, a priest of Kosmach, **Vasyl Romanyuk**, was sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile.

The "Chronicle of Current Events", No. 20, reports that some of the arrested Ukrainian intellectuals and artists were confined to mental hospitals. **Vasyl Stus**, poet and literary critic, author of a collection of poems called "Winter Tress" well known in the West, has been confined to the Pavlovsky mental clinic of Kyiv and **Anatoliy Lupynis**, also a poet, to the Dnipropetrovsk mental clinic.

A subsequent wave of arrests is sweeping across Ukraine which began in mid-August, 1972. It is linked to the appearance and further dissemination of Ukrainian underground publications, the so-called samvydav. Hundreds of persons from various walks of life within the Ukrainian community are summoned for questioning by the KGB organs and detained for several days. The homes of many individuals, in particular students, are searched several times in an attempt to find the materials of Ukrainian samvydav, and peo-

ple who have prepared the 6th issue of the **Ukrainskyi Visnyk**.

In Kyiv, mostly young people who just happened to pass near one of the Kyiv jails are detained very often. The agents of the KGB make this quite openly so as to intimidate the nationally conscious youth or sympathizers of the liberation movement. One of the Kyiv writers said: "Ukraine has not known such KGB violence since the Stalinist times . . . What a high price in victims must a nation pay in order to survive the hard times . . ."

Reports penetrating from the Kyiv and Lviv prisons speak about the application of tortures and beating of prisoners in order to force statements of repentance or testimony required by the KGB from them. Renowned for his cruelty in the application of Stalinist methods is KGB major Halskyi, who writes under the pseudonym Klym Dmytruk. Halskyi specializes in interrogating Ukrainian prisoners.

19-year-old **Lidiya Serednyak** was sentenced in Kyiv to a year of concentration camp for alleged nationalist activity. **Vyacheslav Gluzman** was convicted together with her. Both of them are accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". They are said to be part of the group of 20 Ukrainians imprisoned in January 1972.

Valentyn Moroz Knifed by Criminals in Prison

As reported by the United Press International, Valentyn Moroz, the 36-year-old Ukrainian historian who was sentenced in 1970 by a Soviet Russian court to nine years at hard labor and five years of exile, was assaulted in July 1972 by four inmates of the Vladimir prison, east of Moscow, where he was being kept at the time and stabbed four times. He is said to have been taken to the prison infirmary, his condition unknown. The report said that Moroz was stabbed in the stomach by "four criminals".

There were reports last year that Moroz was suffering from a liver ailment, possibly caused by deliberate food poisoning. There are numerous instances where Russian authorities have resorted to this and other methods to break the individual.

Two years ago, three Ukrainian intellectuals — Levko Lukyanenko, Mykhaylo Horyn and Ivan Kandyba — appealed to the United Nations in a letter smuggled to the West to investigate food poisoning by the Russian authorities, citing their own cases as well as other instances.

There are many observers in the West who feel that the recent assault on Moroz was planned.

The KGB Forced to Bring V. Moroz Back to Ukraine

At the beginning of October, the seriously wounded Valentyn Moroz was transferred from the Vladimir prison to Kyiv, where he was confined to the prison hospital. Although the injuries received by Moroz have not been fatal, his life continues to be in danger.

Ukrainian Engineer Commits Suicide

30-year-old engineer Katala committed suicide in Lviv as a sign of protest against the arrests and repressions by the Russians in Ukraine.

Katala was born in 1942. He was a close friend of Stephania Shabatura. After her arrest, he was summoned for interrogation and urged to give false testimony against S. Shabatura, to denounce his acquaintance and friendship with her and to testify against her in court. Being under constant moral pressure, Katala feared that he can break down under the influence of psychological tortures and testify against his friends.

According to reports, Katala was summoned to the Lviv prison on May 28, 1972 for a subsequent interrogation.

He was questioned in the women's wing of the prison where an eye to eye encounter with Stephania Shabatura was to have been arranged for him. While being questioned, he dashed out of the room of the interrogator, found himself in the corridor and with shouts of protest thrust a concealed pair of scissors into his heart. He was dead by the time the KGB officers caught up with him.

Fearing that the news of Katala's suicide will spread and cause disturbances in the city at the very time of US President Nixon's visit to Kyiv, the KGB intensified security around the entire prison, suspended all visits and in the night of 28/29th May buried Katala's body in an unknown place without even notifying his closest relatives about it.

Ukrainian Teacher Terrorized

Bohdan Keyvan, a resident of **Kuty** in the Kosiv region of Ukraine, was sentenced in 1970 to a year of forced labor.

B. Keyvan was a teacher of the English language at the Kuty secondary school. He was dismissed from work and deprived of the right to teach by the decision of the court based on totally illegal grounds, namely that Keyvan's father had been a "kulak" at one time, that his father still has an "unhealthy" attitude and so forth.

Being an expert in the English language, B. Keyvan subsequently earned his living by private lessons and lived together with his father. He was found guilty of "idleness".

Punished for a Ukrainian Slogan

Zhytomyr. — The home of pensioner **Karpo Yavir**, whose son **Mykola** is a student of the Kyiv University, was searched and the entire library confiscated because some books contained an ex-libris with the inscription: "Ukraine has not perished yet". (The

words of the Ukrainian national anthem — transl.)

Expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine

As reported by **Literaturna Ukraina** of October 20, 1972, at the meeting of the Executive Board of the Kyiv Writers' Union of Ukraine, chaired by **Yuriy Zbanatskyi**, which was held in mid-October, aside from obvious "shortcomings" in the activity of members of the said Union "the case of **V. Zakharchenko**, a prosaist from Cherkasy, was considered. **V. I. Zakharchenko** was excluded from membership in the Union for anti-social conduct, which contradicts the Charter of the Writers' Union and is incompatible with membership in the writers' organization."

No concrete reasons for expulsion were provided. At one time the Ukrainian underground publication **Ukrainskyi Visnyk** wrote about repressions against **Vasyl Zakharchenko**. At the time of his journalistic work in **Donetsk**, his apartment was searched on June 8, 1970 in connection with the case of **Ivan Suk**, a lecturer at the Medical Institute, as the result of which an unfinished manuscript of a novel, private letters, notes and books were confiscated. Having moved to Cherkasy, **V. Zakharchenko** was dismissed from work in the editorial office of **Molod Cherkashchyny** (The Youth of the Cherkasy Region). When upon the assignment of the WUU he travelled to Donbas for appearances before the workers, his trip was interrupted upon instructions of the Donetsk Oblast Committee of the Party, allegedly because the miners were indignant that the speaks "in Ukrainian, a language not understood by them". For a biting remark on this occasion, expressed by **V. Zakharchenko** to a KGB agent assigned to him, he was dismissed from work. **Vasyl Stus**, a specialist of literature recently sentenced to five years of imprisonment and three years of ex-

ile, wrote a protest letter in the case of I. Suk and V. Zakharchenko to the Head of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, O. Lyashko, and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, F. Ovcharenko.

Vasyl Zakharchenko was born in 1936 in Hutyryvka, a small settlement near Poltava. In 1958 he finished the Faculty of Journalism at the Kyiv University and worked for the press. His short stories "Spivuchy korin" (Singing root) (1964), "Tramvay o shostiy hodyni vechora" (Trolley at 6 p.m.) (1966) and "Stezhka" (Trail) (1968) appeared as separate books.

Unrest in Ukraine

Over 10,000 people took part in disturbances in Dniprodzerzhynsk (Kam'yans'ke, Dnipropetrovs'k region); damaged the KGB and Ministry of State Security buildings; destroyed all the political documents, passports and citizens' personal data; smashed windows; broke doors and tore down portraits of Brezhnev, Lenin and other Soviet leaders, killing one KGB agent. Other groups of demonstrators destroyed the buildings that housed the regional administrative, party and military (including the Komsomol) bodies.

The riots in Dniprodzerzhynsk on 25 and 26 June involved between 10,000 and 12,000 people, half of whom were young people and women. The units of the KGB opened fire, killing 10 people and injuring hundreds of others. One Ukrainian died in the fire at the KGB building. Several of the KGB agents and military police also died in a similar manner, while about 50 were injured.

The trouble began with the arrests of several youths who teased one of the soldiers as being identified with the Russian occupation of the Ukraine. The Russians used everything they had against the demonstrators — the local military garrison, units of the KGB and

the fire brigades. Within two days, nine buildings were either destroyed or damaged. Many people were arrested afterwards.

On 19 September, 1972, in Dnipropetrovsk a large-scale strike broke out among the workers and the population which gathered in masses and surrounded the headquarters of the regional Communist Party, protesting and demanding a higher standard of living and more national freedom. The regional Communist Party called out military and police units which opened fire on the demonstrators.

During 1 May parade in Lviv, someone blocked the sewers. All the sewage came into the streets just around the main platform and along the streets, which were full of people.

In several towns and cities in Western Ukraine have appeared carvings of Ukrainian national emblems — **Tryzub**. They were carved in the stones and bridges in such a way that it was difficult for the authorities to remove them. These emblems appeared in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Khust (Carpatho-Ukraine) and in Rachiv.

In the beginning of 1971 at a military factory near Ivano-Frankivsk a certain number of small arms disappeared. But the KGB managed to locate the place where members of the Ukrainian underground were guarding them. In the shooting that developed several people were killed. Later the KGB made a number of arrests in the district.

According to recent information from Kyiv, I. M. Honchar, well known among theatre people in the USSR and a relative of O. Honchar, author of the book *Sobor* (The Cathedral), member of the Communist Party, has been persecuted by the KGB for several months now. His private museum has about 7,000 exhibits and has been visited by many people. At one time such Soviet publications as *Narodna Tvorchist, Ranok* or *Literaturta Ukraina* published friendly articles about the museum. (*East-West Digest*, No. 22, November, 1972.)

The Struggle Inside the Empire Intensifies

The underground periodical **Demokrat** (Democrat), No. 4, which is published in the USSR by the Russian chauvinist circles united under the banner of the so-called Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union (DMSU) carries a polemic article of an alleged Ukrainian Insurgent Army veteran from 1943, "Yuriy", attacking the position of the **Ukrainskyi Visnyk** (The Ukrainian Herald), No. 3, 1970, which denies that Ukrainian circles have anything to do with the formulation of the program of the DMSU. Among other things, it says the following:

"The manifestations of protest are considerably broader, than is generally known to the public. They appear in the form of written protests and proposals directed to the party and state organs, dissemination of leaflets, multiplied by hand, by typewriters, by typographical methods, verbal propaganda of individuals, the creation of underground groups and even parties, including those of terrorist character and even in terror (for instance, the assassination of city and oblast "fathers" in Arkhangelsk) during the May 1st demonstration, the attacks on the militia detachments in Latvia with the execution of several militiamen and the confiscation of arms, sabotage on the railroads of Ukraine in 1968, disarming of militiamen and soldiers, the procurement of arms from army barracks and depots, attempts at armed crossing of the borders individually or in groups, including a total destruction of the

frontier post in the Murman oblast in 1970, a rather widespread trading with weapons and so forth."

Repatriate Ukrainians from Siberia

Deportation of Ukrainians beyond the borders of Ukraine to Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and other Asiatic regions is not an occurrence of recent days. It is a consequence of the anti-Ukrainian, colonial policy of both the tsarist and the present Communist regime. Russia carries it out with iron logic and systematically. It is unnecessary to dwell more extensively on this problem, for nobody can deny the facts.

However, the problem arises that Ukrainians who live in non-Ukrainian territories serve as instruments of the Russian policy of assimilation by using Russian as the language of communication with Turkestanis, Siberians and other ethnic groups. More important is the question of their return to Ukraine, in particular of the young people who are most threatened by Russification.

Only the return of Ukrainians to their native land and their living in a compact group can save them for their own nation. The fraudulent Soviet Russian statistics reveal that many millions of Ukrainians live beyond the borders of the Ukr. SSR. Why are they not living in Ukraine, their native land?

The place of Ukrainians is on Ukrainian territory, of the Russians on theirs, of the Byelorussians, Turkestanis, Armenians, Georgians and others on their respective territories. When the Kremlin leaders speak about the right of the Vietnamese to freedom, to their own territory and state, then why are various nationalities forcefully intermingled among themselves on the territory of the USSR? Every Ukrainian knows why, only Moscow is silent on the subject. It is necessary to tear off the mask at last from the Russian colonialist and genocidal policy and to demand for all nations the right to live under their own sun of freedom.

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London, November 4, 1972

Carrying their national flags and placards, the young people protest the subjugation of their native lands by Russia during the ABN and EFC demonstration.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Munich, West Germany, February 3-4, 1973

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Ukrainian
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More Trials in the USSR

It is now exactly a year since the Soviet authorities intensified their persecution of intellectuals who have openly criticized official violations of the Soviet Constitution and of human rights in general.

The repressions have been particularly severe in Ukraine, where about a hundred individuals — mostly young writers, artists and scholars of moderate political orientation — were arrested during 1972. Their offence consisted in openly protesting against what they believed to be official discrimination against the Ukrainian language and culture within the Ukrainian SSR, as well as in criticizing other violations of the civil and nationality rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. Some of this criticism was directed at the KGB, the procuracy and the courts for their repeated violations of Soviet law and legal procedure.

Here are a few facts which have been carefully checked with those whose knowledge and judgment we trust, and which we believe to be fully authentic:

At least 20 of those arrested in Ukraine have already been sentenced — **de facto in camera** — to inhumanly severe terms of imprisonment and exile of a kind which bear no relationship to the alleged "crimes" that are clearly designed to intimidate and silence the most courageous spokesmen for civil rights in Ukraine.

Thus, to cite only a few of the cases, Danylo Shumuk and Yuriy Shukhevych, who served 20-year political sentences in various fascist and Stalinist concentration camps, were sentenced in 1972 to 10 years of forced labour camp plus five years' exile each for writing (not even apparently circulating!) their memoirs; and the writer Mykhaylo Osadchyi to seven years of labour camp and five years of exile for a similar "offense".

The writer and artist I. Stasiv-Kalynets was sentenced to a total of nine years of camp and exile and her husband, Ihor Kalynets — one of the brightest young talents in Ukrainian literature — to three years*) on yet more such charges. Another writer, Vasyl Stus, got a total of eight years, and an Orthodox priest, Vasyl Romanyuk, seven years of forced labour camp plus three years' exile.

The new victims have now joined, in the prisons and camps, the numerous Ukrainian dissenters who are already there, including the young historian Valentyn Moroz, who, in 1970, was sentenced **in camera** to nine years' imprisonment and five years' exile for writing essays critical of the Kremlin's nationality policy and for attacking KGB violations of the law.

*) According to the most recent reports Ihor Kalynets was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment and three years' exile.

A number of the arrested intellectuals are still awaiting trial, among them the prominent literary critics Ivan Dzyuba and Ivan Svitlychnyi, the journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, and the writer Yevhen Sverstyuk. Again, their sole "offence" appears to have been openly and from moderate positions to criticize official violations of Soviet constitutional and legal norms (which, even in Soviet law, they are not forbidden to do.)

Is the Soviet Government so insecure that it has to resort to such brutal sanctions for the kind of criticism of one's own government that we read daily in the British press? It is difficult to accept, in the light of such repressions, the Kremlin's claim that it has successfully solved the nationality question in the USSR. Now that the Soviet Union is seeking improved relations with the United Kingdom and other Western countries, we implore the Soviet authorities to remember that actions of this kind on their part are, so far as British intellectuals and doubtless many others are concerned, the greatest obstacle to friendship between our two countries.

(The above appeared as a letter to The Times of London on February 3, 1973. It was signed by the following faculty members of the London School of Economics: Prof. Maurice Cranston, Peggy Ashcroft, A. J. Ayer, Robert Birley, Denis Brogan, Stuart Hampshire, Frank Kermode, Yehudi Menuhin, J. B. Priestley, Robbins, Richard Wollheim.)



Dzvinka Kalynets

Ihor Kalynets Sentenced to Nine Years

As reported by **ABN Correspondence**, No. 1, 1973, the trial of poet **Ihor Kalynets** was held in Lviv, Ukraine in November 1972. According to the then information he was sentenced either to three or five years' imprisonment and three years' exile. Now news was received that in reality Kalynets received nine years of imprisonment and three years of exile.

It must be recalled that Mr. Kalynets' wife, **Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets**, was sentenced last July to six years of imprisonment and three years of exile. During her trial a dramatic situation developed when her young daughter, Dzvinka, attempted to present flowers to her mother. However, upon the orders from the judges and Prosecutor Boyechko, the guards snatched the flowers from the child's hands and threw them on the floor. In the absence of her parents, Dzvinka is being cared for by relatives.

History Is Not the Teacher of Life

Concerning Events in Vietnam

Most likely, the image of President Diem rose before the eyes of President Nixon as the world's greatest military power stood helpless in the face of the modern type of warfare: the guerrillas and the psychological, political and ideological war. Our age is the age of ideologies and of the guerrilla-partisan wars. Washington does not grasp its meaning. Technological and thermonuclear balance of power does not solve anything. This has been shown by Vietnam. The USA had every chance to win the war and to assist in the unification of Vietnam in freedom, if it had thought in political and ethical categories. President Diem, who died at the will of certain Washington circles, placed the unification of all of Vietnam in freedom as the aim of his policy. He was aware of the fact that there is no partial solution to the problem of Vietnam. Therefore his military strategy consisted of the following: a march to the North, the launching there of the guerrilla-partisan war of liberation, the creation of national "Viet-congs", guerrilla detachments, and assistance to them from the South, as had been done by Ho Chi Minh in South Vietnam, where he also dispatched his regular army units — about a quarter of a million men.

Without transferring the war of liberation to the North it was impossible to be victorious. How can one prohibit a single, united people to unite itself in a single state? How can one vivisect the living organism of a nation, dividing it at parallels and stop at parallels? Lincoln's idea has been forgotten by Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. Half a nation cannot be free and another half enslaved. If Washington had not continued the absurd policy of division of spheres of influence, a division of the world among the superpowers, a complete victory of the national forces in Vietnam could have been achieved. Who is victorious in Vietnam today? Hanoi is celebrating its triumph, although it is not the victor either. Nevertheless, its chances of victory have remained greater since its army remains in South Vietnam. The peace treaty contains so many absurd decisions, ambiguities, and inaccuracies that each side can resume the war tomorrow.

Washington has not saved its face at all, since it was lost with the death of Diem. The Russians are using their chances in an offensive manner. They are not afraid at all to defend the concept of a united Vietnam with the assistance of arms, while Washington is respecting the senseless parallels. As far as the psychological war is concerned, Washington was really a loser in Vietnam for it even failed to explain why it has resumed the bombing after October 1972. According to Hanoi, in the course of this "heavy" bombing as many as 1,166 persons lost their lives, while in one day in the city of Hue the Communists massacred 5,000 people — women, children and old men. Millions of people are not fleeing from South Viet-

nam, but from the North to the South, — but who had informed the broad popular masses about it? Entire villages — women, children and the elderly — were murdered by the Vietcong, but Western television passed this over in silence. Each day and night there was a massacre in the villages of Vietnam. Rockets fired by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese troops annihilated innocent, civilian population in Saigon and other cities and villages of Vietnam by the thousands, but this had not been genocide, while the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong had been. Nobody managed to stage a single demonstration or a demarche to stop the massacre of the population of South Vietnam and the bombing by rockets, but the propaganda of the West, with a very few exceptions, was on the side of Hanoi and Moscow.

There are no American land troops in South Vietnam, but Saigon has not fallen. President Thieu is in power and this army is holding the front victoriously and not surrendering its positions. Are all of them Washington's mercenaries? Are the millions of refugees from the North to the South who have chosen freedom the hirelings of Washington as well? Washington has lost the political war. Washington's defeat was not in the field of battle in Vietnam but in Bonn, Munich, London, New York, Oslo and Rome, in the streets of cities taken over by confused demonstrators, the so-called public opinion, which is dominated by Moscow. It was not the Pentagon who was the loser but the **New York Times** and television which has nothing better to show than the films about the cruelty of Fascism, but finds no words to describe genocide in Ukraine which occurred forty years ago, nor the Russian concentration camps and insane asylums for freedom fighters . . . Fascism continues to be the boogeyman of the world, although there is no trace of it left anywhere in the world, while Bolshevism is a real adversary of today's mankind. Fascism passed away irrevocably, and there is no trace of Nazism, the second most criminal system after Bolshevism . . .

A battle is being fought with the windmills of Fascism and Nazism, in spite of the fact that nobody knows where this Nazism and Fascism are to be found. Lacking an object, everyone who is against Bolshevism is portrayed as a Fascist or a Nazi. Hence the aim is clear: only anyone not opposing Bolshevism is today not a Nazi. Therefore anyone who favours national independence and human rights and opposes totalitarianism — real, existing, Russian, Bolshevik — is so readily branded a Fascist and a Nazi today. "Fascists" and "Nazis" were Pope Pius XII, Churchill, Mac Arthur, Mc Carthy, Adenauer, Strauss, Diem and similar people. It is interesting to note that Republican presidents usually bring wars of liberation to an end: Korea, Hungary and others. President Nixon's journeys to Moscow and Peking attested to his aim — to bring about a world "balance of power among the superpowers". From this point of view, Vietnam is only a "periphery", the clearing away of "trivialities"

which disturb "peaceful coexistence". It was not by chance that President Nixon while in Kyiv did not dare deliver a speech of similar content as that of Charles De Gaulle.

The ceasefire in Vietnam is a consequence of a new concept propagated by Kissinger. At the same time, however, Nixon has forgotten that **the heart of the nation** cannot be stilled by violence. The intensification of terror in Ukraine is also due to Nixon's policy of "peace" and his bow to Moscow. What demands could he have placed before Brezhnev with respect to the nations subjugated within the USSR? Angela Davis was received with ceremony by Communist leaders, but which of the freedom fighters had Nixon received so far? Nixon is a great disappointment as far as the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR are concerned. "Peace for generations to come" is prophesied by Nixon. **The peace of graves!** The subjugated nations, however, favour wars of liberation, national and human rights, and not the peace of graves.

Saigon remains a dark page in the history of the USA, while Diem remains a great warning. Metternich was also triumphant while speaking about "peace for generations to come", but he was toppled by Kossuth, a fighter for national liberation . . . The anti-Russian Kossuths rise in battle: the great Chuprynkas, Sorokas, Makukhs, Kalantas, Oliynyks and Palachs . . . Nixon, together with Brezhnev and other tyrants, attempts to "put the world in order" without a master. The **masters of the world** — the subjugated world — are not Brezhnev and Kosygin, nor quislings and traitors, the likes of Shcherbytskyi and Honecker, but dozens of subjugated nations and hundreds of millions of people subjugated by the Russian tyranny. Since Washington does not want to understand this truth, it has reached a rotten compromise in Vietnam . . . But the fact that Washington places the honor of a nation at stake for the price of several hundred prisoners of war proves that it has not comprehended the sense of the individual's life on earth, nor its heroics. Its own egoism goes so far that millions can remain in slavery, without a word of protest from the USA, that hundreds of thousands can languish in concentration camps and prisons, but the trade with tyrants can flourish so that the materialistic way of life can reign supreme in the USA on the blood and slavery of millions.

The subjugated nations do not long for liberation by American bayonets. Nobody believes in such liberation. But they protest and fight against USA's helping the Russians to tighten the chains on their hands . . .

Budapest served as a great lesson to all who believed the State Department's phrases on its policy of liberation.

Yet, we remind the free world: without the subjugated nations and their struggle there is no deliverance for the world from Russian aggression and genocide. He who helps us helps himself! Do not help us, but help yourselves, if you do not want to find yourselves in Russian darkness one night.

B. Oserskyj

Empire Day in Moscow

On 30 December 1972, the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR was celebrated in Moscow. Five years ago, the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution itself was the occasion for an assessment of the achievements or otherwise of Soviet Communism as a whole. This time, it is a matter of one particular element in Communist policy — its success or failure in handling the problem of the relationship **between the nations** under its control.

The first thought that must occur to anyone is that the past couple of years have seen nationalist demonstrations of one sort or another all round the Soviet periphery from Tallin to Tashkent. This alone might give any observer the impression that the arrangements formalized half a century ago and designed to satisfy national feeling within the framework of a unified Communist state, have not proved successful. And this impression would be correct.

The USSR as formed in 1922 as a Union between four previously "independent" republics — those of Russia, Ukraine, Trans-Caucasia and Byelorussia. Over the 20s and later, other territories, mainly within the RSFSR or annexed from outside, were raised to Union Republic status — and the Trans-Caucasian Federative Republic dissolved into its three components, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia — until now there are 15 Union Republics. Each of these is theoretically sovereign, carries equal weight, and even has the right of secession under the Soviet constitution. That is, needless to say, the position on paper only.

Right from the start, the position on paper and the true position were totally different. The four original "independent" states which came together to form the Union were the merest

bluff. The Party Programme of the time makes the true position quite clear. Stating "independence" of the various Soviet republics, it adds flatly that this "does not in the least mean" that the Party itself should "recognize itself as a federation of independent Communist Parties". On the contrary, "there must exist a single centralized Communist Party with a single Central Committee... Central Committees of the Ukrainian (etc.) Communists enjoy the rights of provincial committees of the Party and are entirely subordinated to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party," which is to say, that Moscow's orders were unconditionally binding on the rulers of these "independent" states.

Moreover, especially in Trans-Caucasia, but also in Ukraine and Central Asia, **Soviet power in the periphery had been established by, and remained totally dependent on, the presence of the Russian armies.** The last territory to be annexed at the time — Georgia — had been a stable Social-democratic state for two years. In free elections held there in 1919, the Mensheviks had won 105 of the 130 seats in the National Assembly. The vote had been Mensheviks 640 thousand, **Bolsheviks 24 thousand; and the latter had won no seats at all.** This was corrected by an invasion by the Xth Red Army. The national governments of the Caucasian republics and of Ukraine were similarly overthrown. Already, in fact, the non-Russian Soviet republics were no more than a disguise for Muscovite annexation.

What, we must ask ourselves, did the Bolsheviks think they were doing by the creation of the USSR and by the whole nationality policy implied? It had long been Lenin's principle that nationalism in itself was a transitory

phenomenon of the bourgeois age, which had not existed before capitalism and would gradually disappear under socialism. Meanwhile, national feeling directed against regimes hostile to Communism should be encouraged and used. But national feeling which for any reason hampered the Communists should be opposed and destroyed. As Lenin had remarked, if certain peoples were found to be of assistance to bourgeois reaction, then "we would be in favour of a revolutionary war against them, in favour of crushing them, destroying all their outposts, no matter what small national movements arose". He added later his central principle, and the continuous central principle of the Soviet regime ever since: "The interests of socialism are above the interests of the right of nations to self-determination."

However, this left one further problem. Just as his total opposition to religion, and determination to crush any overtly anti-Communist religious forces, was combined with the belief that religious feeling as such could not be dealt with solely by repression, but would disappear in the course of socialization, and must meanwhile be neutralized by manoeuvre and apparent concession, so, similarly, he did not expect national feeling to disappear at once, but believed that it would be possible to appease it without making concessions of any substance. Before the Revolution (in 1913) he had explicitly rejected the federal solution for multi-national Russia: "Federation means a union of equals depending upon consent... we reject federation on principle; it is an unsuitable form for our state." But the experiences of 1917-1920 showed that Lenin had underestimated the power of national feeling. Stalin, his spokesman on nationalism explained after the Revolution why a change in tactics had taken place, and the idea of federation was now officially welcomed: first a number of nations had been in complete

secession, and federation was a step to unity; second, the "forms of federation... proved by no means so contradictory to the aim of closer economic unity" as had been expected; and thirdly the nationality problem had proved more important than the Bolsheviks had thought it would be.

The second point — that the forms of federation could be combined with the actuality of centralization was the crux.

Thus, in effect, Lenin and Stalin thought to appease and neutralize national feeling by pointing to the high theoretical status given to each nation's "own" republic. In addition, the national languages were encouraged, and the central theme put forward of cultures "national in form and socialist in content," — which has been cynically interpreted as signifying the right of all peoples to read and utter the Party line in their own languages. The other main administrative "concession" was the formation (dating in its present form since 1936) of a two-house Supreme Soviet, consisting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, each with equal rights. The latter is heavily weighted in favour of "minorities", and the theory gives them the power to prevent any imposition of the Russian will.

To the degree that it was recognized that the non-Russian countries of the USSR represented the inheritance of the imperialist Tsars reconquered by Russian Communist armies, it was still felt that in the long run the nationalist feelings thus excited would give way, partly because of the attraction of this new system, but partly because of economic and social developments. And here a further contradiction emerged. The Soviet President Kalinin succinctly expressed the elements of Communist policy: "The aim of Soviet policy has always been to teach the people of the Kirgiz steppe, the small Uzbek cotton grower, and the Turkmenian gardener to accept the ideals of the Leningrad worker." Sociologically, this

merely indicated the "proletarianization" of national culture which would among other things eliminate national peculiarities and hostilities. But it contains within it the unfortunate fact that it is the Russians who are doing the "teaching" — or imposing — of the new thinking. And during the process, the fact of their being Russian began to count as much as, and then more than, their "proletarian" status. This was true not only as it affected the feelings of the small nationalities being Gleichgeschaltet. It applied also to the Russian side. Increasingly, from the early 30s the idea of the Russians as simply a better and greater nation began to be overtly expressed. The pressures for Russianization were imposed on the local languages; the Cyrillic script was substituted for the Latin script originally given to the Turkic peoples; the histories in which their ancestors' anti-imperialist resistance to the Tsars had been celebrated were changed to show that the Russian annexation had even then been a good thing. At the same time (as is largely true to this day) while the more formal positions in Party and State within the Union and autonomous republics were given to local nationals, the true instruments of power (the Second Secretaryship of the Party, in charge of personnel, and the leadership of the local secret police) were almost invariably in the hands of the Russians. Stalin's toast at the end of the war, with its lengthy celebration of Russians as "the most outstanding nation" in the Soviet Union, put a ceremonious seal on the attitude.

In the late 30s, all the same, it was still being argued by the Soviet regime and its supporters in the West, that its national policy had truly given to all the peoples concerned everything that they really wanted. That policy was put to the test during the war. By 1944 Stalin had found it necessary to deport en bloc, on charges of collaboration with the Germans, an actual majority of all the small nations reached or near-

ly reached by the German advance. And of those who were not deported en bloc, either owing to their size or owing to the less extreme nature of their anti-Soviet activity, vast drafts were still sent into the wastes of Siberia. The test, one would have thought, was conclusive — especially when we are told by Khrushchev that Stalin would have wished to deport all Ukrainians too, but that there were too many of them. And long after the Germans had gone bitter partisan fighting went on in Ukraine, Lithuania and the North Caucasus till the national movements were put down.

In fact, it was clearly shown — indeed virtually admitted — that Communist nationality policy had failed to impress those for whom it was designed.

After the war, a further element arose. The countries brought under Stalin's domination in Eastern Europe were not annexed to the USSR. That is to say, nationalities like the Ukrainians or Georgians or Latvians were not entitled to national statehood, while the Bulgarians or Hungarians or Czechoslovaks were so entitled. This is an anomaly, and it is one which has rankled not merely among the populations, but actually within the Party leaderships of the republics of the USSR. For it obviously has no logical justification. Under Stalin, of course, the independence of Eastern Europe meant virtually nothing — though even then, Yugoslavia was able to defend itself. In the years which have followed, we have seen many independent moves in the area, some put down by the Soviet army, others still in existence.

The rulers in Eastern Europe have not necessarily been nationalists, or not at first. Kardelj, the second man in Yugoslavia is said to have urged that country's annexation to the USSR soon after the war. But whether or not national feeling originally plays an important part, the rulers of these states

are naturally concerned to protect their own positions. The urge to protect themselves, to extend their own power, in fact all the normal drives of politics, tended to the build-up (as soon as it proved possible) of autonomous apparatuses, defending if not their peoples at least themselves against Moscow. And as the struggle developed, these apparatuses had little choice but increasing reliance on the nationalist feelings of the peoples, whatever their original intentions.

Significantly enough, the same was and is to be seen in the apparatuses of the Union Republics within the USSR. In the early 60s the leading figures in Azerbaijan, in Kazakhstan and particularly in Latvia were purged because they had attempted to prevent the influx of Russians and to defend the positions of their local languages — and even, in the Latvian case, to direct the economy with local needs primarily in mind. The Party Programme of 1961 formally condemns any attempt to hamper what it sees as the more correct tendency of the Soviet population to “merge”, and actually asserts that “the boundaries between the Union Republics are increasingly losing their significance.”

The fall of Pyotr Shelest from being First Secretary in Ukraine this year (1972) was an even more striking demonstration. It has been represented in some circles in the West as due to his being a “hard-liner”. In fact, there is no doubt at all, that he was removed for failing adequately to repress the recent nationalist upsurge in Ukraine. He had intervened in the cases of nationalist intellectuals arrested by the KGB — which is not under local control — and even restored to their posts men who had meanwhile been in jail. Worse still, he had circulated to the provincial secretaries of his republic the manuscript of an extraordinary book, **Internationalism or Russification?** by Ivan Dzyuba, whose title speaks for itself, and which, among other things,

says of the Union of Republics, “These are verily ‘sovereign’ governments in the republics, without their native language in the administration, without international contacts, and without even the right to intervene in the economy of their own territory.”

Such are the natural feelings of the national intelligentsias — and to a considerable degree of a large section of the population too — in all the non-Russian republics. But sympathy, or at least tolerance, for them on the part of local political leaderships — and there has been a similar case recently in Georgia where the leadership permitted a nationalist history to be printed — adds to the problem. It is clear enough, in fact, that over the 50 years Soviet policy has not been successful in this field. **Worse still, nationalism remains a permanent threat to the whole system, and one which neither concession nor repression have yet been able to eradicate.**

One major point, seldom considered, is that though nationalism may be one of the forces capable in the long run of disrupting the Soviet regime, and that it could be largely disarmed by granting virtual or actual independence to the “periphery”, this last would have the disastrous result (from Moscow’s point of view) that Russia would no longer be a great power. If Moscow’s rule were confined to the RSFSR, it would have lost not only a large proportion of its population, but a vast amount of its industrial and natural resources. Even though a true wisdom might accept this, there seems little prospect of the Kremlin doing so. And so we are in the position that, apart from a few countries in the southern end of Africa, **the remaining colonial empires are those of the Soviet Union and China, which subject peoples as numerous as the entire population of the African continent as a whole.** The comparison with China is an interesting one. While there too supporters of national freedom might wish to see independent

Tibet, Inner Mongolia allowed to join its compatriots in the People's Republic, and Sinkiang forming an independent Turkic state, the Chinese have never considered the possibility in theory. There are no "Union Republics" with "sovereignty" and the "right to secession", merely local "autonomy". The Chinese could indeed rightly point out that the sovereignty of the Union Republics of the USSR is a fake; that one such republic — Karelo-Finnia — was simply abolished in 1956 when the Russian influx grew large enough; that the republics, though two of them rank as members of the United Nations, have no foreign representation; that their key police and economics ministries are, even formally, under Moscow's control; that they do not even as a legal fiction own their own natural resources, control their planning, trade, education, defence and many other matters. The concept of the "union" in fact was intended and is intended to give the republics nothing of substance, but to give their nationals an impression of freedom. This double-think has not worked. The nationalities, generally speaking, have not been deceived as to the essential centralization, even imperialism, involved. Yet the powers given to the local Party leaderships have, now that repression

is less than total, resulted in a tendency for even them to demand more. In fact, the Kremlin has had the worst of both worlds.

And is likely to have this even more so in the future. For 20 years now Eastern Europe has remained unstable, and there is every reason to expect further convulsions there so now a similar view may be taken of the Soviet Republics. They were held together under Stalin by bluff and repression, but without the full repression the bluff would not have worked. Nationalist tendencies in the USSR today, however, are still held in check solely by the power of the State and Party with the bluff crumbling about it. Unlike with almost all the other former metropolitan countries, the demands of the subject peoples have not been faced. No political solution, as apart from an administrative one, has been found. In the long run, this means a permanent instability, at present encysted, but always liable to break out. The "Union" now being celebrated has, over fifty years, largely failed to strike roots. The potential for the disruption of what is really, and fully understood to be, a unitary empire with a little window dressing, is one of the most powerful forces for major change in existence in the world today. (*Die Welt*, No. 287)

Soviet Ambassador "Welcomed" to Munich

Upon the invitation of an initiatory group of the German-Soviet Society, a 20-men Soviet delegation, headed by the Soviet Ambassador to West Germany, Valentin Falin, arrived in Munich on February 1, 1973. Other members of the delegation included deputy editor of *Izvestia*, a representative of the government of the Azerbaijan SSR and many other functionaries. While in Munich they took part in the founding of the German-Soviet Society. The ceremonies were held in the main hall of

Munich's City Hall. From the German side the "festivities" were attended by Munich's Mayor, Mr. Kronawitter, a representative of the Bavarian Parliament, Erwin Essl (SPD), a number of consuls of various countries, and a considerable number of German politicians from Munich and Bonn.

Finding out about this event, the Ukrainian youth of Munich organized a protest action in defense of human and national rights. About 15 persons managed to enter the balcony of the main

hall of City Hall, from where they showered the hall with blue and yellow leaflets and stink bombs while shouting "Freedom for Ukraine" and "Freedom for writers in the USSR".

Reports on the action were carried that very evening on German television, as well as on German and Polish radio. The action found extensive and sympathetic response in the German press.

Below are some examples:

Münchener Merkur in an article entitled "Young People Disrupt Meeting with Soviet Ambassador Falin" wrote:

"With stink bombs and leaflets, the young people interrupted the founding session of a society for the promotion of relations between the FRG and the USSR. During a speech by the SPD representative to the Bavarian Parliament, Essl, demonstrators shouting 'Freedom for writers in the USSR' and 'Freedom for Ukraine', tossed stink bombs and leaflets, signed Initiatory Group in Defense of Human Rights in Eastern Europe', from the balcony of the main hall of the Munich City Hall. The incident took place in the presence of Soviet Ambassador to Germany, Falin, Munich's Mayor, Kronawitter, and a large number of Soviet guests. The demonstrators disappeared after the incident."

Bildzeitung, under the title: "Members of the Audience Threw Stink Bombs Inside City Hall" wrote:

"Tossing leaflets and stink bombs from the balcony of the main hall of Munich's City Hall, about ten young Ukrainian exiles interrupted the founding session of the 'Bavarian Society to Promote Relations between the FRG and the USSR'.

"The demonstrators shouted 'Freedom for Ukraine' and 'Freedom for writers in the USSR' and, singing the Ukrainian national anthem, left the hall. Among

the guests: Soviet Ambassador Falin and Mayor Kronawitter."

TZ-München, under the title: "Stink Bombs at Munich City Hall" wrote:

"The founding session of the 'Bavarian Society to Promote Relations between the FRG and the USSR' was interrupted Thursday evening by stink bombs and leaflets. The slogans of the young demonstrators on the balcony of the main hall of the Munich City Hall were: 'Freedom for Ukraine' and 'Freedom for writers in the USSR'. Among the guests at City Hall were Mayor Kronawitter and Soviet Ambassador in Bonn, Valentin Falin. A member of the initiatory group of the society and a representative of the Bavarian Parliament, Erwin Essl, said: 'This action is an expression of the freedom-loving constitutional order of the Federal Republic of Germany'. At the action's end, the demonstrators disappeared."

The leaflet said: "We 'Greet' the Founding of the German-Soviet Society provided its aims are: to prevent assassination attempts on German diplomats in the USSR; to oppose religious persecution in the USSR; to work for the release of cultural leaders in the Soviet Union who are confined to Soviet Russian concentration camps and insane asylums for their struggle for national independence, and against colonialism and Red Fascism; to terminate discrimination against the Jews and other minority groups; to guarantee freedom of speech, culture and national and human rights to Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Georgians and many other nations; to prevent assassinations of exile politicians in Germany, carried out by Soviet agents, and to denounce them. Otherwise, we express our condolences to the German-Soviet farce."

The leaflet was signed by the Initiatory Group in Defense of Human Rights in Eastern Europe.

The Empire in Agony

In the vast expanses of the Russian kingdom, into which Ukraine has been incorporated as well, there rages "a great battle for the harvest". This year it is particularly fierce, for, as the Soviet press shouts, climatic conditions have caused a very poor harvest. In Ukraine the crop was harvested. A large part of it was taken by the Russian state, thus carrying out the "first commandment", but how much remained to satisfy the needs of the population and the economy is hard to tell. Most likely it was not without a reason that towards the end of the harvest, when the official state purchaser's "give, give" still echoed in the steppes of Ukraine a renowned deputy and trice decorated Gitalov began publishing articles about the saving of bread, appealing to the population to wage a decisive battle with those who "squander bread". Obviously, Gitalov, upon the orders of the Russian chiefs, was thus preparing the population for successive hardships.

At the same time, in the fields of Ukraine a struggle for the "second bread", as potatoes is called there officially, is in progress. It is also in short supply — and long queues are forming in the cities. No wonder that the urban population is trying to provide itself with potatoes for the winter, not trusting the socialist suppliers. **Komsomolskaya Pravda** wrote in September 1972 that the miners of the Donbas and the workers of the Kharkiv plants, just as those in other cities, are themselves organizing the procurement of the "second bread" for the winter. Arming themselves with appropriate documents bearing the stamps of the **zavkoms**, **shakhtkoms** (factory committees, mine committees) and other **koms** they drive in trucks to the Kursk region, apparently a potato growing region, in order to

buy potatoes from the collective farm workers in the villages, obviously paying for it several times more than the established purchase price.

Officials in charge of state purchases are furious, while the head of the executive committee of the Kursk oblast, calling these workers "unorganized purchasing agents", banned the taking out of potatoes from the region, motivating his decision by the fact that this year potatoes are infected with canker. Special detachments were formed in the region, which together with the "vigilantes" watch for the cars of the workers in order to confiscate potatoes grown on the private plots of the kolchoz workers. This is so reminiscent of the procurement of the 20s, in the initial stages of the creation of the Russian imperial complex — the USSR — after the conquest by the "bayonets of the North" of the national republics which arose on the expanses of the fallen Russian empire as the result of national revolutions.

As we can see, the imperial system of collectivism in agriculture, even after 50 years of existence of the empire, is incapable of supplying the population of Ukraine even with potatoes. It is not the potatoes, but the system of Russian socialism which is suffering from cancer. On the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is attempting to consolidate a single unitary state in Ukraine and in other national "republics" instead of a union status (at least on paper). 50 years ago, a "union" under the label of the USSR was formed from independent republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Russia and the Transcaucasian Federation (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan). The new product, which some consider to be a union

state, while others a union of states, marked the beginning of the reestablishment, in the form of the USSR, of the Russian empire, dismembered in the process of national revolutions.

Half a century of the existence of the Russian imperial monster, the USSR, is a half a century of struggle of Russian imperialism with the Ukrainian national idea, as well as the national ideas of other nations forcefully incorporated into that complex. 1972 was proclaimed by the CC CPSU as a jubilee of the "Soviet people". The anniversary itself fell on December 30, but all year long, every remote corner of the Red kingdom was gripped by the fever of a single state which is imposed and imbued by various administratively political and officially informative methods into the people of the subjugated nations thus combating Ukrainian and other nationalisms. The official press persistently emphasizes that the USSR "is not a conglomeration of republics, but a single state" with an organic unity of nations.

The resolution of the CC CPSU "On the Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR (*Kommunist*, No. 3, 1972) declaring that in the years of the building of socialism "a new historic society of men — the Soviet people — has emerged", orders one and all to force on and imbue this myth into people of the subjugated nations. What for? In order to alienate them from their own nation and country, to stifle in them the feeling of patriotism, the love of their native land and to implant in them the love to the Soviet "fatherland". The Russian Bolsheviks are masters in myth-creation. The whole structure of their socialism, as well as the so-called "democracy", which is used to conceal satanic despotism and totalitarianism, is a total lie. But the myth about "a single Soviet people", as "a new historic society" is of particular character. It was conceived as a means of helping the party — to put into effect the dreams

of "an organic unity" around the Russian nucleus. This fiction is to help the party in dissolving the nations, the greatest cultural historic category of mankind, in the vast sea of Russian Bolshevism.

It was not by accident that at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the "second Illich" and "the brow-carrier", as Brezhnev is currently being called, in glorifying the Russian people, emphasized "their profound internationalism" among numerous attributes. We know what type of a weapon is this internationalism by which the all-powerful Central Committee of the Party combats the national idea in fighting with Ukrainian nationalism, attempting to dissolve the subjugated nations in the international Bolshevik puddle. These daydreams are not new. They are as old as Russian imperialism itself. A. Pushkin, the poet of Russian imperial state, in his reflections about the future of the Russian empire asked: "Will all the Slav rivers converge in the Russian sea? Or will it dry out? That is the question!"

As we know, after the downfall of the Russian empire as a consequence of national revolutions, the nations, including Ukraine, created their own national and state trends independent of the Russian sea. By the establishment of the imperial complex, following armed and political "Sovietization" of Ukraine and other republics, the Bolsheviks attempt to redirect the national streams into the "Russian sea". And in the jubilee year — the 50th anniversary of the existence of the USSR — the CC CPSU planned to change the remnants of a union, at least on paper, into a single unitary state in which only the Russian language is considered a language of "genuine enlightenment" and the "height of linguistic culture" as maintained by *Pravda*, the official organ of the party.

The political program which the Bolsheviks are trying to put into effect is

a vandalism unprecedented in history. It hinders the progress of mankind. Unification of nations which is dreamed about in the Kremlin, will impoverish mankind, for every nation, even the smallest one, "conceals in itself a particular facet of God's design", as was said by A. Solzhenitsyn in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech. The Russian administrative and political machine is intensively working on unification. Scientists are obliged to find a "scientific" verbal dialectic form to justify the satanic notion. The imperial hounds, and around them the "Little-Russian" puppies, are attempting to oust the national idea, inflating people with the "internationalism" of the Russian people.

The national idea, combated to such a degree by the CPSU in its struggle with Ukrainian nationalism, has been, is and will be a guiding, dominant idea in the life of the Ukrainian and other subjugated nations. Infatuated by it, the national forces in Ukraine are struggling against the alienation of the individual from the nation. A struggle is being waged for the fullness of sovereign state and cultural life of the nation, the richness of its spiritual and creative expression, the fullness of the sovereign contribution of the national genius into the universal treasury from Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, and not through Moscow with the inscription in Russian "in Ukrainian". The national idea does not narrow down and restrict spiritual creativity, does not displace and suppress it, as is the case in the Russian Bolshevik kingdom of satan, resting on "profound internationalism" of the chosen people. It absorbs and accumulates the noble universally human ideas into the spiritual treasury of the nation, melts them down in the national climate and returns them to mankind in an enriched state.

Reports about the struggle of two opposing worlds in Ukraine are reaching us. There, in Ukraine, as claimed by Ye. Sverstyuk, "everyone is faced with

a hard alternative — to be the son of one's own nation or an evil servant and marauder". And to be the son of one's own nation means to help by deeds those who tell the enemy into his face: "We shall not surrender and shall not recognize your satanic designs". It means to render support to the struggle in Ukraine, to assist the national process.

Forty years ago, the Russian despotism preparing to avenge itself on the Ukrainian national substance began to plan the destruction of the Ukrainian village through famine. The law of August 7, 1932, innocently labeled "on the protection of property", became the basis for the organization of the 1933 famine according to the formula of the Russian "humanist", O. Gorky: "When the enemy does not surrender, he is destroyed". The world must be told how in the course of the Russian Bolshevik war against the Ukrainian nation, the Russians destroyed its body and soul, its nationally creative intelligentsia, liquidating both Ukrainian Churches — the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church. All this was done in order to maintain the indivisible imperial complex renewed in 1922.

This year, Soviet agriculture, and with it economy in general, drifting under the blows of nationalism, again finds itself in a critical state. Instead of the stipulated 195 million tons of grain, necessary to satisfy the needs of industry and population, the empire will not even harvest 150 million tons of grain according to the calculations of Western experts. (In my opinion no more than 130-140 million tons of grain will be harvested.) In the Russian kingdom, and primarily in Ukraine, where over 40% of winter planting was reseeded in corn, one can expect food shortages. Although the "capitalist sharks", in particular the Americans, in their race for profits will rescue the builders of socialism, nevertheless, economic hardships will have an in-

fluence on the intensification of the national and political processes in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries.

The problem does not lie in unfavourable conditions to which the dogmatists of the Kremlin refer in seeking help from the capitalists, but in the decay of the doomed system of Russian collectivism. Therefore, our task is to perceive what is taking place there not on the basis of tourist guidebooks but so as to sense the "invisible nature", a world not readily seen in imperialist reality. And that world, in the words of philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda, whose 250th anniversary of birth we silently commemorate, is more ponderable and more significant in life than the "visible nature".

In the second number of the Russian periodical *Druzhba Narodiv* for 1971, a movie story by Ivan Drach, "I Am Coming to You" was published. In this work, original in its literary composition, I. Drach cites an episode from the life of Lesya Ukrainka, on the anniversary of the fiery poetess. Addressing the ailing Serhiy, Lesya Ukrainka says: "I shall tell you a legend instead of a fairy tale. Fairy tales are told to children, while legends — to knights." A prisoner-giant was confined to prison. He was confined for more than a

year or two. And it seemed to him that he has become blind, but it was the night which surrounded him that was blind. It seemed to him that he has aged, but it was the prison where he was imprisoned that has aged. It seemed to him that the chains on him are still strong, but in reality the iron on them was long since eaten away by rust. But the prisoner did not believe in himself and did not test his strength. It was necessary for somebody beyond the Black Sea to say: "Rise!" The prisoner-giant was startled from this cry and, breaking the rusty chains, he broke down the door of the antiquated prison with his freed hands and went to meet the sun.

An interesting legend. Let's ponder over it.

The process of Ukrainian national revival cannot be stopped nor can it be directed by the Russian tyrants into the Russian imperialistic sea. Most likely, they can sense it themselves and therefore the fever of anniversary unitary statehood is convulcing the country. Although the imperial dams are still strong on the outside, as was said by V. Moroz, still "the spring waters of Ukrainian renaissance bypass these dams. The renaissance in Ukraine lays its own river-beds."

In Defense of the Persecuted

Telegram to His Holiness Pope Paul VI

The Executive Board of the European Freedom Council meeting on 28th January 1973 in Bonn, prays Your Holiness to take every opportunity to protest through your world-wide authority against atheistic indoctrination and suppression of human rights by Russian and other Communist regimes, and to afford your protection to all religious persecutees and those deprived of human rights under same regimes.

On behalf of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council

Ole Bjorn Kraft
President

The Balkan Volcano

Recent events in Croatia have again brought the Balkans to the attention of the world.

Once again, the Balkans are under scrutiny and this should surprise nobody, as the deep-rooted and determinant causes of dispute and misunderstanding still exist. Europe has not even tried to solve the problem in an equitable manner and, sooner or later but unavoidably, the Balkan "powder-keg" is to explode. Let us hope this will not happen in an especially unfavourable moment for the future of Europe.

Tito's Yugoslavia — a pre-eminently Communist country which was entrusted the particular part of the "Trojan horse" of the Communist movement into the free world, — is suffering from an incurable disease, inherent in any multinational state.

The disintegration of multinational states is an unavoidable process. Not long ago, it was Turkey which was the "sick man" of Europe. Yesterday, it was the turn of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Today it is Yugoslavia. The Soviet Russian empire, a mixture of various nations, **volens nolens** will enter his road which is natural, irreversible and in line with the sense of History. Freedom and independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, of the Baltic countries, of the Caucasian nations — Georgia, Armenia and others — may be delayed through the use of arms. It cannot be prevented and it will come as surely as day follows night.

Some may object that today we live in the time of the Common Market, a period when the need of unifying and planning economies tends to the creation of groups of states with supra national capacities, and ask whether such a disintegration is really necessary.

Let us not mix together things which are thoroughly different. Let us not get confused. Creation of Yugoslavia did not result from a common understanding and free agreement of the peoples involved. It is the result of a dictate enforced from one side only without the populations involved being considered and their opinion being sought in any way. The bloody opposition which followed this creation — in Croatia as well as in Macedonia — confirms this fact. Look again through the newspapers of that period. You will find examples of complete human sacrifices, such as that of the young Bulgarian woman Mara Bouneva, equal to Jan Palach's or Alla Horska's (just to mention these two) nowadays. During the period between the two World Wars, the struggle reached its full momentum with King Alexander's murder in Marseilles. The acrobat — Vlado Chernosemski — was considered a hero by the oppressed peoples of the Yugoslav Kingdom.

After World War II the only thing that changed was the name of the country which, being a Kingdom, became a Federation. Federation in words only, since the name is devoid of meaning as it is understood in the Western world. Tito's Yugoslavia remained a totalitarian state, where a minority sets its will by contention, and aims at assimilating its neighbours forcefully included in the state. Therefore, the Croats are requested to Serbianize their language; the Macedonians are imposed one which is not the language they have used for thirteen centuries already; they must use a language which is alien to the Macedonian population.

In such circumstances, can't we speak of genocide?

Where are the sources, what is the genesis of such a political situation?

The baby, conceived by the French leaders after World War II, and whose existence was ratified by the Neuilly, Saint-Germain and Trianon Peace Treaties, was born with some congenital malformations which prevented it from leading a long and quiet life.

The decision taken by Clemenceau regarding the Balkans was dictated by a feeling of revenge, and with no consideration at all of the views of his partners. This unequitable decision proved harmful for peace in the Balkans. If World War II's atrocities have expanded over the Balkan area, the reason is to be found in that decision.

After World War II, in the euphoria of their victory, the Allied Powers decided, in order to please Stalin, to grant Georges Clemenceau's little Balkan monster a further delay. What is to come out of this second mistake can easily be foreseen: peace and safety of Europe are in danger.

If one of these days the Balkans burst out in flames again, it will be just unfair to incriminate the Balkan peoples for it. It might also happen that, once again, the Balkans will cause a new cataclysm, whether local or general.

It is always easy to judge from the effect. Scientific principles require that one judges from the cause rather than the effect. Therefore, as we said above, the cause lies in the Paris Treaties of 1919 and in their mere renewal after World War II, as far as the territorial dispositions regarding Yugoslavia are concerned. Twice was the same error committed; sooner or later it will lead to the same conclusion. Neither in 1919 nor in 1945 did anyone ask the Croatian, Macedonian, Albanian, Hungarian, Slovenian, Dalmatian populations to express — freely and not under compulsion — their wishes. These peoples are deprived of their right to self-determination, an elementary right. As a consequence, a multinational state was compulsorily reinstated, and a certain propaganda is now trying to give it an

idyllic and fatherlike aspect, while others shut their eyes and agree to everything. Don't we realize that by depriving millions of human beings of their freedom, we are committing the major sin of our civilization?

Recently we were most surprised when reading in a French newspaper — *Le Monde* — a declaration by the new Ambassador of Yugoslavia in Paris, Mr. Nijaz Dizdarevic. On June 13th 1972, Mr. Dizdarevic was the guest of the Parisian diplomatic press. Answering the questions of the journalists as to the internal situation in Yugoslavia, the Ambassador alluded to the "fastness with which the separatist tendencies are being eliminated in Croatia, and this with the support of the population of the said Republic."

We shall not insist upon the ways and speed with which the Croatian nationalist tendencies are being "eliminated". We have enough examples to illustrate the process, amongst which the Bleiburg massacre remains the most striking and significant one. We are just surprised, and should only like to know how, as by enchantment, a problem which a great many governments in Belgrade were unable to solve for over fifty years, can be said today to be happily resolved, for the greatest satisfaction of a press conference!

Our knowledge of History allows us to assert that — unless all alien populations (Croats, Slovenians, Bulgarians of Macedonia and "Western Borders", Albanians of Kosovo and Hungarians of Voivodine) are totally liquidated — the question will remain pending, and will remain so ready to arise again like the mythological bird Phoenix when one is least prepared for it.

The Bulgarian national and anti-Communist emigration keeps a close watch on, and is extremely concerned with the developments of Soviet Russian policies regarding Yugoslavia. For the time being these policies tend toward strengthening Tito's regime and granting him a further remission.

As far as the anti-Communist struggle is concerned, and more especially in the field of foreign policy, the main points in our fight are as follows:

1. A struggle against Russification of Bulgaria and freedom from Soviet Russia's seizure — economically, politically and culturally — upon Bulgaria; and

2. A settlement of the Macedonia issue.

A change of the Russian policy regarding Macedonia would considerably reinforce the anti-Communist bloc inside Bulgaria. Don't forget that if there exists one question which alone may gather a crushing majority, it is the question towards which even Bulgarian Communists themselves are sensitive. Peaceful and hardworking Bulgaria has had to compel itself to undertake four wars in thirteen years' time. If again Moscow gives Belgrade the preference, deciding to contain Bulgaria's yearnings, we might well register some upheaval within the Party itself. This explains why the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) is showing some caution in following Russian policies on this issue. Todor Zhivkov's — President of the State Council — and Stanko Todorov's — President of the Council of Ministers — flash trip to Moscow is most significant in this respect. Conversely, a change in the Russian policy towards — that is in favour of Yugoslavia — would in absolutely no way strengthen the Communist bloc. BCP's dissatisfaction would not go further than trying to obtain economic advantages for Bulgaria. However, in the case of an outbreak of hostilities, the Bulgarian Army would not fight so well. Whilst the Yugoslav Army — whatever the enemy to be fought — would fall apart with weak Serbia alone being defended and, if that, then by means of traditional guerrilla warfare.

Such a change in the Russian policy — and for the time being nothing indicates that such a radical change does

exist — would just mean going back to the tsars' traditional politics, from which Stalin drew inspiration later. It would not be based upon justice (if ever one can look for justice in political matters), but upon the moment's requirements. It remains to be seen whether such a change would strengthen or, on the contrary, weaken the forces of the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

A political change in favour of Yugoslavia over Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania will strengthen national and anti-Communist forces, and will stimulate the struggle for freedom and national independence. As a consequence, in case of a conflict there would be a weakening of the left side of the Warsaw Pact countries, where Bulgaria is to play an important part, that is the part of fer-de-lance towards the "warm seas" — Aegean and Mediterranean — the strategic importance of which is realized by everybody.

On the contrary, a clear and strong acknowledgement in favour of self-determination by the different peoples of Yugoslavia — Croats, Bulgarians of Macedonia and Western borders, Hungarians of Voivodine, Albanians of Kossovo, and others — would automatically place Soviet Union on the pedestal of "champion of national self-determination" and would considerably strengthen the left flank of the Warsaw Pact countries. Soviet forces would make their way to the Adriatic Sea and, similarly, in case of a conflict, anti-Communist activities on these countries' territory would be tragically endangered. The slogan "FREEDOM" would be counter-balanced by "LET'S DEFEND OUR NATIONAL SOIL", because eventually, being defeated would mean going back to status quo ante, that is bringing again into subjection part of the populations involved.

Ultimately and all things considered, the problems of the anti-Communist struggle in the Balkans are closely related to century-old problems of the subjugated peoples which will have to

be given due consideration. These issues will, in one way or another, be dependent upon ideological theories themselves. The margin for movement of the Bulgarian Communist Party as well as of the Croatian Communist Party, is extremely narrow. The former is solidly linked to Soviet Russia, whilst the latter is completely dependent upon Belgrade.

The question of Tito's heir is about to arise and an important diplomatic game is before us. Is the Western world ready to play it, or will it stay on the

touch-line? Peace or war in the Balkan will depend upon the answer to this question. For the time being, it is impossible to assume that the West would adopt any definite position departing from what has been its traditional policy in the matter.

Once again, we come to the conclusion: Ohrid's and Zagreb's, as well as Kyiv's, Sofia's or Riga's freedom and independence depends upon the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent, national states of the subjugated peoples.

A Change of Frontiers of the National Republics Proposed in Moscow

A Soviet Russian economist unexpectedly suggested a change of frontiers of the national republics. The economist is Prof. Victor V. Kistanov, a member of the Council for the Study of Productive Forces, the chief government agency for the study of location of Soviet industry in accordance with state planning. In his article, published in the December 1972 issue of the periodical *Voprosy ekonomiky*, Kistanov proposes that the boundaries of the national republics be revised to correspond with the needs of "effective economic coordination and state planning". The present frontiers of the national republics correspond to the ethnical boundaries of respective nationalities, writes Kistanov, forgetting about the fact that Ukrainian territories, as for instance, the Kursk, the Voronizh and the Kuban regions are incorporated in the Russian SFSR not in the Ukrainian SSR. It is interesting to note that Kistanov's suggestive article appeared on the anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The need to revise the frontiers of the national republics was substantiated by Kistanov by referring to the prophet Lenin who maintained that "the national composition of the population was a significant factor in determining

the frontiers, but it was neither the sole nor the most important factor". Of more importance are the economic factors. Kistanov emphasizes that the boundaries of the national republics often cut across economic districts which could develop much better if they were under a single administration. As an example, Kistanov cited the Ferghana Valley in Central Asia which is an integral economic district producing cotton, in spite of the fact that it belongs to three different republics: Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirgizia.

Prof. Kistanov recalls that in the past there were instances of alterations of the boundaries of the national republics with mutual consent of the interested parties. He also reminds that in the past attempts have been made to set up an international administration for integral economic districts encompassing various republics. Such attempts were made by Khrushchev who established a single economic administration for Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Baltic republics. After the fall of Khrushchev in 1964, his successors stopped putting his plans into effect.

Now, as the article by Kistanov proves, the Brezhnev clique wants to

return to Khrushchev's plans. Kistanov's article is a signal that this clique is preparing a revision of the frontiers of the national republics, which will be of the greatest benefit to the Russian SFSR. The article is a test balloon released by the Brezhnev clique in order to ascertain the response in the USSR. But Brezhnev himself supports these plans, as can be established from the content of his speech at the festivities marking the 50th anniversary of the USSR, which were held on December 21st of last year. Mentioning in his speech a 15-year state plan, now under preparation and which is to include the years 1976-1990, Brezhnev declared that this plan will take into consideration the good of the entire USSR, and not the interests of its individual republics.

For these reasons, the current year can already bring de facto changes in the boundaries of the national republics of the USSR. These changes will be effected allegedly to foster econo-

mic interests, but in reality they will serve the interests of great-power Russian chauvinism. Of course, the realization of these plans will encounter sharp resistance within the national republics which will be losing their national territory. Such opposition occurred in Central Asian, the Caucasian and the Baltic republics in Khrushchev's time and had been the reason why his successors abandoned the execution of Khrushchev's plans. Now this resistance will be even more acute, for Brezhnev's revisions will infringe upon the territories of the national republics. This opposition will only intensify the difficult internal situation within the USSR, which can have far-reaching consequences in foreign policy as well. All this is not being taken into consideration by the Brezhnev clique. Blinded by the great-power chauvinism, it will commit glaring errors in the conviction that this is enhancing Moscow's grandeur.

TELEGRAM

His Excellency Nguyen Van Thieu

President of the Republic of Vietnam

The Executive Board of the European Freedom Council meeting on 28th January 1973 in Bonn, respectfully sends greetings and warmest wishes to Your Excellency, and through you to your heroic people.

It is our earnest hope that the people of South Vietnam may capture the minds and hearts of the North Vietnamese so that the spirit of freedom and true peace will one day prevail in the whole of Vietnam.

On behalf of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council

Ole Bjorn Kraft

President

Genocide of the Ukrainian People

Artificial Famine in the Years 1931-1933

In the history of Ukraine, there were quite a few difficult periods and sad anniversaries. At the very dawn of state existence of Ukraine-Rus, our lands were plundered by various nomads, such as the Polovtsi and the Pechenigs, for Ukraine was then an outpost of European civilization in the East. In the 13-14 century Ukraine suffered a dangerous Tataro-Mongol invasion, again defending Europe from destruction. Horrible were the plagues of the 14-15 century, when Ukraine was visited by black death, which exterminated scores of thousands of people, wiping out hundreds of villages and towns¹⁾

In the more recent history of Ukraine, we can also record distressing periods when our nation sustained heavy losses. A long-drawn-out struggle with the Poles, with many bloody battles and the ruining of our economy and culture by the enemy; the conquest of Ukraine by the Russian state, when tens of thousands of our people died in wars and later at so-called canal construction projects; the division of Ukraine between the Russian empire and Poland and later between Russia and Austria, which was also paralleled by destruction not only of the human potential of our native land, but also of our statehood, culture, traditions, even by the prohibition to use our native language.²⁾

Very painful for the Ukrainian nation has been its defeat in the liberation struggle of 1917-21, when following the reestablishment by the will of the Ukrainian people of the Ukrainian state — the Ukrainian National Republic, after long resistance, Ukraine was occupied again, this time by Communist Russia.³⁾

But the most horrible years in Ukraine's history were 1931-1933, the years of so-called Stalinist famine.

In the normal world, when we mention famine, we think of disaster most often called forth by natural phenomena, such as frost, draught, floods or other natural catastrophes, an evil which in the contemporary civilized world, highly developed both economically and socially, most often occurs in underdeveloped, overpopulated, poor countries, as for instance India, South America, Africa and so forth. The outbreak of famine, and of such dimensions as had been the 1931-33 famine in Ukraine, a European country with the richest and most fertile soil in the whole world, a country known as the breadbasket of Europe, a country which for almost ten years had been included in the **planned**, so-called socialist economic system of the USSR, that is a huge state with immense areas of land and theoretically unlimited reserves of agricultural production, attracted close attention immediately.⁴⁾

How could famine occur in a country in which the harvest constituted 18,000,000 tons even in a bad year like 1931, i. e. it was greater than in 1928? How could it assume such catastrophic proportions, in particular when one considers that Ukraine was a component in the planned economy of the USSR and could obtain deliveries from other parts of the USSR even in case of crop failure?

In order to grasp the dreadfulness of this event, perhaps unique in world history, one must briefly pause over the history preceding the Stalinist famine.

For centuries the Ukrainian nation stubbornly fought for its independent

state existence against its subjugator — Russia.

The great February 1917 revolution at last liberated it from the infamous prison of nations — the Russian empire, and led to the establishment of an Independent Ukrainian State. But Russia — Communist by now — did not wish to reconcile itself with the loss of its richest colony, Ukraine, its breadbasket and supplier of countless natural resources. Concealing themselves behind the slogans of world revolution and the liberation of the workers from exploitation, the Red rulers of Moscow, with the help of an overwhelming military force reoccupied the territories of our native country, a state which then had the most progressive social legislation and was governed primarily by socialists.⁵⁾ Our people could not reconcile themselves with foreign rule, with the Communist system, completely alien to their mentality, and finally with overt plundering of their land and property by the occupants, and engaged for years in guerrilla warfare. This struggle was crushed by the most brutal terror. But open armed struggle was replaced by secret nationwide resistance to the Russian occupants. Resistance was carried on by numerous Ukrainian underground organizations; resistance was practiced by the Ukrainian intelligentsia; finally resistance was carried on by the peasants.⁶⁾

In the years 1929-30, Russia dealt a severe blow to the Ukrainian nation. In these years, almost the entire national elite of the Ukrainian people had been arrested or terrorized, and not only in the cultural centers such as Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, but also in provincial and county towns and even in villages.

Yet, one force remained, which in spite of the heavy losses, continued to put up resistance to the Russian occupants in Ukraine. It was the Ukrainian peasantry.

The mammoth work done in the time of the Ukrainian national revolution, in the time of the Ukrainian statehood, in the time of the Ukrainian national, cultural renaissance which began in 1917, the work of SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) and SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association), and the UAPTs (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church) and other underground anti-Soviet organizations and of hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainian intelligentsia had not been in vain.

The Ukrainian peasantry, strengthened spiritually, nationally and economically, constituted a giant force opposing the Russian occupation regime and the Communist ideology. This was very well understood both by the leaders of the Russian Communist party and the local Communist lackeys. Without a victory over the Ukrainian peasants, Russia's victory over Ukraine, the victory of the Communist system, was impossible.

Russia was particularly clearly aware of the power of the Ukrainian peasantry in the time of the so-called New Economic Policy. Ukrainian peasants at one time had believed the sweet promises of the Soviet government and the Communist party concerning the improvement of their economic conditions. The distribution among the peasants of lands belonging to landlords, monasteries and churches, the promises to secure this land for perpetual use of the poor and middle peasants, the abolition of "food requisitioning" and open plundering of the Ukrainian peasants by provision and Chekist detachments, economic relaxations, permission to engage in free trade, a substitution of a tax in kind for "food requisitioning", encouragement of intensification of agriculture — all this gave impetus to the initiative of our hard-working peasants, to the development of agriculture. On the other hand, active work in the villages of tens of thousands of Ukrainian intelligentsia, who in the years of blossom-

ing of the national life, the first years of Soviet government, having no opportunity to engage in active political work turned their energies to the raising of the economic and cultural level of the Ukrainian peasants, produced a great effect. The Ukrainian peasants with the assistance of the then national cooperative system, the agricultural credit system, the Ukrainian Church and the Ukrainian agronomists largely improved their farms, began to prosper and to become nationally more conscious. But the enrichment of the Ukrainian peasants and their further national enlightenment in no way decreased their negative attitude to the socialist-Communist system and the Russian occupying power.

The Ukrainian peasants became a threat to the Russian occupants. It was enough for the Ukrainian peasants to stop or even to decrease their deliveries to the cities of Ukraine, particularly the delivery of grain and other agricultural products to Moscow, for all the plans of the Communist government in the sphere of development of so-called socialist industry to become completely illusory. Food deliveries to Russia, to the army, to the cities depended on the good grace of the Ukrainian peasants. In addition, as is always the case, the raising of the peasants' economic level, increased their national self-consciousness and their political awareness.

The work of the SVU had already shown clearly that the Ukrainian peasant is beginning to be quite aware of the fact that without Ukrainian statehood his well-being and his economic and political rights cannot be guaranteed.

The occupation regime had to cope with this growing economic, political, but primarily national power.

The leaders of the Communist party always treated the peasants with contempt and hatred, in particular those in Ukraine as the stronghold of "bourgeois" and national element. **Incorpo-**

rating Ukrainian peasants into the Communist system by way of arguments, agitation and propaganda proved impossible. Hence, Russia was faced with the problem of either yielding before this element, or breaking its resistance by whatever means.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), under direct leadership of Joseph Stalin, worked out and put into practice an inhuman, and really diabolical plan to break this resistance, not only through forced collectivization of agriculture, i. e. the impoverishment of the Ukrainian peasantry, but also by way of physical annihilation of the Ukrainian population by the millions.

The basis of the plan was to break the biological and moral stamina of the Ukrainian people, the liquidation of private ownership of land and the complete enslavement of the Ukrainian peasants.

Tactical measures included the following:

1) Carrying out of forced, mass, sudden collectivization, i. e. confiscation of land, the means of production and food reserves from the Ukrainian peasants;

2) Liquidation of all, without exception, active, enterprising elements of the village, i. e. the so-called kulaks and middle peasants;

3) Imposition upon the robbed Ukrainian peasants of too difficult, utterly impossible plans for the delivery of grain and other agricultural products;

4) Carting away of all types of agricultural products from the villages of Ukraine;

5) Introduction of artificial famine, hence physical extermination of millions of the Ukrainian people.

A swift ushering in of collectivization produced shock on one hand, but on the other hand it resulted in active resistance to collectivization.

The November plenum of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks)

and the government of the Ukr. SSR¹³), being well aware of the attitudes of the Ukrainian peasants, prudently resolved to bring collectivization of agriculture to 21.6 % of all land by October 1930, but this did not please Moscow. By a resolution dated January 5, 1930, the CC RCP (B)¹⁴) ordered an acceleration of collectivization and its conclusion in one or two years' time. At the same time "the kulaks as a class" should be liquidated. In as much as not only rich or well-to-do Ukrainian peasants were considered to be "kulaks", but all those who resisted collectivization, this was an order calling for the extermination of all Ukrainian peasants, that is, an order of conscious genocide.

(Thus, for instance, the USSR government resolution dated January 30, 1933 "On the Consolidation of Kolkhozes" permitted confiscation of all property and deportation to Siberia of all peasants who refused to join the kolkhozes.)

Attempts by members of the government of the Ukr. SSR and various prominent Ukrainian Communists to protest against Moscow's barbarous decisions were answered by the CC RCP (B) and Stalin with repressions against the insubordinate.

The government of the Ukr. SSR and the CP (B) U had to comply obediently with the orders from Moscow. 74,500 party members and 10,500 industrial workers, without counting around 20,000 persons who were sent only temporarily, were dispatched to the villages in order to put into effect the obviously forced collectivization of agriculture.¹⁵)

Agitators from the party and mobilized public servants, including teachers, agronomists and doctors, went from village to village agitating for the kolkhozes, promising earthly paradise to the future kolkhoz workers. But the Ukrainian peasants resisted and did not want to join the kolkhoz. Statements on the entry to kolkhozes were signed

by them only under pressure of open terror, often physical tortures. The insubmissive were evicted from their homes as kulaks, thrown out into the open or deported to Siberia.

The following figures give an idea of the tempo of collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine:

By October 1, 1928, 3.4 % of all homesteads and 3.8 % of all land have been collectivized. By October 1, 1929, 8.6% of all homesteads and 8.9% of all land have been collectivized. By March 10, 1930, 65% of all homesteads and 70% of all land have been collectivized. By March 10, 1930, 70% of all working cattle has been collectivized.¹⁶)

But such collectivization ruined agriculture and caused uprisings. Famine, which we shall describe below, was the result.

Stalin feared that the Ukrainian element will topple him, will topple his government, will destroy Russian Communism. He later told his friends, the great Western statesmen during and after World War II, about this most frightening period in his life. A recollection of this horror prevented him from committing total genocide against the Ukrainian people during World War II, which he planned to carry out. This was openly related by N. Khrushchev at a Party Congress after Stalin's death.¹⁷)

Forced collectivization was halted temporarily. As a result, by July 1, 1930, the percentage of collectivization fell drastically (only 30.4% of all homesteads and 39.7% of all land remained in the collectives.¹⁸)

In 1930 Russia increased grain production in Ukraine by 115% in comparison with 1926-27, with the credit going mainly to private owners¹⁹), but Ukrainian peasants continued to leave the kolkhozes en masse, taking back their cattle and equipment. Were this trend to continue, not a trace of the kolkhozes would have remained in Ukraine.

How mercilessly was the collectivization (a process of forced transition from private ownership of land to socialist, collective agriculture) being introduced could be seen from the press of the time, and from the reports of regional and district governments and party committees. In a span of several weeks, or even days, dozens of villages were reported to have been converted 100% to a collective system. Cattle and agricultural implements were pulled together to separate, unsuitable farmsteads. In the process of collection the implements were either broken or left in the open. The cattle was left unattended, even unfed, for days, even weeks. Scores of families of so-called kulaks were driven from each village into the fields and left in the open; their property was either robbed or sold for next to nothing; their houses were demolished or left unattended.

Much has already been written about collectivization and the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1930-33. It is not the purpose of this article to describe in detail all the horrors of forced collectivization and so-called Stalinist famine. We shall only make a brief summary.

The collectivization of agriculture, that is the conversion of agriculture from private ownership into the socialist-Communist state ownership was anticipated by Marx⁶⁾ and was included in the Marxist social programs, including the program of the RCP (B)*.⁷⁾ But according to F. Engels the process of collectivization of agriculture was to have taken place completely voluntarily and slowly.⁸⁾

Even Lenin recommended a very cautious introduction of collectivization, in particular in Ukraine where the individualism of the Ukrainian peasantry was quite marked and where the so-called communal agriculture, rather widespread in ethnic Russia, always encountered resistance.⁹⁾

Thus, in 1928, for instance, after a prolonged and persistent agitation on

behalf of collective farms, there existed only 9,734 kolkhozes throughout Ukraine, which owned only 2.5 % of all farms and 2.9 % of all land.¹⁰⁾

According to the first version of the First Five-Year-Plan of the Ukr. SSR, collectivization of agriculture was to have reached 12 % by the end of the Five-Year-Plan.¹¹⁾

Such slow tempo of collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine could never satisfy Moscow. Therefore, it was first necessary to break the resistance of all the Ukrainian peasants, hence, to break the resistance of the entire Ukrainian nation, which we mentioned above. Secondly, it was necessary to guarantee fantastic plans for the industrialization of the USSR, for which adequate funds were lacking. These funds could be obtained only by way of merciless exploitation of the peasants, but the Ukrainian peasants did not wish to deliver grain to a **foreign state** at extremely low prices and sabotaged Moscow's plans. Thirdly, it was necessary to deprive the Ukrainian peasants of private means of production, to drive them out of villages, to proletarianize them. Finally, it was necessary simply to decimate the stubborn Ukrainian nation, which for centuries struggled with Russia for freedom and national independence.

On November 17, 1929, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) resolved to accelerate collectivization of agriculture, decreeing with respect to Ukraine:

"Ukraine should provide an example of organization of large-scale socialization of agriculture within a very short time."¹²⁾

The question arises: why Ukraine, when it was well known that Ukrainian peasants in particular were completely unused to communal agriculture, that particularly in Ukraine, collectivization was encountering unusually stiff resistance.

But after a short breathing spell Russia mobilized its forces again. A purge of party and government apparatus in Ukraine was carried out; thousands of Russian Communists were mobilized; the punitive apparatus of the NKVD was established and military units were mobilized for action in Ukraine.

An even more intensive, more brutal collectivization began. Stalin's original plan calling for the liquidation of at least one-tenth of the Ukrainian nation had to be implemented.

By April 1, 1931, 55.4% of all homesteads and 61.9% of all land were collectivized. By January 20, 1932, — 70% and 73.5% respectively; by June 1, 1933, — 69.5% and 86.1%; by June 1, 1934, — 78% and 90.6%; by October 1, 1936, — 91.3% and 98.0%.²⁰⁾

The extermination of Ukrainian peasants by famine began already in 1931. The 1931 harvest constituted 18,300,000 tons, of which 30-40% were lost during harvesting and in transit.²¹⁾

From the actual harvest of 1931 the Russian government requisitioned 7 million tons, leaving for the Ukrainian population an average of 112 kg. of grain per capital per year, and this primarily for the urban population, not that of the villages.²²⁾

Upon the 1932 harvest, which equalled about 12-13 million tons before the harvest and on which losses at harvesting amounted to 50%, Moscow imposed a state purchase quota of 6.6 million tons, taking away more than 5 million tons, that is almost everything. In 1933 on the average there were 83 kg. grain per capita per year for the population of Ukraine, i. e. about 250 gr. a day. This is on the basis of official statistics.²³⁾

In practice, things looked as follows. In the first phase of collectivization in 1929-1930, the Ukrainian peasants, resisting collectivization, i. e. the pillaging of their property, forced confiscation of grain, cattle and agricultural implements, increased their consump-

tion and began to conceal grain from the government in and under their houses, in gardens, orchards, fields, meadows, forests, burying it in the ground, slaughtering and eating cattle and making boot-leg whiskey from grain. The collected farm implements were taken back by the peasants. They came out to work in the kolkhozes only when forced by a whip, but the work was sabotaged. Nourishment was adequate but abnormal.

In the second short breathing spell, most of the peasants left the kolkhozes and began to work intensively on their own land, securing almost a normal harvest in 1931.

In the third period of collectivization a tolerable famine began. The peasants ate most of their grain which was buried in the ground. Another part of grain was confiscated by brigades sent from Russia in search of grain, and those of local activists, who went from house to house, and through gardens, orchards, fields and forests, cutting the ground with special long steel pikes.

Naturally, grain stored in pantries, barns and houses was confiscated to a grain, often including the freshly cooked beet soup and the newly baked bread.

The peasants milked cows which still remained here and there and gave milk to drink to pigs, goats, chickens, and even dogs, cats and crows.

In the fourth period, when nothing edible remained in and around homesteads and in the fields, the peasants began to steal from kolkhoz warehouses and to cut off ears from unripened crops in the fields, for which they were shot in compliance with a law "on the pilferage of kolkhoz property". They ate herbs, straw from the houses' roofs, bark from trees. They swelled from hunger and died in their homes, courtyards, in the streets and fields. At that time the government prohibited physicians to write death certificates showing famine as the cause of death and ordered them to state

dysentery, infectious diseases or vitamin deficiency as the cause of death.

At the same time, a mass exodus of peasants from the villages to the cities began, where it was possible to procure some bread. The Ukrainian peasant, a food supplier of the cities of Russia, a nourisher of all of Western Europe in the past, crawled (because he could no longer stand on his feet) to the cities and begged for bread, begged for deliverance from death by starvation. But Russia was merciless. Earlier it has been forbidden to issue passports to peasants, and without passports it was impossible to buy a railroad ticket and in general to appear in town. But in spite of this, the peasants converged on the cities. There they were met by the militia and the NKVD detachments,

seized and driven out of the cities and into the open fields.

In as much as not all the peasants who managed to get to the cities could be seized and driven out, they began to die in the streets, markets and squares of cities and towns. Thousands of corpses lay about the cities. They were piled as logs on trucks and driven outside the towns.

Citizens, who were hungry themselves, but who still had not lost a minimal sense of shame and from their miser share tried to help their hardly alive and swollen brothers from the country, were severely prohibited from giving even a piece of bread to the "cursed kulaks", this being viewed as assistance to the enemies of the people.

(To be continued)

Footnotes

1) See works in Ukrainian history by M. Hrushevskiy, D. Doroshenko, N. Polonska-Vasylenko and others, as well as the work by the author "The Incidence of Illness and Death of the Population of Ukraine" (in print in: **Ukrainian Encyclopedia**, Vol. 6.)

2) See works mentioned above.

3) See works by D. Doroshenko, I. Mazepa, P. Khrystyuk and others.

4) Famine occurred in Ukraine in earlier periods as well, as for instance in 1833-34, 1844-46 and at other times, but it had mostly a local character. Large-scale famine raged in Ukraine in the years 1921-1922, but we are not mentioning it in this work for it is a separate subject. Still it had not been so terrible as the famine in 1931-1933.

5) See the above-mentioned works by D. Doroshenko and others.

6) See "A Struggle for the Ukrainian State under the Soviet Russians" by the same author. London-Munich, 1973.

7) The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Kyiv, 1962.

8) Marx, Karl and Engels, F., **Works**, Vol. 1-29, Moscow-Leningrad, 1931-1948.

9) Lenin, V. I., **Works**, Vol. 1-38, Kyiv, 1958.

10) According to V. Holubnychyi: "Collectivization of Agriculture", **Ukrainian Encyclopedia**, Vol. II, Book 3, Paris-New York, 1959.

11) Ibid.

12) **Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee**, Moscow, 1960.

13) **Communist Party of Ukraine in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences 1918-1956**, Kyiv, 1958.

14) According to V. Holubnychyi — see note 10.

15) Ibid.

16) V. Holubnychyi: "Collectivization of Agriculture", **Ukrainian Encyclopedia**, Vol II, Book 3, Paris-New York, 1959.

17) N. S. Khrushchev: Report of the CC CPSU to the XX Party Congress, Kyiv, 1956. Also: N. S. Khrushchev's Speech at the 20th Congress of CPSU, "Prolog" Publishers, 1959.

18), 19), 20), 21) and 22), see note 16.

23) Narkomzah SSR. Byulleten po khlebonomu dyelu. (People's Commissariat of Official Grain Purchases, Bulletin on Grain Affairs). Moscow, 1932-1934.

Terror — A Means of Russian Genocidal Policy

The year 1972 and the fall of 1971 brought an increasing wave of repressions, in particular in Ukraine and other subjugated countries of the USSR. Numerous instances of imprisonment, searches, and interrogations are taking place among the prominent and prestigious leaders in the field of Ukrainian culture, among the patriotic Ukrainian intelligentsia, among the students and workers. Brezhnev, a former chief of political instructors of the 4th Ukrainian Front in the Stalinist times, is reviving, quietly but consistently, the Stalinist practice of repressions, at the same time attempting to revitalize the Philistinized and bureaucratized cadres of Party bosses by an exchange of Party cards, so as to renew in Ukraine the pogrom of the scope of the Postyshev squeeze with sharpened claws of Party apparatus and henchmen of the type of Shcherbytskyi. A return to the rough police methods as a way of reinforcing the shaky ground in order to maintain state power and of putting into effect the plans of its domestic policy is a proof not of strength but of weakness of the totalitarian empire.

In its domestic policy, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, after a 50-year experience of totalitarian dictatorship in the multinational empire, turned out to be incapable of finding at least one politically new and satisfactory solution to the intricate complex of internal contradictions created by it.

The Constitution of the Soviet Union has long been obsolete. It was never put into effect because it was stillborn. From the first day of its solemn proclamation until today, it was disregarded in everyday experience. Elections have not been elections, but appointments of deputies assembled by the Party. Trials have never been trials, only ceremonial and almost always secret convictions of those whom the police apparatus confined to prison as political-

ly inconvenient and designated for them the necessary term of imprisonment, which the prosecutor then grounded by an article. Civil liberties have not been and are not liberties, but prohibitions of religion, of independent scientific conclusions, of expression of opinion and criticism, of the form and contents of literary and artistic creativity, of a change of place of employment, restrictions on higher education, etc. Civil rights have not been rights, but obligations of obedience to the Party, the police, the factory manager, the head of the kolkhoz. A voluntarily concluded federative union has not been a voluntary union of nations, but the conquest of the non-Russian peoples through wars — both Tsarist and Russian-Leninist.

When Lev Lukyanenko, a lawyer, was convicted in 1961 to death (later commuted to 15 years) for writing a draft of the program of the still-to-be-founded party, "Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union, the chief aim of which was the realization of Article 17 of the USSR Constitution about secession of Ukraine as a "Union republic" from the Soviet Union, — his act was classified as high treason. KGB agent Denisov told him: "The Constitution exists for abroad". The KGB agent of the Mordovian camp knew on the basis of long experience that the Constitution never had and still does not have any application within the USSR.

The same is known from everyday experience by all thinking citizens, with the exception of careerists, conformists and henchmen. This state of constant lawlessness and arbitrariness is the basic source of steady expansion of diverse oppositional and resistance movements, independent of those outside censorship.

The will of a despot — the ukase of the Tsar-strangler, of butcher Stalin or a decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

have always been the supreme law and the sole source of law in the Russian empire. The citizens, in particular the Ukrainians, never had any civil rights or any influence on legislation. They have been and are considered as "inhabitants" — as cogs in the machine used for production. But they cannot live forever with the feeling of provisionality and uncertainty as to the capricious changes which tomorrow may occur to the present or the new despots.

The Russian leadership under Brezhnev does not venture to look for a po-

litical solution of the acute internal conflicts between the Russians and the subjugated nations and to meet half way the determined efforts of the post-war generation to become itself. It attempts helplessly to return to the point where the period of Stalin and his life had ended, — as a dog who follows his own tail. "Most likely, they will have enough strength left to strangle the prisoners — wrote L. Lukyanenko — but it is impossible to imprison the contemporary spirit which constantly gives birth to the likes of us." S. L.

Double Subjugation of Slovakia

When — thirty-four years ago — the Slovak Provincial Diet proclaimed the renewal of the national independence of Slovakia, there started a new chapter not only in the history of the Slovak nation, but actually in the development and realization of the national idea in Europe.

With happiness and pride both the Slovak people in our enslaved homeland as well as the refugees and exiles now living in the free world remember the day of the foundation of the Slovak Republic.

We look back upon the historical events which eventually led to victory and the liberation of Slovakia, to the rise and construction of the Slovak Republic. Remembering we see the dramatic development of historical happenings, the hopeladen days of the victorious March revolution of the Slovak people, the declaration of independence of Slovakia, the foundation of the Slovak Republic.

In our minds we relive the day of victory: March 14, 1939! We relive the unforgettable hours of victory and rapture of the Slovak nation, the wonderful time of liberty and the blossoming of our homeland which had undergone so many trials.

We look back upon our past — this year being the 34th anniversary of the

foundation of the Slovak Republic. The 14th of March 1939 is not only the most wonderful day in modern Slovak history, but also a turning point in the life and destiny of Slovakia. The 14th of March 1939 signifies the victory of the right for self-determination in Slovakia.

Involuntarily, we are compelled to compare these six happy years of freedom and independent statehood of Slovakia to the ensuing twenty-eight years of unhappiness, subjugation and misery of the Slovak people. We remember all that the 14th of March brought to the Slovak people, the historical significance of the foundation of the Slovak Republic and all that Slovakia succeeded in attaining during the years of its independent statehood. Slovakia changed completely. The immense rise of the cultural and social level, the economic prosperity and consolidation which exceeded even our wildest expectations, are irrefutable proof of the fact that the Slovak nation was not only willing, but also able to live, to work, and to build independently. We have a right to be proud of the success of the Slovak nation in attaining and achieving all that it did under the guidance of the Slovak Government, even in times of fateful World War II.

In spite of this, we should never forget the catastrophe which overcame Slovakia and Europe in general in 1945. Never can we forget the destruction of the Slovak nation, the tragedy of the Slovak people and its minorities since the end of World War II. Six happy years of freedom and prosperity versus twenty-eight unhappy years of subjugation and misery — the contrast is enormous! And this contrast is being felt daily by the Slovak people in our enslaved homeland. Therefore, the 14th of March and all that it signifies is not only the unforgettable memento of a wonderful past, but also an encouragement during this unhappy present, a yearning, a goal, a hope, and faith in a better future.

The 14th of March means that we are under obligation to translate the true aims of our Slovak people to the free world, and to proclaim the unadulterated truth about Slovakia. We will never cease to make known **that the Slovak people is not prepared to acquiesce to the present subjugation and exploitation, nor to renounce its independent national statehood.**

The Slovak Republic continues to exist as a state occupied by a foreign power not only according to interna-

tional law, but it lives on in the hearts of all Slovak patriots abroad and in the hearts of its faithful sons and daughters at home. The liberation of the Slovak Republic is the hope and goal of the whole Slovak nation.

The relentless opposition of the Slovak people towards the foreign occupation of Moscow and Prague give daily proof of the fact that not only does it reject the criminal Communist dictatorship, but also the unlawful Czecho-Slovak artificial state construction. The idea of national freedom and independent statehood, the spirit of the 14th of March, live in the heart of our Slovak people; they provide our nation with the necessary strength to spiritually overcome all the torments and abasements of its present misfortune and misery.

That is the reason why the Slovak people has not broken in spirit, even after twenty-eight years of suffering under the Czecho-Communist regime of bondage and injustice. The Slovak nation never has and never will stop its fight against the Red tyranny and foreign occupation. The Slovak people will not renounce its sovereign right, its independent state, the Republic of Slovakia.
Michael E.

WORDS TO REMEMBER

The Communist bloc will never alter its goal of world communization. The present smiling-face offensive of the bloc represents nothing but united-front stratagem at work. No attempt on the part of any democratic nation to obviate confrontation through negotiation and attain detente through conciliation will bring about peace. Instead, it will only lead that nation into the enemy's iniquitous trap.

At this crucial moment when man has to choose between happiness and disaster for his future, we must rally the forces of freedom, strengthen the bulwark of justice, enhance our confidence in victory, arouse our moral courage and resolution and strive for the security of the world.

President Chiang Kai-shek

What the West Fails to Do

The revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) is the strongest Ukrainian political and organizational factor which formulates and influences the independence-minded, anti-Russian and anti-Communist front both in Ukraine and outside its borders, among the other subjugated nations, as well as among freedom-loving people of the world.

The revolutionary mainstay of the liberation struggle in Ukraine and outside, as for instance, in the Russian concentration camps of Siberia, have been and still are the members of OUN (Bandera followers), the fighters of UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and other revolutionaries oriented upon them. Without the Bandera followers, for example, the members of OUN and UPA, the present-day liberation struggle would not have such ideological or mass-action magnetism. The technical and organizational forms which unite the members of the OUN and UPA are adapted to conditions under the terrorist Russian police system. However, it should be mentioned that while the KGB was able to perfect its methods of combating the organized underground, the underground also gained experience in its technical and organizational methods. The revolutionaries are profiting from the experience gained in struggle.

The fact that the arrested members of OUN-UPA are punished by death or the highest terms in prisons or forced labor camps, including the 25-year prison term even for Red Cross volunteers of OUN-UPA, proves that Moscow is most afraid of the OUN-UPA. From this we may conclude that the liberation forces constitute the most serious danger to the Russian empire; their ideas are dynamic; their strategy of struggle is the most expedient for the liberation of a subjugated nation. The resonance of their ideas and actions

can be seen in the various forms of struggle of patriotic Ukrainian elements. Without the revolutionary action of the OUN-UPA, such intensive many-sided struggle, which is today taking shape, would not be possible.

Our action has two arms: on the territories of Ukraine and other subjugated countries, and in the free world.

In order to strengthen the moral, ideological and political purpose of the liberation struggle of Ukraine and other subjugated nations and in order to counter-act the pro-Russian and pro-Bolshevik forces in the free world in the period of intensive ideological strife, where battle-lines often cut across nations, it is mandatory to conduct a broad campaign against Russian imperialism and its henchmen, creating a world anti-Russian front. Therefore, international conferences, mass actions of emigres and the public of the free nations, appropriate publications and information about the struggle of the subjugated nations, translations into foreign languages of underground literature, unfolding of a patriotic front against pro-Russian and pro-Communist influence and activities, and so forth, must be initiated. This campaign will weaken the pro-Russian positions in the world as well as strengthen the fighters in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries morally and politically, manifesting the fact that they are not isolated and that common interests between the free and the subjugated world do exist.

Besides the support of this second arm of our front, it is mandatory that the West support and help to expand, in its own interest, the liberation front of Ukraine and other subjugated nations, for example, transfer the front onto the territory of the subjugated countries and onto the enemy's territory and accept the fact that our front against the aggressor in Ukraine and in-

side the empire is its front. "Transfer the front to the territory of the enemy", wrote the prominent English strategist, Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, arguing in favor of this idea from the point of view of the interests of the free nations.

Our liberation struggle, with its goals and strategic concepts, is in itself objectively advantageous for the free world. It deserves in itself an all-round support from the free nations, from their governments and the military.

The free countries of the world should not subordinate the liberation movements to their own political goals. The principle "do ut des" is effected in the very fact of struggle, because it is in itself beneficial to the free world. Our struggle has been stalling for decades the expansion of Russian aggression against the free countries, in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. Our victory will spell victory for the free nations.

The national liberation revolutionary uprisings — that is insurrections — depend upon the ripening of the revolutionary situation and the fulfillment of definite preconditions, namely psychological, moral, political, as well as internal and external developments based on a definite independent plan, which is being realized systematically and energetically, and cannot be a function dependent upon tactical or strategic pressure of the free countries or the Russian conqueror and aggressor. The accumulation and activation of the national and political consciousness, the independence of action aiming at liberation goals, require a planned systematic action from abroad as well.

Minimal forms of outside support are constantly needed.

Our own radio stations which, according to our plan and in line with our concepts, would transmit broadcasts from the free nations of Europe, the Middle East, the Far East or broad-

cast from ships. At least one broadcasting station for Ukraine should already have been set up in Western Europe, but it would be desirable to broadcast in other languages of the subjugated peoples united in ABN as well. It is also important to have Ukrainian-language broadcasts for Kazakhstan and Siberia, where there are millions of Ukrainian deportees.

It is necessary to surround the USSR and the satellite states with Ukrainian and ABN information centres, with the aim of ideological and political infiltration into the empire (with the help of appropriate literature — pamphlets, leaflets, etc.) including the non-Russian soldiers of the Soviet Army in CSSR, "GDR" and all other occupied lands.

It is mandatory to continue OUN and ABN publications, in large numbers, of pamphlets, leaflets, books, periodicals and newspapers in Ukrainian and other languages with the aim of sending them to Ukraine and other occupied nations in the USSR. (Lenin published the periodical **ISKRA** and send it to the tsarist empire from Switzerland.) So far, the sending of pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and books through various channels to different addresses in Ukraine and in other countries of the USSR has had a noticeable response. Scholarly and voluminous works of Ukrainian classics, as well as of Western literature, which have been banned there, have an ideological influence upon the youth and the imperial elite disorganizing them, setting them against each other and spreading intrigues and distrust among them. This is expedient in the plan of waging a psychological war.

The building up of information centers in Western ports to work among sailors manning Communist ships etc. is also of advantage.

It is important to set up our own center of psychological warfare composed of experts from Ukraine and ABN, with the aim of conducting re-

search primarily on the national, ideological, cultural and political struggle of Ukraine and other subjugated nations and not limiting itself to the complex of economic or social oppression and general violation of human rights, as is usually done in the West. In other words the center should have a broad projection, studying the unfolding of the many-sided national struggle against colonialism with appropriate attention to the characteristic features of each subjugated nation. The research and the findings of this center would serve as a source of ideas and popular formulas for mass application in the countries subjugated in the USSR, as well as means of orienting the interested circles in the free nations about the true state and perspectives of the national revolutionary liberation struggle of Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

This center could also cooperate with the NATO center on psychological warfare, if the latter should be activated.

This center must be guided by concepts, independent from the tactical demands of foreign policy of the governments of the free states for the time being...

Young Ukrainians in exile must be trained for insurgent-guerrilla war in Ukraine, for the situation could demand their participation, under certain conditions, in this struggle. Military schools of free countries could be of great help in this respect.

The governments and the military of free nations should prepare the establishment of volunteer units, especially from among the young people whose parents come from Ukraine and other countries subjugated by Russian imperialism, and train them in insurgent-guerrilla warfare. Their airlifting, under appropriate conditions and time, to Ukraine or other subjugated countries would have to be a part of the strategic plan of the center of revolutionary liberation struggle of Ukraine, or other

subjugated countries. However, such sending of freedom fighters from abroad without prior agreement could have tragic consequences, since the revolutionary forces in Ukraine for example, without a predetermined mutual strategic plan, could treat the guerrillas dropped by some country of the free world as Bolshevik provocateurs.

The military-guerrilla steps undertaken by any free country with respect to Ukraine would require a political agreement between the responsible political liberation center (OUN) in Ukraine and the said free state.

The plan of national military units in the form of volunteers must be coordinated with the whole strategic and political concept of the revolutionary center of Ukraine and of any other subjugated country.

Based on the principle of recognition of the concept of political independence and the partnership with Ukraine, such units of freedom fighters would be an attracting force for Ukrainian and other non-Russian soldiers of the Soviet Army and would demobilize it.

Our revolutionary liberation plan and a possible plan of assistance in our struggle by the free countries, under conditions of recognition of our political goals and partnership, will be coordinated and the program of our over-all cooperation will be made more precise.

Sooner or later the patriots of free countries will grasp the truth that our cause is their cause and he who helps us helps himself. **W. O.**

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ABN Correspondence
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"A Scrap of Paper"

The USSR is celebrating its 50th anniversary — the jubilee of a state where only every other citizen is a Russian. However, Russians are privileged and the other nationalities no longer want to put up with this situation.

After half a century the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of its founding, advancing it from December 30 to December 21.

Perhaps the comrades wanted to honour the man who celebrated his birthday on December 21. Brezhnev, the official speaker, mentioned the name of this man: **Joseph Stalin**. Half a century ago Stalin had founded the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (USSR), a vast empire that has since aroused disgust or admiration, a spirit of crusade or belief in progress — depending on the respective point of view of its environment. Hitler and Churchill, Eisenhower and Adenauer, Tito and Mao tried to retort the reality of the USSR although its enemies agreed as little on its dangerousness as did its friends on its value as a model.

If the Soviet leaders were to draw up a balance sheet on the 50th anniversary celebration, they may justify their backward society and economy, which are badly in need of an opening to the West, not only by the archaic state of affairs which they found fifty years ago, nor by the energies expended in their struggle with the White Guards, the Hitlerite troops and the Maoist Chinese. They also rule over an **empire**, to which the legal term "**monster**" applies, a term which Hegel used in describing the late "Holy Roman Empire".

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is supposed to be a federal state consisting of 15 Union republics (including 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions and 10 national districts), but de facto it is a unitary state, often being identified with "Russia" although many non-Russian peoples are

living on about a third of its total territory. This multinational state, however, is ruled by Russians who are unremittingly extolling the autonomy of their member states, referring for instance to the fact that it is marked in each Soviet citizen's passport that he is a Russian, a Ukrainian or an Uzbek.

Each Union republic of the USSR has its own Supreme Soviet (cf. Parliament) and its own Council of Ministers with a Prime Minister coming from the respective country. However, his deputy is mostly a **Russian** and it is he who supervises the **personnel policy**. **Russian experts hold key positions**; e. g. the **Army** and the **State Security Service** are in **Russian hands** and the **economy** is **centrally directed from Moscow**.

Each Union republic has its own Party; the deputy of the country's party chief, however, is nearly **always a Russian**. There is a curious exception: the largest member state, i. e. the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) does not have its own Party: **the RSFSR Party is identified with the overall Party**.

There has always been a **Russian majority** in the Central Committee. Even in the Soviet of Nationalities — a kind of Federal Council — the RSFSR representatives are in the majority. In 1923 Stalin rejected the request of the Ukrainian Prime Minister Rakovsky that no federal state should have more than two-fifths of all representatives (as provided by the Constitution of the German Reich of 1871).

An overwhelming majority of the Union Ministers is constituted by Russians: Since 1917 out of 400 Soviet Ministers only 8 have been Asiatics and out of 64 members of the Politbureau

only 2 (today Asia is represented by one member out of 15, i. e. Kunayev, a Kazakh).

Lenin was struck by an apoplectic fit; he could not participate in the discussion relating to the formation of the Union himself. On December 30, 1922, he dictated a warning to his secretary, requesting the protection of "Russia's non-Russian inhabitants... against the invasion of Great-Russian chauvinists, essentially a brutal type of scoundrels — the typical Russian bureaucrats" unless the right of secession from the Union was to be "a worthless scrap of paper".¹⁾

Since that time Russian has been the language of communication and the Army's language of command. The languages of the Turk peoples of Central Asia were provided with the Cyrillic alphabet. The Transcaucasian Federation and Turkestan were divided into 8 "republics" in order to facilitate their control.

Stalin justified Russification referring to the Russian majority vis-à-vis the total population of the USSR. The Russian majority, however, was decreasing as the Soviet Union was extended: with the aid of Hitler, Stalin reincorporated Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, Western Karelia, Bessarabia and the Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania into the Russian Empire to which these countries belonged until 1917.²⁾

Moreover, during the war Stalin dissolved the autonomous republics of the Crimean Tatars, Kalmyks, Volga-Germans and the peoples of North Caucasus that existed within the RSFSR and, suspecting them of being pro-German,

¹⁾ Lenin, however, was a great impostor having the same aim but wishing to proceed more tactically and prudently — ABN Correspondence.

²⁾ Not all of these countries were part of the Russian Tsarist Empire — ABN Correspondence.

he deported their inhabitants to Asia. "Ukrainians escaped a similar fate only because they were too numerous and there was no place for deporting them", Khrushchev declared later on, "otherwise he would have deported them, too".

Stalin provided Ukraine (and Byelorussia) with a seat in the United Nations by the side of the Union and "gave" her Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine. He transferred Tannu Tuva, having been annexed in Asia, the island Sakhalin, all of the Karelo-Finnish Republic and Northeastern Prussia to the Russian Republic.

Since the end of World War II the Russian majority within the Soviet Union has been melting away. From 1959 to 1970 (the last 2 censuses) the number of Russians in the USSR increased by 14.9 million, but that of non-Russians by 18 million, for, non-Russian nationalities have a higher birth-rate. In the Caucasus and Central Asia it is twice as high as in Russia (1.46%). The Republic of Azerbaijan with 300,000 mothers (out of 5 million inhabitants) having 5 or more children has been the most assiduous one in that respect; most of the holders of the honorary title "heroic mother" (having 10 or more children) are living in Azerbaijan, too.

In 1970 the Russians were just barely in the majority³⁾ in the Soviet Union: 129 million Russians as against 112.7 million belonging to other nationalities (among these **45 million Ukrainians**, 5 million Balts, 30 million belonging to the Caucasian and Turkestani peoples). It is foreseeable that Russians are going to lose their majority — and the justification for their majority in all central state decision making organs.

Non-Russian top officials are already requesting equality of rights parti-

³⁾ According to the Russian census which — as is well known — is falsified — ABN Correspondence.

cularly with respect to linguistic policy and investment distribution. For, although Moscow invested much money in non-Russian Union republics it did so in the interest of the central state only. Thus, although the Baltic states have been industrialized their standard of living has dropped. **Ukrainians figured out that their country — if it were independent — would possess all resources necessary for an industrial state like France.**

Nowadays the peoples of the Soviet Union are no longer willing to put up with the Russian hegemony and the big **Soviet Union** seems to become the **scene of explosive nationality struggles**. Local Party leaders are referring to Lenin: "Stalin's attitude in 1922 was false... Lenin did not agree to Stalin's project", the Lithuanian Justas Palezkis, former Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, recalled in the periodical, **Novoye Vremya**.

National Communists of the non-Russian Soviet republics feel themselves invited by neighbouring peoples' "democracies" to emancipate themselves: Ukrainians by Czecho-Slovakia, Moldavians by Rumania, Central Asians by China.

The Chinese Communists are even deliberately instigating the subjugated peoples against the Russians. In the period from 1962 to 1969 the Chinese counted revolts in 6 out of the 15 Soviet republics.

Communist Party officials in Kazakhstan were blamed for displaying "national narrow-mindedness and preference for local interests". Leading comrades in Latvia were reprovved in Moscow because they wanted to prevent further Russian immigration and organize their economy from a national point of view: 17 of them had addressed complaints about the Russian primacy to the world press.

In Uzbekistan newly restored national monuments are no longer in-

scribed in two languages but in the Uzbek language alone. Ukrainian Party secretaries circulated the book "Internationalism or Russification?", written by the Ukrainian author Ivan Dzyuba, which contains the following ironical passage:

"The governments in the republics are truly sovereign ones: they are deprived of their own administrative language, of international relations and even of the right to intervene in the economy of their own territory"!

Industrialization, social mobility and higher education have strengthened self-confidence in the border republics of the Soviet empire and have given rise to national elites that are openly requesting their rights by now:

- In May 1972 thousands of young people rushed against the Central Office of the Party in **Kaunas, Lithuania**. Among other things they disliked the fact that **many posts are occupied by Russians** and that "one cannot get an apartment solely because people of another nationality are disposing of their allotment" (the Lithuanian comrade Zimonas in *Pravda*).
- In **Ukraine** over 100 intellectuals and workers were arrested as "bourgeois nationalists" in 1972; **twice the police had to fire on Ukrainian demonstrators**.
- In the **Moldavian Republic** the Secretary of the Central Committee, Dmitriy Kornovan, reported national ideas among young people.
- In **Latvia** Fricis Menderes (84), former chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, was sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment.
- In **Tashkent** 10 representatives of the deported Crimean Tatars were severely punished for having demonstrated in favour of their auto-

nomy. In 1968, on the occasion of Lenin's anniversary, a procession had been transformed into a battle against the police lasting several hours.

- In Georgia and Azerbaijan secret service men — Moscow's serfs — took over Party leadership.

In the past year a propaganda campaign **against separatism** and in favour of the Union was carried on in all Union republics. The "Golden Jubilee" (Brezhnev) of the founding of the Union was a welcome reason for this.

On December 21, Party Chief Brezhnev held the last speech in a special joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Union, the Union Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in the Kremlin. He was praising the

state as being "one of the greatest powers in the world now".

Brezhnev knows that this power is jeopardized by internal nationality strifes. He is Russian but made his career as Party Secretary in the non-Russian republics of Ukraine, Moldavia and Kazakhstan.

The solution he proposes is amazingly simple, indeed: he considers that the **peoples** of the Soviet Union no longer exist and — as he said during the recent Party Convention — that a "new historical community of men has come into being: the **Soviet people**".

Brezhnev declared that in the process of the formation of the Union "all nations and peoples of our country acted their part — in particular the **great Russian people**".

(Der Spiegel, No. 1, 1973 — abridged)

Stop Trading with the Russians!

Hon. Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States of America

February, 1973

Dear Mr. President:

You are no doubt aware of the current wave of persecutions of Ukrainian intellectuals by the Soviet Russian authorities. It is nothing new, but is set off from previous waves by its magnitude and the fact that it was intensified just prior to your visit to the Soviet Union.

On May 13, just prior to your visit to the USSR, Ukrainian-Americans came to Washington to request that you intervene with the Soviet authorities on behalf of unjustly accused Ukrainian intellectuals. You ignored this request, presumably fearing to jeopardize your trade talks. You were so eager to please your hosts that you repeated after them the Russian chauvinist slogan that Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, is the mother of all Russian cities. You have not to date apologized to Ukrainians the world over for this insult.

We have long maintained that the current spate of trade deals with the Soviet Union is detrimental to not only the persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals, but to entire nations in the USSR which are subjugated by Russian chauvinism. You have turned a deaf ear to us. It is more important to you to see a smile on the face of a Brezhnev than to stand up for a man such as Moroz. Mr. President, you are siding with the wrong forces. America was built by men who stood for the same things as are being voiced today by Ukrainian intellectuals such as Moroz. We are certain that American statesmen such as Washington, Jefferson, or Lincoln would not have failed to comprehend this fact and to stand for the truth.

Lest you think that the matter of Ukrainian intellectuals in Soviet Russian prisons and police-maintained mental asylums is a purely domestic quarrel of the Soviet Union, let us make it clear that this is not so. Your trade deals with the USSR are hurting the United States as well.

The wheat deals have already caused massive freight car confusion on our railroads, leading to disruption in all sectors of our economy. The drain of wheat from the United States has caused the price of bread to rise. Is this the way to fight inflation?

We have heard from spokesmen of your Administration that the various orders flowing into American firms will mean more jobs. But, they neglect to mention the fact that there is no assurance that the orders will continue to flow. Jobs are built on stable trade relationships, not upon the sort of behavior the Russians have always exhibited.

The export of capital to the USSR for grandiose schemes will do no good to our balance of payments today. Nor are we likely to ever recover the six billion dollars planned to be sunk into Siberia (by you and the bankers in New York). We need that money in the United States. How is it that such vast sums are available for highly speculative schemes overseas when you have found it necessary to cut out your program of subsidizing low cost housing for Americans? And what about that World War II lend-lease loan to the USSR which your Administration wrote off for practically nothing? The argument was that the Soviet Union used the equipment as our allies in World War II. Apparently no one in your Administration is aware that a large portion of that American equipment which was paid for by the American taxpayer was used by the Russian to suppress the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which was fighting the Nazis in Ukraine.

We are convinced that your policies towards the USSR are a disaster for America and a virtual death sentence for Ukrainians in the USSR. We will not sit idly and see you continue on this ill-conceived course. Therefore, we are making the following explicit demands of you:

1. That you make a public declaration condemning the unjust and unconstitutional harassment, imprisonment, and physical torture, poisoning, and outright killing of Ukrainian intellectuals in the USSR;
2. That you convince the Soviet Government that American newsmen be permitted to attend the trials of Ukrainian intellectuals just as the Government of the United States permitted a Soviet journalist to attend Angela Davis' trial;
3. That you refuse to sign into law any trade bill with the USSR which does not include an explicit clause stipulating the right of the United States to withdraw from the agreement should the Soviet authorities use political prisoners on the projects in question;
4. That you immediately propose to Congress a bill allocating financial aid to such things as Heritage Studies, low income housing, student loans, ethnic education and cultural matters equal to the sum of the lend-lease debt forgiven the USSR, the value of our positive trade balance with the USSR, and the total value of private and public investment on projects within the USSR.

Now that you have ended the Vietnam War, it should not be too difficult to find the resources to realize all the projects that we Ukrainian Americans as well as all Americans have waited for so long.

Respectfully yours,

Ukrainian Student Organization (TUSM),
P. O. Box 1228, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201

In Defence of Cultural Leaders and Political Prisoners Persecuted by Russia

Whereas, the Russian-US and Russian-German agreements while making firm the status quo of Russian domination, foster the intensification of terror, Russification, religious persecution, national discrimination, and socio-economic exploitation of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;

Whereas, in the course of 1971-1972 Russian terror in Ukraine became unusually acute, which manifested itself in mass arrests in January of this year of over one hundred well known Ukrainian cultural leaders, in clandestine liquidation of champions of national independence and human rights, in particular of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) (Bandera Followers), in harsh sentences, as for example, of Valentyn Moroz, a young Ukrainian historian, to 14 years' imprisonment; the arrest of Nina Strokata, a research worker from Odessa, for her petitions for the release of her illegally convicted husband, writer and translator of Shakespeare, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, presently a prisoner in the Mordovian la-

bour camps, who has been incarcerated for nearly 30 years in prisons and concentration camps; in the subsequent arrest recently of Yuriy Shukhevych, who spent 20 years in prison since the age of fourteen, only because he refused to denounce his father, Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); and in the imprisonment of countless others fighting for freedom of speech, conscience, creativity, and human and national rights;

Whereas, the governments of the Western Great Powers show neither interest nor sympathy toward the national liberation struggle of Ukraine and other subjugated nations for their independence and human rights, which can turn into a tragedy for the free world in the face of permanent aggressiveness of Russian Communist imperialism and its carriers, who have reached parity with the USA, if they have not already surpassed it, in strategic arms, including a navy which dominates oceans and seas;

Therefore, the 6th WACL Conference resolves:

1) To condemn Russian imperialism and colonialism and the multiple terror in Ukraine, the systematic forcible Russification and Ukraine's subjugation by Russia in general; to support and declare its solidarity with the liberation struggle of the heroic Ukrainian people for their national state independence and human rights;

2) To appeal to the governments and parliaments of the free countries of the world, to the UN General Assembly, the UN Commission of Human Rights, the International Court at the Hague, the International Commission of Jurists,

the Amnesty International, the European Council in Strasbourg, and in particular to the US Congress and the President of the United States, to Churches and humanitarian institutions of the West, to the free labour unions, to political, civic, veteran, cultural, and youth organizations in the free world, to public opinion, especially to the journalists and mass media in general, to rise in defence of the cultural workers of Ukraine, in particular, I.M. Svitlychnyi, Vyacheslav Chomovil, Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ihor Kalynets, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Vasyl Stus, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi. Nina

Strokata, Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk, and especially Valentyn Moroz, critically ill, with one lung removed, confined to the harshest Vladimir prison where he is systematically poisoned in order to break his will, and countless others, demanding their immediate release, in no less degree than the members of the OUN and the warriors of the UPA, who have languished in Russian prisons and concentration camps for over 25 years, as well as the release of political prisoners: Bohdan Khrystynych, Volodymyr Leonyuk, Yaroslav Hasyuk, and others suffering a similar fate; to call attention to the fact that the cultural leaders acted within the framework of the misleading constitution of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR, which guarantees on paper not only creative freedom but also secession of the Ukr. SSR from the USSR;

3) To urge and support a repatriation movement of Ukrainians forcefully deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan, as well as a return to their historic, native lands, of Ukrainians who were brutally driven out from the Western border-regions of Ukraine to the Polish territories by the Red Polish terrorist troops;

4) To urge patriotic circles of free nations to stage mass protest actions in defence of freedom-loving Ukraine and other subjugated nations, their cultural leaders and fighters for freedom and national independence in front of Russian diplomatic and consular institutions, to demand from members of parliament effective intervention of their governments in the case of subjugated Ukraine, its cultural leaders and fighters for national and human rights, to activate reporters in mass media, forcing them to show in films and television not only the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, but also the Bolshevik ones and the hell undergone by intellectuals in insane asylums;

5) To demand the liquidation of all concentration camps and the release of

political prisoners and those persecuted for their religious convictions, and the cessation of tortures by barbaric methods of political prisoners in psychiatric institutions; to support the initiative of the creation of the International Court, composed of independent jurists, church and humanitarian leaders, intellectuals and representatives of free labour unions, which, after conducting an inquiry, would hand down its verdict about the sentencing of Valentyn Moroz, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, Yuriy Shukhevych, Nina Strokata and others, as well as about a pending trial of I. M. Svitlychnyi and other imprisoned Ukrainian cultural leaders and fighters for national and human rights. The pro-Communist circles have organized an entire world movement in defence of the Communist terrorist, Angela Davis, but where is a patriotic movement in support of Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, Nina Strokata, fighters for humanistic ideas, freedom of cultural creativity, the rights of individuals and nations for religious freedom? Where is the free world movement of solidarity with the ideals of the great martyrs: Vasyl Makukh (Ukraine), Jan Palach (Czechia) and Romas Kalanta (Lithuania), who immolated themselves in protest against the subjugation of their native lands by Russia, analogous to the movement of solidarity with the self-immolation of Buddhist monks in Vietnam?

6) To render its firm moral and political support to the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandera Followers) and its struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism for the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Sovereign State and the liberation of all subjugated peoples.

(Resolution submitted by the delegation of Ukraine to the 6th WACL Conference in Mexico City, August, 1972, and adopted unanimously by plenary sessions, August 26, 1972.)

From Letters to ABN

"You may be instrumental in rebuilding a new society"

Gentlemen,

I have been away for a long time and I find your magazine on my table again upon return. Thank you very much for your kindness.

I am in a different kind of field, though, as enclosed letter will show you. No doubt, most of you are Catholics and you must know of the infiltration by the enemy everywhere.

It is beyond conception that educated people can so easily fall prey to this diabolic deception and do not see the danger which is lurking for all mankind. Events may move very fast, and only God knows what lies ahead: wholesale destruction. God grant that you may be instrumental in rebuilding a new society, based on God's laws and the Ten Commandments and on Christian principles as laid down by the Fathers of the Church, by the Apostles, by Jesus Christ.

Public and social life cannot be separated from God. There is one place in which God is eliminated completely — and that's hell.

We are children of God and the human society must be built upon God's Commandments and not in total separation from God. The forces of evil have tried for hundreds of years to eliminate God from mankind and it seems we are heading for the climax. However, the devil and his henchmen will not succeed. They want the world in shambles and in ruins, but out of the ashes and ruins the new City of God will emerge, small and humble, though, it may be.

Christ yesterday-today-tomorrow . . .

Through the Immaculate Heart of Mary and Jesus Crucified,

fr. Raphael Maria, Bishop.

News and Views

Rumanian "Credo" Only a Lie

Only a brazen liar like Rumania's Nicolae Ceausescu could have the effrontery to present such a totally distorted picture of Communist Rumania as appeared recently in the **London Times**.

In an 8-page advertisement written in Bucharest, Ceausescu explains his party's "Credo":

"The supreme aim of the society we are building is to serve man, the implementation of the loftiest aspiration of the whole people. It directs its efforts towards insuring both high material civilization and a spiritual life for all the citizens of the country."

Baloney!

On the same page Adrian Paunescu, a Communist writer, called the Ceausescu regime "Humane Communism".

"Since we are humane people, history has placed us in the position to be a humane country", he writes.

More baloney!

The Rumanian people are humane, but the regime in power is the most cruel, ruthless and barbarous ever visited on that country since the beginning of its history in 110 A. D.

Not even the barbarian invaders, the Huns, the Goths, the Visigoths, the Tartars, the Turks or even the Tsarist Russians who invaded the country for nearly two thousand years ever conceived anything similar to the systematic degradation perpetrated by the Communists. The regime imposed by Stalin against the wishes of the great majority of the Rumanians was and is a carbon copy of Stalinist Russia.

In order to impose their Marxist doctrine, eradicate Christianity, destroy the "class enemy" and collectivize the land of the peasants, the "humane Communists" stole, tortured and murdered.

Ceausescu doesn't mention the thousands of innocent people who died at the abominable Danube-Black Sea Canal, a ditch they were supposed to dig practically with their bare hands in all weather conditions with little food, foul shelter and no medical facilities.

Nor did he mention the "class enemies" who worked all day in the Danube Delta in the water to their midriff and had to sleep in their wet rags.

Let me also recall the terrorist prisons of Securitate in Bucharest and every other Rumanian city, the torture chambers at Aiud and Pitesti, the floggings and tortures perpetrated on peasants who resisted the exploitation of their land, on people who were found praying to their God, on former political leaders including Lucretiu Patrascanu, the ostracized Communist party leader, who died insane after the ruthless treatment received from his former "comrades".

Out of a population of some 20 million about 3 million rotted in Communist jails for no other reason than that they refused to become Communists. An estimated 300,000 died.

It was at the insistence of the United States government that "political prisoners" still in jails were released in 1964.

Ion Ratiu, a former Rumanian diplomat, turned London shipping executive, publishes the "Free Romanian Press" in London. He calls the ad "A concentration of distortions and untruths". He asks Ceausescu if he can buy a 2-page advertising section in Bucharest's newspaper, **Scanteia** to answer a few of the Red claims.

What do you think Ceausescu will say?

Dumitru Danielopol

Objective Identification of Nations of USSR Urged

The *Christian Science Monitor* is, by all accounts, the leading newspaper in covering the East European affairs. Of special interest has been the coverage of the struggle for human rights in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, as well as in Russia. Mr. Paul Wohl's articles are always informative and reliable.

However, I would like to suggest that CSM use a more clear identification of peoples and countries which constitute the Soviet Union. Here are a few examples. In the December 7th edition, while the headline read, "Churches in Russia prove hard to repress", the article also covered the persecution of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, which is not located in Russia. In the same article, the famous St. Sophia Cathedral was located in Kiev, USSR, rather than in Kyiv, UKRAINE. It is somewhat difficult to understand how the USSR can claim St. Sophia, when the historical cathedral represents the cultural achievement of the Ukrainian people.

In covering the recent Olympiad, the editorial of September 16, 1972, referred to 99 gold medals won by the Russians. The fact was that many gold and other medals were won by Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Armenian, Byelorussian and other non-Russian athletes. Vitali Borzov, a gold medal winner, identified himself to the officials as a Ukrainian. The same editorial referred

to 240 million Russians, whereas Russians numbered only 130 million, according to the 1970 census. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Georgians and other non-Russian nations constituted the balance. Also, in the September 13, 1972 issue, Dnieper was situated in Russia rather than in Ukraine.

In this connection, I would like to quote Mr. Frank Shakespeare, the outgoing director of the US Information Agency, who in the memo of March 17, 1972, to all employees of the agency wrote: "There is no such thing as Soviet nation. The peoples of major nations within the Soviet Union should be referred to by their nationalities, i. e., Ukrainians, Georgians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Armenians, etc. These are separate nations in the sense that they have a distinct language, culture, traditions, territory, history, institutions, religion and other attributes which mankind has historically used to identify national organisms. The Soviet Union is a multi-national state, not a nation."

The need for clear and objective identification of peoples and countries in the Soviet Union is especially great now when Moscow is making much noise about the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the biggest colonial empire of our days.

Orest S z c z u d l u k

Reds Doing "Business" as Usual

While the West is being chloroformed with sweet thoughts of detente the Communists appear wide awake and doing "business" as usual.

Retired Brig. Gen. Michael Calvert, a British expert on guerrilla warfare just spent 18 months in Africa and the Far East.

Everywhere he found captured or surrendered guerrillas who had been trained in Russia.

For two decades the leaders of leftist revolts around the world — so-called Wars of Liberation — have been taught in the Communist Political Warfare School outside Moscow. The Chinese lately are also taking a hand in sending "advisers" to Africa.

"While mouthing pretty words of peace at Helsinki and elsewhere, Russia and China are unleashing total indiscriminate revolutionary warfare and

subversion throughout the Third World", the Brigadier claims.

The Third World is not the only target British newspapers charge.

Russia is taking a hand in the unrest in Northern Ireland.

"Links between the Soviet Union and the two wings of the Irish Republican Army" (IRA) have grown steadily over the past two years", says London's Economist.

The Tory government in London also has protested activities of Labor's extreme left wing.

"Let us squarely face the fact that there is a very small but active minority in this country whose overriding purpose is to smash the society by promoting industrial unrest and anarchy", said Minister of Defense Lord Carrington. "What is more serious is that we find the Labor party increasingly on the side of the lawbreakers and wreckers."

"What is at stake is our whole system of parliamentary democracy, our whole free Democratic way of life," said Anthony Barber, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Red activity is increasing, too, in West Germany, France, Italy, Japan and other countries.

"The Russian Communists and their 81 collaborationist parties make it clear that they regard the victory of their system inevitable", says the Tory M. P. Geoffrey Stewart-Smith.

What is the answer?

Calvert says the free world should hit back and "play the Russians at their own game".

Russia and her allies are a mosaic of countries and nationalities held together by despotism and fear.

"We should heat the glue which holds them together", he suggests.

The NATO Alliance is static and will become as obsolete as the concrete maginot line if it isn't used, he argues.

"To offset the gains made by the Communist powers during the past few years by their policy of subverting all governments and supporting insurgency, the Western powers must in turn first encourage break-away movements amongst the oppressed nations of Europe and Asia and help them launch coordinated guerrilla movements of their own to free themselves."

It may be good advice, but I doubt that the Western World is in a mood to listen.

Dumitru Danielopol

In Defense of Leonid Plyushch

The participants of the annual conference of the Congress of Ukrainians of Canada, held in Saskatoon on February 10-11, 1973, unanimously agreed to appeal to the public opinion of the free world to stand up in defense of **Leonid Plyushch**, a professor of the Kyiv University, who was sentenced by a Soviet Russian court in Kyiv to life-long confinement in a psychiatric clinic.

Prof. Leonid Plyushch, prominent engineer and mathematician, was arrested by the KGB in January 1972 for protesting repressions in Ukraine.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



ALBANIA

A New Wave of Persecutions against the Albanian Minority in Yugoslavia

A new wave of persecutions against the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia has been raging for months now, particularly in Macedonia and Montenegro. Dozens of Albanians have been arrested, beaten up, tortured and kept in prisons arbitrarily and without any precise charges. Most of the persecuted are among those who had worked as simple workers in Western Europe (Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries). Once they return to Yugoslavia to their families, the authorities arrest them, confiscate their passports, and throw them into prison.

In Macedonia, where life for the Albanians has become unbearable during these last months, the authorities have even arrested a few Albanians who had long ago emigrated to the United States, and then had come to pay a visit to their families. These people have been tortured and kept in prisons without any motive, since their persecutors have no concrete charges to level against them.

Below we are giving a few names of these unfortunate victims:

The following have been arrested in the town of Duleigno in Montenegro:

Basri Lula, Osman Dibra, Qamil Luli, Ibrahim Pelniku.

The following has been arrested in Dibra:

Rexheb Tartaj, correspondent of the RILINDJA Newspaper.

The following have been arrested and tortured in the village of Nerasht and in the neighbourhood of Tetova:

Vahit Merxhani, Jashar Jashari, Behxhet Behxheti, Aqif Adili, Estref

Rushiti, Rushit Rushiti, Ixhet Sulejmani, Mefail Radusha, Hilmi Nuhiu, Harun Osmani, Nafi Shabani, Rasim Elezi, Xhelil Ejupi.

The following have been imprisoned in Idrizova:

Mehmet Gega, Nevzat Jonuzi, 34 years old, sentenced to 18 months in prison, **Figri Salihi**, 40 years old, sentenced to 8 months in prison, **Mustafa Loci**, sentenced to 6 months in prison. **Sadush Velija (Azemi), Rexhep Salihi.** The last two have been arrested since July and are still in prison.

The Albanian Resistance, No. 98



GEORGIA

A Purge in Georgia

Zorya Vostoka, a Russian-language newspaper published in Georgia, carried a report about a widespread purge of Party and state cadres of the Georgian SSR, which is being effected by the newly appointed boss, **Eduard A. Shevardnadze**. At a meeting of the active members of the Party, held in Tiflis on November 21, 1972, he raised a whole series of objections and accusations against Party members, as if to say that the active Party members have a light-hearted attitude as far as their duties are concerned, violate Party and work discipline, and in particular, tolerate the private-ownership tendencies among the Georgian peasants who reap huge profits from their plots of land, selling agricultural produce in the cities. In **Shevardnadze's** words, the profits of Georgian peasants from their private plots far outstrip those of the kolkhozes, at the same time the production of these plots being much greater than that on kolkhoz land.

As is known, Georgia always exhibited a tendency to the preservation

of its own style of life. Universal Party policy binding for the entire USSR always found its specific interpretation. This pertains, for instance, to the so-called cult of Stalin. To this day, monuments to Stalin have been preserved in Georgia and the cult of Stalin is alive among the population. The previous secretary of the Communist Party of GSSR, V. P. Mzhvanadze, who occupied this post for the past 19 years, tolerated this Georgian peculiarity. The new secretary announced far-reaching changes, declaring that "the comrades who think that no such changes are forthcoming are gravely mistaken". In other words, the purge in Georgia can really assume broad dimensions.



Dmytro Zerov Died Suddenly in Kyiv

Academician Dmytro Kostyantynovych Zerov was born on September 20, 1895, in Zinkova in the Poltava region. He was the brother of the poet Mykola Zerov. A botanist, he died suddenly in the latter half of December 1971, at a Party Conference in Kyiv where he criticized the chauvinist policy of Russification in Ukraine. The cause of death was allegedly a heart attack.

The funeral, which was held on December 20th, turned into a large national demonstration. A eulogy was delivered by Yevhen Sverstyuk, a prominent literary critic, who, after being dismissed from work as the result of the policy of repression, was employed for some time as a secretary in the *Ukrainskyi botanichnyi zhurnal* (Ukrainian Botanic Journal), published by Academician D. Zerov, until he was fired from this job as well "for working outside his profession". Most likely this was Ye. Sverstyuk's last public appearance, after which he was immediately dismissed from work and arrested on January 12, 1972.

Dmytro Zerov was a prominent Ukrainian natural scientist. Between

1920 and 1957 he was at the head of the Department of Morphology and Systematics of Lower Plants at the Kyiv Institute of Public Education. At the same time, beginning with 1921, he worked within the system of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, of which he had been a corresponding member since 1939, and a full member since 1948. In addition, since 1946 he directed the Institute of Botany at the Academy of Sciences, conducted scientific expeditions throughout Ukraine, the Caucasus, Altai and Ural, was the founder and head of the Ukrainian Botanical Society and the editor of important publications, *The Flora of the Ukr. SSR*, *The Ukrainian Botanical Journal* and many scientific research papers which he wrote in Ukrainian.

The unexpected death of Academician Dmytro Zerov at the moment in which he was defending Ukraine's rights in the face of Russification caused anxiety among the Ukrainian public in the world. Furthermore, there are no reports whether the cause of death was objectively and conscientiously ascertained by a medical examination.

The broadest circles of the Ukrainian and world public know that the files on the medical examination of the tragic death of Vasyl Omelyanovych Makukh, who immolated himself on November 5, 1968, as a sign of protest, have disappeared without a trace. The documentation about the secret murder of Alla Horska on November 28, 1970, has not been made public and the criminals have not been brought to justice.

On the other hand, since 1962, it has been generally known in the entire world that the Russians are in possession of a secret weapon of assassination — an inconspicuous, soundless pistol loaded with strong acid which causes instant death of the victim, with the symptoms of a heart attack, without leaving any noticeable organic traces behind which could be uncovered by

an autopsy. Only after a detailed chemical analysis can traces of poison be detected. This poison was instrumental in the murder of the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera (1959), and Prof. Lev Rebet (1957) by a Russian agent in Munich. This secret of the KGB was first revealed at the trial in Karlsruhe.

Now the world is waiting for detailed information on the circumstances and the cause of death of the great Ukrainian scientist.

National Idea — The Greatest Threat to Moscow

Lviv. — There are many facts to prove that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fears the spread of national ideas among the Russian subjugated nations in the USSR.

These facts include arbitrary arrests of young intelligentsia in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, among the Tartars, Jews and others, Moscow's sharp criticism of the Canadian journalist, Peter Worthington, who has often written on the subject of national inequality in the USSR and Russian great-power chauvinism and the attacks by Russian propaganda against a Communist Chinese radio station which mentions the non-Russian nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR.

Recently, the Russian press attacked Radio Liberty which beams its broadcasts to the USSR in ten languages, including Ukrainian, and which at times mentions national inequality in the present-day Russian empire.

Referring to the newspaper **Volksstimme**, published by the Austrian Communists, the Russian **Pravda**, No. 361, wrote at the end of last year that American "Radio Liberty" has the following instructions: "All departments of the radio station should adhere to the point of view of the nations of the Soviet Union and support their striving

for liberation from the centralized, dictatorial domination."

This aim, which is being realized only in part, arouses indignation in Moscow, for the CC CPSU is aware of the fact that the integrity of its empire in the form of the USSR is at stake.

Ukrainians Organizing Hunger Strikes in Russian Concentration Camps

In the early part of December 1972, a protest by prisoners in the form of a hunger strike took place in several Soviet Russian concentration camps. The hunger strike lasted for five days and was to have ended on December 10th, that is on International Human Rights Day.

According to the information received, "Ukrainian nationalists, sympathizers of religious opposition and Baltic separatists, as well as various other persons convicted for anti-Soviet propaganda", participated in the hunger strike. One of the names of the organizers has become known, that of Mykola Bondar.

The prisoners who declared a hunger strike protested against the inhuman conditions of camp regime, especially against such treatment of prisoners which leads to the death of some individuals. In particular, the premature death of writer Yuri Galanskov was meant. Galanskov died a month earlier, allegedly during an ulcer operation.

Coinciding with the protest of prisoners, their defenders, citizens of Western countries, staged a demonstration at the Red Square in Moscow against the stifling of human rights and political freedoms by the Russian regime. Three activists from the movement defending political prisoners in the USSR — an Italian, a Frenchman and a Norwegian — demonstrated on December 8th in broad daylight in the center of Moscow. Dressing themselves as prisoners, they suddenly emerged from the crowd in the Red Square and began to hand out leaflets, demanding

freedom of speech and of the press for the spokesmen of the oppositional movement. In the leaflets, Western defense organizations protested against repressions practiced by the KGB toward dissidents.

This demonstration aroused lively interest among the public, but it lasted only several minutes. Militia and plainclothes KGB agents arrested the three courageous West Europeans. The respective embassies were not notified of the arrests, and the press learned about it only from dissidents, who were also scheduled to take part in the demonstration.

Almost at the same time in many cities of Western Europe, demonstrations of solidarity with the prisoners of Ukraine and other subjugated countries were held. On the occasion of the International Human Rights Day appropriate placards and appeals were posted and meetings were held at some university centers.

Here are the names of the three Western idealists who purposely went to Moscow and exposed themselves to arrest in order to attract the attention of public opinion to the Russian regime of terror and violence existing in the USSR: Mario Celetti, Andre Kinter (journalist) and Peter Crosby.

Persecution of Buddhists in the USSR

In order to reach the Buryat ASSR, one must take the Trans-Siberian train in the direction of Japan. Out of the 380,000 Buryats who inhabit the area, a part profess Shamanism, while a part adhere to Buddhism.

The Tuva and Kalmyk ASSR also have inhabitants who belong to the Buddhist faith. Buddhism was brought there by the lamas from Mongolia in the 17th century. In the 18th century Buddhism was permitted by the Tsarist regime. However, the Communist Leninist atheism turned its edge both against Christianity and Buddhism, and in the 30s Buddhism was almost liquidated in the USSR. After the

Second World War, Buddhism began to manifest itself again, and even became the subject of research works. These very works are now the object of persecution.

According to Western newspapers (**The Observer** and **The Washington Post**), arrests were conducted in August 1972, among scholars who dealt with Buddhism. Among them was **Bidiya Dandaron**, a Buryat, arrested in Ulan-Ude. He was accused of establishing a Buddhist sect. In September the following were arrested in Ulan-Ude in this connection: **Donatus Butkus**, who worked at the Lithuanian Anthropological Museum in Ulan-Ude, **Aleksander Zeleznov**, a research worker, **Vladimir Montlevich**, who was employed by the Leningrad Museum of Religion, and **Yuriy Lavrov**, a student. During court proceedings on November 21-23, 1972, they were convicted and confined to a psychiatric "clinic". The sentencing of Dandaron was to have been postponed till mid-December.

In the course of the court proceedings, it was decided to charge eight more persons. Their trial was to have been held in December, but it is not known whether it was held or not, nor when or where. In line with rumours, the "socialist verdict" was to have been oral not written, as a consequence of which the accused allegedly lost their jobs. At the same time, house searches and interrogations were carried out in various localities, and the "objects of the cult" — statues, pictures and correspondence with the Buddhist sect — were confiscated. It so happened that from many persons all correspondence, including that having no connection whatsoever to the Buddhist sect, was confiscated.

In the course of the interrogations and inquiry various tricks and brutal methods were used in order to force the accused to talk. From the proceedings of the interrogations, an accusation was fabricated to the effect that the accused belong to a fanatical sect,

which demands bloody human sacrifices and engages in murder.

Zeleznov was accused of beating up a Buryat, last fall, who refused to join the sect. An unfounded charge was fabricated from the interrogations that he "hit the Buryat with an ax wrapped in a piece of cloth", while the complaint was changed to "kicking", although the victim had completely denied this, maintaining that he had not been beaten; hence he had not been the injured party.

The persecution is assuming absurd forms and is primarily directed against the leading Buddhist scholars. One of them is Bidiya Dandaron. He works at the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences.

He was born in 1914. In 1937-45 he had been imprisoned on charges of being a "Japanese spy". The real reason was that he was an aristocrat by birth. He was rehabilitated in Khrushchev's time. He is perhaps the greatest Soviet expert on the Tibetan language and Buddhism. He is the author of a two volume work "Description of Tibetan Manuscripts" (1960 and 1963), the article about the "Aga" monastery in the first volume of the "Buddhist Encyclopedia" published in 1963 and numerous other works.

It is rumoured that since Stalin's death the position of Buddhism in the USSR has not been as endangered as it is today.

Book Reviews

Alexander Sokolyszyn: **Ukrainian Selected and Classified Bibliography in English**. New York and Munich: Ukrainian Information Bureau, 1972.

This useful and exhaustive bibliographical tool fills a great gap in the reference works dealing with Ukraine. The latest compendium of this type was published by Weres in 1968, and since then, many books and articles dealing with Ukraine have appeared, but unfortunately have not been accessible due to lack of bibliographic control.

Dr. Sokolyszyn's book deals with a wide variety of topics: history, literature, politics, religion, economics, geography, law, education, language, etc. It also provides a bibliographic guide to such subjects as Ukrainian fine arts, TV and radio programs, cookery, films and organizations.

After a short introduction, which describes very briefly the geography, history and the current movement of dissent in Ukraine, the main body of the work is divided into two parts: one

dealing with material to 1961, the other with material published between 1961 and 1971. The compilation appears to be professionally researched, well organized and exhaustive; although, as with any work of this scope, dealing with so many entries, there appear to be several oversights.

Dr. Sokolyszyn is to be commended for undertaking this much needed task.

It is unfortunate, however, but is in no way a reflection on the author or the quality of his bibliography, that this work could not have been published in a more appealing format. If Ukrainians expect such publications to be of any influence and use to American scholars and researchers, it is necessary to put more consideration into the technical production of such books.

More works like those of Dr. Sokolyszyn are needed, to make the vast material on Ukraine available to those interested in the problem.

Marta Sawczuk
Jersey City State College

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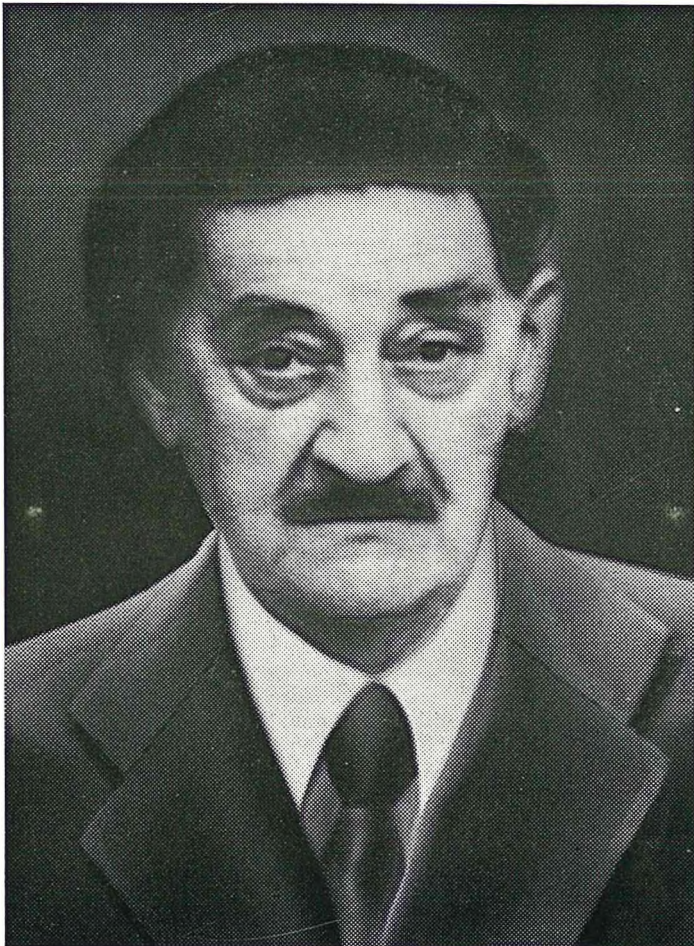
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Dmytro Dontsov, Ideologist of Ukrainian Nationalism, Dies at 89

New York, N. Y. — Dmytro Dontsov, an outstanding thinker, publicist and ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, died on March 30, 1973 in a hospital in Montreal, Quebec, at the age of 89. He was buried on Wednesday, April 4, 1973 at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N. J.

Dr. Dontsov was born on August 17, 1883 in Melitopol, Southern Ukraine. He studied at the universities of Petersburg, Vienna and Lviv and obtained

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations shares its sadness with the national liberation organizations of the subjugated nations at the news of the passing away in Montreal, Canada, on Friday, March 30, 1973, at the age of 89, of

† DR. DMYTRO DONTSOV

the most distinguished thinker and ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, an uncompromising fighter for an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State, inspirer of the fighters of OUN, Cassandra of the Ukrainian nation in the last decades of the Ukrainian-Russian war, propagator of the idea of a common anti-Russian front of the subjugated nations, author of numerous basic works about the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation and the foundations of Ukrainian politics, profound student of Russian imperialism, author of studies about the ideological bases of Ukrainian literary and artistic works, particularly about the coryphaei of Ukrainian culture and literature, a brilliant Ukrainian publicist, a prisoner of Russian and Polish prisons and concentration camps, an extraordinary figure in the history of Ukraine.

The ideas of the Deceased shall remain for all time an inseparable part of the Ukrainian nation's ideological and political struggle for her own individual self-affirmation, for freedom and national independence by way of national liberation revolution, for the disintegration of the Russian empire and for the renewal of sovereign national states of the subjugated nations.

The funeral took place on Wednesday, April 4, 1973, at 9:00 a. m., at the Ukrainian cemetery in Bound Brook, N. J., where the mortal remains of this great Ukrainian will rest temporarily, until they shall be borne to the Pantheon of the Ukrainian nation in free Kyiv.

The Central Committee of ABN

a degree of doctor of jurisprudence. He emerged on the Ukrainian political arena as early as 1905, taking part in the political and cultural life of the Ukrainian community in Petersburg, especially during the time of the 1905 revolution in Russia. He participated in student organizational activities and became a member of the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Radical Party, collaborating with the Socialist party until the outbreak of World War I.

He was arrested twice by the Russian Czarist police, and upon his release from prison in 1908 he escaped abroad, but in 1913 he returned to Lviv, Western Ukraine (then under Austria), where he was active in Ukrainian student life, and became known for his incisive anti-Russian writings and polemics, not only in the Ukrainian press, but in foreign press organs as well. Lenin, then a leading star among Russian Socialists, frequently assailed Dontsov in his writings for the former's attempts to separate the Ukrainian Socialist Party from the Russian Socialist Party. Paul Miliukov, well-known Russian historian and political leader, considered Dr. Dontsov's political writings as very dangerous to the unity of the Russian empire and assailed him in his speeches in the Russian Duma in Petersburg.

After the outbreak of World War I, Dr. Dontsov along with other Ukrainian political refugees from Czarism, helped to organize the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine", and became its first president. In 1914-1916 he headed the Ukrainian Information Bureaus in Berlin and Bern, and together with the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation from the Austrian Parliament, conducted extensive political activities in Germany, Switzerland and Sweden.

In 1917 he returned to Lviv, and at the beginning of 1918 he was already in Kyiv, where he became a member of the Ukrainian Party of Farmers-Democrats, and upon the call of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi, he took over the direction of the Ukrainian Telegraphic Agency, an official bureau of the Ukrainian government. In 1919-1920 he served as chief of the Information Section of the Ukrainian Legation in Switzerland. After the fall of the Ukrainian independent state in 1920, Dr. Dontsov lived in Vienna, where he wrote his first major book, **Bases of Policy**, a book that made him known among Ukrainians throughout the world. In 1922, he returned to Lviv, where he became editor of **Zahrava** (Crimson Sky), **Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk** (Literary-Scientific Herald) and **Visnyk** (The Herald). In 1926 Dr. Dontsov wrote his most important work, **Nationalism**, providing the ideological and philosophical foundations of the Ukrainian independence movement. During 1922-1939, he produced a series of other works, pamphlets and articles.

In the beginning of September 1939, Dr. Dontsov was arrested by the Polish police and sent to the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuska. With the invasion by the USSR of Western Ukraine on September 17, 1939, Dr. Dontsov escaped to Germany, and then went to Bucharest, Rumania, where he edited a Ukrainian review and wrote a book, **Spirit of Our Times**.

After World War II, Dr. Dontsov lived in Germany, France and the US, but in 1947 he moved to Canada and lived in Rawdon, near Montreal.

Dr. Dontsov's writings contributed greatly to the crystalization of Ukrainian political thinking, and his anti-Soviet writings incurred official anathema of the Soviet Russian government. He has been and continues to be vilified by the Communist press in Ukraine and in the whole of the Soviet Union as well

Ukrainian TV Journalist Sentenced to 12 Years

Mr. **Vyacheslav Chornovil**, one of the leading Ukrainian dissenters, has been sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment and exile. According to information reaching the West his trial took place in Lviv and ended in early February. It was closed, and no Western correspondents, even had they heard of it, could have attended.

News of it has reached the West through travellers and not, as is more usual in such cases, through human rights circles in Moscow. The continuing KGB (secret police) offensive against dissent would appear to have severed links of this sort between Moscow and Ukraine.

Mr. Chornovil, aged 34, is a television journalist who became well-known for his book, **The Chornovil Papers**, published in the West in 1968. For circulating this book, which analyzed the Ukrainian political trials of 1965-66, he spent a year and a half in a labour camp. In January, 1972, he was arrested again, together with several dozen other intellectuals, in a KGB drive to suppress the **Ukrainian Herald**, a Ukrainian counterpart to the Moscow **Chronicle of Current Events**.

The authorities held him incommunicado for 13 months, then tried him on charges of alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Mr. Chornovil pleaded not guilty and is reported to have conducted himself with dignity.

Peter Reddaway
(The Times, March 29, 1973)

5 Years' Jail for Ukrainian Writer

One of the best-known literary critics in the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian writer Ivan Dzyuba, 42, has been sentenced by a Kyiv court to five years in prison for his defence of Ukrainian national culture. He has long been an outspoken critic of the "Russification" of Ukraine inspired by the Soviet authorities.

Dzyuba's polemical work entitled "Internationalism or Russification?" was smuggled out of the Soviet Union and published in the West in 1968. Since then he has been subjected to continual harassment by the secret police.

(Daily Telegraph, April 13, 1973)

Heavy Jail for Dissidents in Ukraine

— By Our Communist Affairs Correspondent —

The five leading figures in the civil rights movement in the Ukraine have been given long prison camp sentences. Dissidents in Moscow believe the sentences presage a further series of trials of critics in the Ukraine.

The literary critic Ivan Svitlychnyi, 42, and the writers Vyacheslav Chornovil and Yevhen Sverstyuk were each sentenced to seven years in a labour camp, to be followed by five years' exile.

Ivan Dzyuba, author of an analysis of the "Russification" of Ukraine published in the West, was sentenced to five years in a prison camp, Svitlychnyi's sister Nadya, who has a three-year-old son, received four years' prison camp. Her husband, Danylo Shumuk, who was sentenced to 10 years penal servitude last year, is now completing his 21st year in a prison camp.

(The Daily Telegraph, London 14. 5. 1973)

In Defense of the Persecuted

(Communiqué of the Executive Board meeting of the European Freedom Council (EFC), held on the 12th and 13th of May 1973 in Copenhagen)

The Executive Board of the EFC strongly protests against the mass imprisonment and harsh sentences meted out to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated in the Soviet Union and the satellites, in particular in Ukraine in the last two years, against the internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics and prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime and exile in Siberia ranging from 5-15 years: **Yuriy Shukhevych** after 20 years of imprisonment was sentenced again to 15 years; poet **Ihor Kalynets** 12 years; poet **Mrs. Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets** 9 years; **professor Leonid Plushch** life imprisonment in a psychiatric clinic; literary critic **Ivan Svitlychnyi** 12 years; historians **Ye. Sverstyuk** 12 years and **V. Moroz** 14 years; **D. Shumuk** 15 years; priest **V. Romanyuk** 10 years; **V. Chornovil** 12 years; **I. Dzyuba** 5 years (both literary critics and writers); **Ivan Hel**, student, 15 years; **Mrs N. Svitlychna** (scientist) 4 years; **Mrs. Iryna Senyk**, artist, 11 years; and others.

The Executive Board of the EFC asks that this matter be placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for discussion and decision, and appeals to patriots, humanitarians and the churches of the world to urge to organize actions for the abolition of concentration camps and the release of political and religious prisoners, who number more than 1 million in the USSR concentration camps alone.

The EFC supports the reinforcement of NATO and fears that the so-called European Security Conference, which is desired by Moscow in order to remove the USA gradually from Europe, will open the road for further Russian conquest in the still free part of Europe and the world.

Without the self-determination and national independence of all the subjugated nations there will be no security and no peace in Europe and the world.

Copenhagen, 13 May 1973

Executive Board of the European Freedom Council
Ole Bjoern Kraft — President

Are Russians Striving for Revolutionary Changes in the USSR?

Among the various negative phenomena prevalent in the Western political world, particularly disturbing is the view that it is impossible to achieve victory over the present Communist regime in the USSR without the Russians being in a common front of the subjugated nations, without their participation in the revolutionary struggle. Yet, we know from history that in the revolutionary movements of the Russian tsarist empire the major role was played mostly by Ukrainians (Perovska, Zhelyabov, Kybalchych) and the present Russian opponents of the regime are not even thinking about revolution, only about reforms and evolution. Hence, counting on such fiction is an unjustifiable self-deception, all the more since the aim of the Russian dissidents is the preservation of the "one and indivisible" empire and the revival of the era of the Black Hundred under the leadership of a new Denikin, Vranghel or Kerensky.

There is absolutely no doubt that if Ukrainians and members of other subjugated nations do not start an armed struggle on the Russian ethnographic territory, there will never be any revolution there. In 1917 in Petersburg the revolution against tsarism was carried out by regiments composed of Ukrainians (the Volhynia, the Preobrazhensk and the Izmailiv), and later the March national revolution was crushed by Lenin's October counterrevolution.

In the present processes of opposition on Russian territory the major part is also played by dissidents of non-Russian descent — Gen. Hryhorenko, Daniel, Litvinov, Ginsburg, Synyavsky, Pasternak, Tarzis and others. This movement, as we shall see further, has absolutely no support from the Russian people. This is confirmed by the Russians themselves. Any hopes that the

Russians will rebel, that they are in a revolutionary frame of mind and can start an armed struggle are illusory, even if one does not consider the fact that their aim is strictly "one and indivisible" in character and therefore there is no basis for a joint front with them.

An average Russian is a Ryazan muzhik — which is claimed by Admiral Gorshkov as well — who having climbed out from behind the stove niche is proudly sailing the seas inspired by Russian messianism. And which of the Russians can oppose such messianic attitude of the Russian people?

Berdyayev wished to give the Russian people a "Christian" imperialistic mission. He can find new adherents of his chauvinistic theory among the Russians even now, but no partners among the subjugated nations. Today the Berdyayev groups in the USSR are without any significance and do not have any influence, for why should the Russians hope for "pears on the willow", when their Bolsheviks have their hands on the southern fruits of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

A genuine strategist of the national liberation revolution cannot build his plans on wishful thinking and make the victory of national forces dependent upon the inevitability of revolution by reactionary Russians, for this is tantamount to waiting for imaginary divisions of Gen. Wenk in the fantasy of Hitler, who expected them to check an attack...

The chief ideologist of the Russian dissident movement is Prof. Sakharov, together with Medvedev, Chalidze, Turchyn and Tverdokhlyebov. With the agreement of the party and government, two of them are already abroad — Medvedev in England, and Chalidze in the USA. Their concept is reformist

and evolutionary; it is a struggle for the rights of legal and loyal opposition, which recognizes the primacy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, an opposition which demands certain privileges and reforms, division and extension of responsibility for the fate of the so-called USSR to the technocrats, intellectuals, professors and technology experts. "Alarmed" by dangers threatening "mankind", Prof. Sakharov puts forth global projections and places them at the base of future policy of Moscow and Washington. His aim: "convergence and later merging of two competing systems — the liberal democratic and the socialist.". He argues the inevitability of such "convergence" and "merging" by the threat of nuclear war, the danger of famine brought about by the overpopulation of the world, pollution of the air, water and land, dictatorial regimes, the loss of intellectual freedom which declines under pressure of production of so-called mass culture. On the other hand, the problem of national liberation of the subjugated nations, in particular those within the USSR, does not exist for him and his associates. He wants to achieve "convergence" and later "merging" of two diametrically opposed socio-political ruling systems by way of so-called democratization of the USSR, more precisely of the Communist Party, and the "socialization" of the Western world. In the USSR the power would allegedly find itself in the hands of so-called leftist Leninists-Communists (of the type of Roy Medvedev) and so-called leftist Westerners (of the type of Sakharov), while in the West — in the hands of left-wing socialists, although he does not speak clearly about that. Perhaps Mitterand's "popular front" is also part of his dreams?

Sakharov remained in Moscow in order to influence Brezhnev's policy, so as to save the Russian empire, of course. Medvedev went to England and Chalidze to the United States in order to prepare the ground in the West for

"convergence" and "merging" of two socio-political systems in the world. Thus the Trojan horses are not only on the Rhine, but also on the Hudson and the Thames. The legal and loyal anti-regime opposition has so far been unsuccessful inside Brezhnev's kingdom, but it can help in "socializing" the West, which is tantamount to extending Russian influence and domination to the free Western world. Kissinger's bustling and Nixon's trips to Mao Tse-tung and then to Brezhnev also promote "convergence" and possibly "merging" of the two socio-political systems competing with one another. It is true that in Sakharov's opinion such "convergence" and "merging" are possible only when the government in the USSR finds itself in the hands of leftist "Leninists-Communists" and leftist "Westerners", but the Russian Bolshevik social and imperial system will remain intact.

So far, Nixon's and Pompidou's trips to Brezhnev do not mean a convergence of two systems, only a recognition of Moscow's domination over the subjugated nations and a support for its struggle with the national liberation movements inside the USSR. The overtures of Western statesmen to the Russian Bolshevik chiefs help Moscow in particular to infiltrate the free world and to make systematic preparations for the takeover of power in Western states by urban guerrillas and Communist terrorists who call themselves Leninists-Maoists.

Sakharov proposes a rejection in international politics of the "empirical conjunctural method", that is a maximal consolidation of their positions by the superpowers wherever possible. He suggests a renunciation of such measures which create maximal obstacles for the opponent, because, allegedly, it is necessary to take the "general good" and the "general interests" into consideration. He proposes a change of the "structure of ownership and society" in the West, that is a

change of the system. A similar thing is demanded by the leftist Leninist-Maoist Baader-Meinhof gang in West Germany.

In general, the plan projected by Sakharov has the objective of saving the Russian empire, of leading it out of the blind alley and into the open, of making it more acceptable to the West. This is all the more mandatory since — as he writes in his "Appeal" to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny, dated March 19, 1970, — the bankruptcy of the Soviet economy and its backwardness in comparison with the USA are so great that "we simply live in another epoch".

The so-called Committee on Human Rights in the USSR does not even deny the legality of the established Russian Bolshevik government; it only wants to "correct" it. An entirely different alternative is chosen by the "numerous representatives of technical intelligentsia of the Estonian SSR" in its elaboration "To Hope or to Act?". They say: "But finally the inevitability to act will arise. And then it will be necessary to direct tank divisions not to Prague and Bratislava, but to Moscow and Leningrad!" Thus, the tiny Estonian nation through the lips of a segment of its intelligentsia raises the question of the necessity of armed retribution against the Russian Bolshevik rulers at a time when the Russians reject in principle any revolution in the USSR.

Another Russian group (in the so-called Leningrad program in the article "Time Presses" by Zorin and Alekseyev) does not believe in the possibility of USSR's democratization from the top, but urges achieving "political democracy" only by pressuring the government from the bottom, i. e. it rejects armed struggle and revolution as well. The authors of this program write that the leaders of the USSR have a choice of either agreeing to genuine reforms or of risking a global rocket contest.

"The Program of the Democratic

Movement of the USSR" which was allegedly signed by "democrats of Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic region" is also aimed at saving the "one and indivisible" Russian empire and at preserving it at all costs, this time in the guise of a "Union of Democratic Republics". It is a liberal democratic program patterned on those of the West, with paeans to American capitalism. As a typical program of liberal, bourgeois, capitalist democracy, it considers socialism in the USSR as conservatism and therefore proposes a liberal democracy of the Euro-American type as a substitute for socialist conservatism of the CPSU. The program's authors acknowledge only a "peaceful evolution of society", rejecting the revolutionary road of toppling the Bolshevik regime and its system as "irresponsible, criminal and historically unjustifiable". Their "illegal" forms of struggle are only allegedly conspiratorial, secret groups which would organize strong, mass but peaceful pressure of the public upon the "leadership of society" . . .

Sakharov's action won immediate support from the NTS (Natsionalnyy Trudovoy Soyuz — a Russian emigre political organization) for, according to its publication *Posyev* (No. 12, 1972) — the NTS members have the same aim as Sakharov, while "the dialectic controversy between Sakharov, democratization from above and independent liberation from below is to be found only in the method and means of achieving an end". The NTS supports democratization from below, yet it also supports and accepts democratization from above.

Neither Sakharov, nor the NTS, nor the so-called Leningrad group, nor the "democrats" from the "Democratic Movement", nor the editors of the *Viche*, V. Osypov and Co., acknowledge the existence of the national problem in the USSR. They either pass it over in silence or simply reject it. None of them spoke up in defense of the persecuted cultural leaders of U-

kraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Lithuania and other subjugated nations in the USSR. They did not even defend Leonid Plyushch, who was considered a member of Sakharov's Committee and who received the most severe punishment — an unexpiring term of confinement in an insane asylum. Osypov, the editor of *Viche*, having served his sentence, defends as a matter of principle "constitutional rights" alone. He favors regaining from the regime "the right of the loyal opposition to exist" within the framework of the constitution. Moreover, he even says that "announcement of even a declarative war against the Soviet regime is a grave mistake". The chief means of activity of this dissident "Berdyayev group in Leningrad" is to be "the struggle with particular excesses of the government, legal defense of the Soviet constitution against its official opponents..."

Thus, only the expectations of "democratization" of the Russian Bolshevik system and government by way of evolution, with the assistance of pressure from the top or bottom, the struggle of the legal and loyal opposition in the USSR alone — characterize the entire oppositional movement of the Russian loyalists, as a movement of opposition to "His Tsarist Highness" Leonid of the Kremlin (Brezhnev).

On the territory of Russia there was only one small group — the "All-Russian Social Christian Alliance for People's Liberation", headed by Ogurtsev and Sad, — which had not attempted to reform the "Soviet government", but wished to liquidate it with the help of military power. It was immediately infiltrated by provocateurs and crushed in 1968. It considered itself a military and political organization which was to topple the regime in an armed conflict and introduce a Social-Christian order. The positions of this group were religious and national and anti-socialist. Because the USSR had found itself in the blind alley, which is confirmed

by Sakharov as well, this group proposed "revolution as the only way out". But its activity ended with the declaration itself. It failed to find any positive response or support within the Russian popular masses.

How far removed are all those Russian "dissidents" from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which organized a nationwide uprising even during the horrible terror of the tyrant Stalin.

In the West it is now common to speak about the so-called third emigration from the USSR, but there are no Ukrainians among the emigres. They are primarily Russians and Jews, emigres by the grace of the Russian Bolshevik regime, allowed to go abroad for various reasons and on various occasions, although many of them had been members of the so-called movement of opposition, even of Sakharov's Committee (Medvedev, Chalidze). But Ukrainians (Moroz, Lukyanenko or Karavanskyi, for example) are not allowed "to emigrate", but are deported to the North to prisons and concentration camps.

The fact is that both the "oppositionists" in Russia and the NTS abroad confirm that the Russian people do not wish to remove the Bolshevik government by force. It is also a fact that the so-called movement of opposition in Russia has absolutely no support among the Russian people. The NTS itself reports that the "oppositionists" in Russia are a group totalling about 3-5 thousand persons. In Ukraine, on the other hand, the national liberation movement is a nationwide movement supported by the Ukrainian people as a whole.

The Russian "oppositionists" who emigrated in 1971-72 with the approval of the Russian Bolshevik regime frankly state that the "Russian people" do not want a revolution, and this means that there are absolutely no reasons to count on their participation in the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated nations, if only against the regime without even mentioning the dissolution of

the Russian empire which is an unqualified precondition to a joint front with the Russians.

I. Agruzov, in an article "Let's Consider" (*Posyev*, No. 8, 1972), speaks decisively against revolution in the USSR. He comes to the following conclusions: "There are no grounds to maintain that economic reasons can serve today (in peacetime) as a motive for large uprisings which could change into a revolution... The universities are not the disseminators of new social and political ideas. *Samvydav* circulates in universities, but is not published there. It contains no specific student materials. As long as people capable and willing to fight for political causes do not come forth from the centers of science and culture, so long there are no grounds to believe that revolution is possible... The development of science and technology and the growth of cadres of scientific and technical intelligentsia connected with it do not lead automatically to the liberalization of the regime... Rejecting the present regime of the CPSU, today's generation of Russians is afraid of new experiments... The people fear the masses and themselves... The Communists have forgotten about world revolution. Their spirit of messianism and the desire to "make people happy" have weakened... The Communists turned into bureaucrats and usurpers inside the country... The anti-Communists have become internal exiles, good scholars, reformists..."

With such tales Agruzov attempts to turn the West's attention away from the Russian Bolshevik threat. He pretends not to know that the Russian navy is occasionally stronger than that of the USA, that for the first time in its history Russia dominates the Mediterranean Sea, is gaining control in the Arctic and the Pacific oceans, penetrating into the Indian Ocean, Bangla Desh, the Near East, Cuba, Chile, the countries of Africa, undermining defense capabilities of France, Italy and other European and American countries, infil-

trating West Germany. Agruzov tries to reassure the West with his tale that the Russian Communists "have forgotten about (world) revolution", that their "spirit of (Russian) messianism has weakened", that they are "afraid of war and revolution just as the people themselves who are afraid of any upheavals..." It seems that the Russian people are quite well off in their modern empire and that they prefer Bolshevism to any revolution and change. "Our better contemporaries — writes Agruzov — reject violence as a means of struggle for human rights. Revolution is inseparable from violence. Therefore they reject revolution." He says that in the USSR a struggle is carried out only "for the consolidation of human rights and legality..." There is no clear "yes" or "no" among the people. "There is no hatred toward the people." The people do not want "fratricide"... "It is a mistake to think that power is concentrated in the hands of a small group of people... It is delegated to millions of functionaries... There are no such people who would be ready to take over authority in the country; the people do not see them..."

The author advises the NTS "to openly refuse to follow a revolutionary path of struggle", for "an internal armed conflict is contemptible for our people and country..." The NTS should declare "the formation of a lawful, multinational democratic 'state', placing an accent not on the struggle with the present regime, but on 'solidarity of the society'. The main thing is not the struggle with the old (i. e. the Bolshevik regime — Z. K.), but the solidarity with the new, to create the new" ... i. e. to change the outward appearance of the present Russian Bolshevik empire in order to save it from collapsing. In other words, to repeat what the Bolsheviks had done with the tsarist empire.

The tendency of Agruzov's deliberations is quite clear: revolution is impossible in the USSR; the Russian people are happy with their regime. The

latter is true, but it is a lie that the nations subjugated in the USSR do not long for revolution, rejecting it as "violence" (over whom). To the contrary, for them it is the only realistic way to achieve liberation.

Lulling the West by the illusion that the Bolsheviks "have lost their messianism", have given up the idea of world conquest and world revolution, that Moscow ceased to be the center of aggression and imperialism is a deception taking the shape of a modern Russian Trojan horse. If the Western statesmen, and with them Western public opinion, accept this Trojan horse they will be digging their own grave.

It is a different story with peoples subjugated in the Russian Bolshevik empire. They are experienced; nobody can deceive them with a Trojan horse anymore, and therefore they have chosen the only sure path toward their national and social liberation — the revolutionary path. Uprisings in concentration camps, in Temir-Tau, Kingiri, disturbances in Novocherkask, Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzhynsk, unrest in many localities of Ukraine and Turkestan — all these are only a part of the kindling fires from which a huge blaze engulfing the entire Russian empire can develop. After all, in Kingiri the Ukrainian heroines attacked Russian tanks with bare hands.

Let us also recall the insurrection in Hungary, in Poznan, in Berlin, the events in Czechoslovakia, the revolt of the workers in Poland which resulted in the downfall of Gomulka, the reaction in Ukraine during the Hungarian revolution...

Even at the peak of Stalinist tyranny uprisings broke out in concentration camps where Ukrainian political prisoners, participants of the liberation struggle, were confined. The Hungarian revolution became a proof that an insurrection is possible at the time of the greatest terror and under the harshest conditions.

Particularly eloquent is the fact that

Arguzov began to "prove" to the West that the threat to the Western world from the side of the Russian Bolshevik aggressors has also disappeared, that revolution is impossible in the USSR because nobody wants it, for all have reconciled themselves with the reality, at a time when the West too became aware of the powerlessness of terror in the countries of the Russian-subjugated peoples.

Arguzov wants to create the impression that his "diagnosis" pertains to all peoples within the USSR — i. e. to the oppressor as well as to the nations he oppresses. In reality, it is simply a crime to transfer the estimate of the Russian nation-oppressor to the nations it subjugates. And any orientation upon the "revolution" of the Russians is both naive and false. Making the victory of the national liberation revolutions dependent upon the revolution of the Russians means driving the revolutionary forces of the subjugated nations into a corner.

Of course, the weakening of the regime in the present Russian empire even by the internal Russian opposition is to a certain extent useful for our liberation struggle as well. However, the real road to our liberation is the Ukrainian national revolution and a common front with other nations subjugated within the USSR, which are fighting for the downfall of the Russian empire and the reestablishment of their sovereign states.

Oppositional movements among the Russians against the regime, conflicts and ferments weakening the regime can facilitate the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, all the more if they are simultaneous. However, this does not mean that a revolution in the USSR is impossible without a joint front with the Russian opposition and therefore it is necessary to seek an understanding with the Russians at all costs, in spite of the fact that they totally reject national liberation and attempt to preserve the Russian empire.

Life Under Russian Tyranny

A top Soviet Ukrainian nuclear scientist who defected to Canada in 1966 has described his conversion to Christianity, and his life under Soviet Russian tyranny, in an interview in the Jan. 5 issue of "Christianity Today".

Dr. Borys P. Dotsenko, a Ukrainian, was appointed head of the nuclear laboratory of the Kyiv State University shortly before being sent to Canada and Vienna in 1966 "to supply the Soviet espionage system with the most important information about the achievements in nuclear research throughout the world."

He defected to the West because under Soviet Russian tyranny he was required to place loyalty to the party and state above any other ties — even family relationships.

"As a follower of Marx and Lenin I was supposed to be ready to betray not only my neighbor but my family if necessary," he said.

From a "friendly" security agent, while working on rocket research, Dotsenko learned of the brutal liquidation of some 12 million people, in particular Ukrainians, "during the Great Purge". He was terribly shaken. "A feeling of numbness and deep disgust overtook me", he confessed.

While in Canada, at the University of Alberta, he applied for political asylum. He is currently teaching at Waterloo Lutheran University in Ontario, and is a member of a Mennonite church.

In the interview with David Kuchar-sky, *Christianity Today's* managing editor, Dr. Dotsenko recalled that as a young man he had believed in the Communist doctrines. "I adored Stalin, who said, 'Who is not with us is against us. And if the enemy does not surrender, he must be annihilated'."

New Testament

Once, as a boy, he found an old Slavic New Testament in an old barn.

Although he was not immediately convinced by its teachings, he remembered, "The Great Commandment spoken by Jesus somehow frightened me. If these words were true, then all the teaching of Communism was false from the roots."

Another factor that caused him to wonder about Christianity, Dr. Dotsenko related, was the scientific law of entropy.

"This law, put very simply, states that if any system is given to itself it will decay very quickly, inasmuch as particles composing any system have a tendency to run wild," he pointed out. "It means that all the material world should have turned into a cloud of chaotic dust a long, long time ago. I thought about this, and it dawned upon me that the world is being held in existence by a non-material power that is capable of overruling this destructive entropy."

In 1964, when he learned that his wife and father "were reporting on me regularly to the KGB (secret police)," Dr. Dotsenko took an overdose of sleeping pills. "When I regained consciousness", he told *Christianity Today*, "I remembered having said, 'My Lord, Thy will be done'."

Life under Soviet Russian tyranny, he declared, is marked by "outward absolute obedience and acceptance of all issued orders, all regulations, and all political and ideological statements. Penalties for violations are extremely severe."

Dotsenko said an individual in the Soviet Russian Empire is "a part of society under permanent and thorough control of the party through the government. The KGB and MVD and the Soviet military are the real holders of power. No one has any right to change his work or his place of living without permission of the authorities."

Standards of morality differ entirely from those of the West he added. "Soviet morals are derived from the Marxist concepts of class society and class struggle. Everything that increases the power of Communism is morally justified."

Dotsenko observed that the fear of Communism today is not so overriding that it precludes the opportunity for profits by giant corporations. "IBM and Honeywell are selling computers to the Communists," he noted.

Of Special Interest

Another Dotsenko observation is of special interest to many people in view of the discussions about the propriety of the kind of work carried on by Brother Andrew, known as "God's Smuggler." (His mission is to smuggle Bibles behind the Iron Curtain.)

Asked to what extent should Christians living in a Communist country obey its laws, Dotsenko replied:

"No true power has a right to intervene in the worship of God and Christ as it is prescribed in the Scriptures. Christians ought to obey all laws that do not make them turn away from worshipping and serving God and Christ.

"To accept the leadership of Communism is incompatible with the true service of God. It is like accepting the assertion that the thief is the lawful owner of the things he stole.

"I must confess that I admire Brother Andrew and his co-workers. I pray for them, that the Lord will continue to keep them under His protection and inspire them for their further service."

His Defection

Recalling the circumstances of his defection, Dr. Dotsenko said: "When I started to unpack my luggage in the room given to me (at the University of Alberta) I pulled out a drawer. There was a book, the Holy Bible, placed by

the Gideons. My hands trembled when I took it. I applied for political asylum."

Shortly before going to teach in a high school in Yellowknife after being granted asylum, he said, "I asked a minister in Edmonton to baptize me. I became a Christian."

The eminent scientist affirmed his belief in the Scriptures, describing the latter as the "greatest book of faith" and "faith does not need any justification".

"As to the factuality of the historical data, there are many excellent evidences. The final proof of the Bible will come with the return of our Lord and the establishment of His Kingdom."

In addition to discussing his own personal religious experience, Dr. Dotsenko made comments on the religious situation in the Soviet Union.

Despite brutal oppression, Christianity has survived in the Soviet Union, he said. At the same time, it has been exposed to a more subtle form of opposition.

"Stalin and his successors decided to take control of the faithful by appointing specially trained and conditioned agents to key positions in the church — especially the Russian Orthodox Church, but also in others.

"These appointments were made in an indirect way, by allowing only those churches that suited the Communist government to function. Communist agents entered seminaries, were ordained as ministers, and started to preach blind obedience to the 'ruling power'."

On the holding of worship services in Russian churches, he asserted: "The existence of open churches allows the Communists to claim they respect freedom of opinion. In this way they brainwash people in the West and entice tourists... By developing relations between the churches in the Soviet Union and those abroad, the government creates another way of sending agents into the West."

He Is Troubled

After four years in the West, Dr. Dotsenko is "troubled" about several things. He mentioned:

(1) ... "the passive attitude of the majority of people to acts of violence on the part of relatively insignificant but vocal groups, and the violation by these groups of the most sacred moral, religious, and social norms."

(2) ... "the passive attitude toward the infiltration of materialistic ideas into the Western educational system."

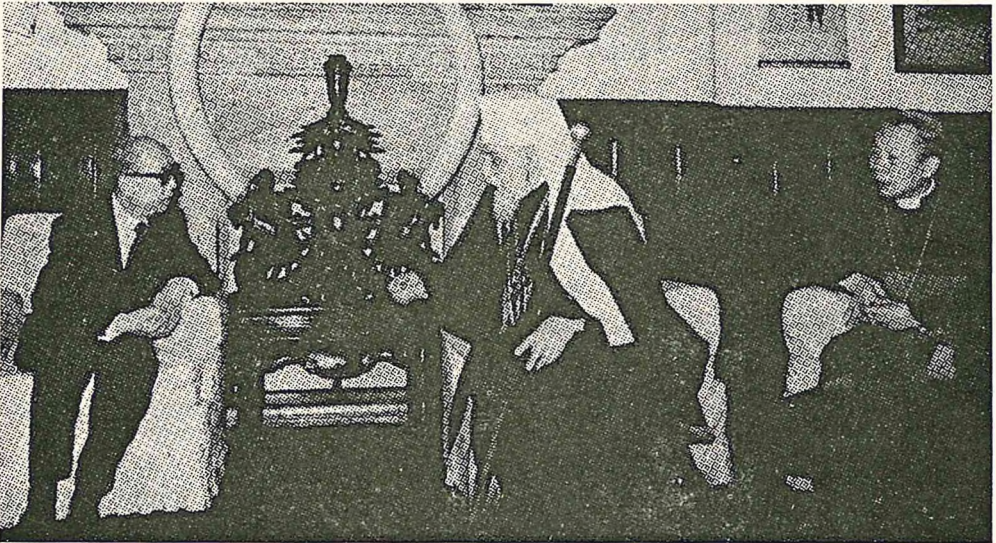
(3) ... "the tolerant, 'pacifistic' attitude of so much of liberal society toward the Communists ... The Communists have never renounced their ultimate goal, the establishment by all

means of the ruthless, oppressive, and inhuman dictatorship of the party elite and their functionaries."

Commenting on the danger Communism poses to the West, the scientist said: "Probably the greatest menace facing the West today is the presence of a widespread network of Soviet Communist agents. This network was initiated by Lenin himself at the second meeting of his party in London in 1904. The Communists in their propaganda are calling those who actively oppose them 'Fascists', trying to conceal the fact that Hitler learned from Stalin how to run a dictatorship in its most ruthless and inhuman way."

(Christian Crusade Weekly — Feb. 4, 73)

Cardinal Slipyi Visiting Free China



The Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Josyf Cardinal Slipyi (center) accompanied by the Archbishop of Taipei, Stanislav Lokuang (right) during an audience with Vice-President S. K. Yen (left) on March 28, 1973.

American Friends of ABN Hold Convention

The Bi-Annual Convention of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. was held in New York City on April 8, 1973. It was opened by Dr. Ivan Docheff, the National Chairman of AF-ABN, with a eulogy of the deceased Dr. Dmytro Dontsov, theoretician of Ukrainian nationalism, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny (Slovakia), former Secretary General of ABN, and Mr. Ihnat Biley, a Cossack Otaman. He also greeted delegates from different national groups and guests, in particular Mrs. Slava Stetsko, member of the Central Committee of ABN and editor-in-chief of **ABN Correspondence**, who was given a standing ovation by the delegates.

The Convention was presided over by Dr. Ivan Docheff, Mrs. Slava Stetsko and Mr. Vern Michael (Young Americans for Freedom), Administrative Secretary of AF-ABN.

Following the adoption of the Convention's agenda, Dr. Docheff gave an exhaustive report on the activities of the Executive Board of the AF-ABN. The report covered the AF-ABN activities from May 1971 until April 1973. Some of the most important activities of the AF-ABN included its participation in the Captive Nations Week observances in New York, with a Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, a march up Fifth Avenue and a rally in Central Park, as well as demonstrations before the Soviet UN Mission.

The Captive Nations Week Proclamation, Public Law 86-90, which became effective on July 17, 1959, is now under attack by Russian emigres and needs more support than ever. Congressman Daniel Flood has introduced a House Resolution 106 demanding the creation of a Special Captive Nations Permanent Commission by the US Congress. This also needs our support. The US foreign policy is for ties with Soviet Russia and Red China, while the Cap-

tive Nations question is kept in shadows today.

The AF-ABN also organized a successful cultural evening, the Folklore of the Captive Nations, on February 12, 1972. It participated in various events of member nationalities, such as the National Day celebrations, protest demonstrations and motorcades on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the modern prison of nations. Another Captive Nations folklore evening is planned for the fall of 1973. In addition, the AF-ABN plans to attend a protest rally on May 20, 1973, organized by the Ukrainians in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of man-made famine in Ukraine resulting in 7 million deaths. It will also take part in the German American Day on June 3, 1973, and the Captive Nations Week observances in July.

The AF-ABN also took an active part in the American political life, in particular the presidential elections, and wrote letters to and visited American Senators and Congressmen. It participated in the World Anti-Communist League Conference held in Mexico City in 1972 and is already making preparations for the next WACL Conference to be held in London in August of this year.

The report of the Central Committee of ABN was given by Mrs. Slava Stetsko. It presented a picture of the world situation and the activities of ABN all over the world, with special emphasis on the US and German foreign policies which foster friendly relations with the USSR, on the national movements fighting for independence and human rights within the USSR and on the USSR's border dispute with Red China. It seems that Germany has capitulated for the second time, giving the Russians a chance to consolidate its power in order to extend its domination to the Western world. Mrs. Stetsko briefly

outlined activities in each country and the present situation inside the subjugated countries behind the Iron Curtain. She appealed for strong cooperation among nations and asked that AF-ABN play a more active role in world affairs.

The Chairman then nominated Dr. Alexander Sokolyshyn as Convention Press Secretary. Also the following committees were elected:

Resolution Committee

Chairman — Mr. John Kosiak;

Members — Col. N. Nazarenko, A. Nikolaie, M. Aguilera and Dr. J. Apor-tela.

Nominating Committee

Chairman — Robert Brueckner;

Members — Col. R. Raicheff and Lew Borshch.

After discussion the treasurer's report was given by Mr. M. Kocka, which was approved. In the meantime the women held their own meeting in a separate room, proposing that the AF-ABN take a more active role in anti-Russian, anti-imperialist activities.

Dr. Ana Maria Perera (Cuba) gave a report on the women's conference. Mrs. Ulana Celewych (Ukraine), the newly elected Chairman of AF-ABN Women's Division also addressed the Convention.

After lunch, Mr. John Kosiak from the Resolution Committee presented a draft, which was accepted unanimously. The Nominating Committee also reported to the Convention. Thereafter new officers were elected to conduct AF-ABN activities for another two years.

Presidium of AF-ABN

President — Dr. Nestor Procyk (Ukraine);

Vice Presidents — Miro Gal (Croatia), John Kosiak (Byelorussia), Dr. Austin J. App (Germany), Capt. Zoltá Vasváry (Hungary), Robert Brueckner (Germany), Dr. T. Krupa (Ukraine), Dr. G. Paprikoff (Bulgaria) and Dr. A. Bonifac (Croatia);

National Chairman of the Executive Board of AF-ABN — Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgaria);

Vice-Chairmen — Dr. S. Halamay (Ukraine), Dr. Anatol Pleskachewski (Byelorussia), Anton Nasic (Croatia), Col. Nikolai Nazarenko (Cossackia), William Róka (Hungary) and Aristide Nikolaie (Rumania);

Secretary-General — Mario Aguilera (Cuba);

Administrative Secretary — Vern Michael (USA);

Treasurer — Michael Kocka (Slovakia);

Director of Public Relations — Dr. Karol Sitko (Czechia);

Director of Women's Division — Mrs. Ulana Celewych;

Officer to the United Nations — Dr. Ana Maria Perera;

Director of AF-ABN Youth Division — (to be nominated by the Executive Board);

Board of Directors (National representatives);

Bulgaria — Col. Richard Raicheff and Anton Antonoff;

Byelorussia — Volodimir Pielesa and Piter Sawczyc;

Cossackia — Nikolai Sukhenko and Ivan Baiv;

Croatia — Mirko Barich and Vinko Kuzina;

Estonia — Edward Derrik and Col. Elmar Lipping;

Germany — Karl Rein and Erich Jennsen;

Hungary — István Seregély and Gábor Pesti;

North Caucasus — Capt. Arslan Bek and Ismael Ramazan;

Rumania — Prof. George Botosan and Dr. Alexander Ronnett;

Slovakia — Ivan Samel and Alex Puskchin;

Ukraine — George Woloshyn and Volodymyr Hladkyj, dipl. eng., (and Lew Borshch, Mrs. Daria Stepaniak and Dr. A. Sokolyshyn as alternates).

Alternates are to be nominated by each national group.

It must be stressed that Dr. Ivan Docheff was unanimously re-elected for his fifth term and received a standing ovation from the participants.

In the evening, an observance of the 30th anniversary of ABN was held. It was opened by Dr. Ivan Docheff. Congressman Mario Biaggi, Mrs. Slava Stetsko and Dr. Karol Sitko addressed the audience. Dr. Docheff also read a telegram from ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko and proposed that the

Convention send him greetings. His proposal was accepted by applause.

A musical program concluded the evening. The performers included: Irena Chornyj and Yaroslav Stakhiv, Dumka Bandura players, a vocal trio of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMA) Choir "Zhayvoronky" with Ivanka Kuziv, Brigita Zajatz and Lesia Cybrij, and a solo by Hillar Santurio with Frederika Tanner (Estonia) at the piano.

Dr. Alexander Sokolyshyn



Sitting, from left to right: Mrs. Ulana Celewych (Ukraine); Mr. Mario Aguilera, Secretary-General of AF-ABN; Mrs. Slava Stetsko, representative of ABN Central Committee; Dr. Ivan Docheff, National Chairman of AF-ABN Executive Board; Dr. Ana Maria Perera (Cuba). Standing: the Cuban delegation of AF-ABN.

The Communist Regime in Cuba Denounced

The Communists have taken over control of Cuba and put it in the hands of Russia and her satellites; thereby destroying her democratic institutions, her established social order and causing her sovereignty, her independence and the liberty of the Cuban nation to

disappear. In their place there was implanted a regime of terror, blood and hatred without any respect for the dignity and the rights of man.

THEREFORE: Invoking the aid of God, the undersigned citizens of Cuba,

interpreting the feelings of Cubans in exile and of the Cuba people in a foreign land.

LET US RESOLVE:

To expose before this Convention of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations the happenings previously mentioned and above all the terrible and inhuman regime of Cuba where politically oppressed women are incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps without any medical attention, with poor food, moral tortures, physical mistreatment, and oppression of every type. Many of them remained in prison for many years without any recourse to formal judicial proceedings and they died slowly there in those barbarous prisons. Recently these deeds were mentioned in a meeting of the Republican Women's Club of New York by Sra. Yara Borges who had spent ten years in the political prisons of Cuba

and by Sr. José Luis Prado and Sr. Leopoldo Avino who were victims of nine years of political imprisonment. These are but some examples of the more than 60,000 men and women who suffered political confinement in the prisons of Communist Cuba.

OF THE CONVENTION WE BEG, having heard this denunciation, that it will support a resolution denouncing before the free world, the Commission of Human Rights of the United Nations, the Organization of American States and any other international organization the facts expressed above for the sake of justice for all.

(The resolution was signed by Dra. Irma Rumaní, Sra. Elisa Aportela, Sra. Carmen Garcia, Dra. Rosa América Morcate, Dra. Noris Romero, Sra. Petra M. Mederos, Dra. Ana Maria Perera, Dra. Noris Lorenzo, Sra. Vita M. Alonso, Sra. Milagros Perdomo.)

The Russian Emigres – Allies of the Kremlin

Letter to the President of the United States, His Excellency Richard M. Nixon

Dear Sir:

The present thaw in relations between the governments of the USA and the USSR suggests the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the Soviet Russian empire and the free world. An open rift between Communist China and the USSR supports such an expectation. However, such an appraisal mostly serves Russian aims. Russia wants to get the most advanced scientific and technological achievements of the USA, as well as huge financial credits for strengthening its own backward technology, economy and military might. The long-range aims of Soviet Russia remain unchanged: domination of the entire globe.

There is a visible intensification of preparedness at this time through the consolidation of Russian forces inside the USSR and abroad.

Inside the USSR, consolidation is pressed, especially via the Russification of the non-Russian nations, in order to create a monolithic Russian (so-called Soviet) nation. Planned changes of the USSR Constitution and changes of borders between Union republics will also serve this purpose. Total militarization of the population and expansion of industry for military purposes, while consumer needs are neglected, are a steady and continuing process. Despite peaceful assurances by Russian diplomats, delegates to various international meetings and conferences, the Russian threat to the free countries is constantly growing.

The Russian émigrés, living outside the USSR, are a substantial asset for Soviet Russia. The Russian empire and Russian domination over the conquered,

non-Russian countries of the USSR. In this respect, they are allies of the present Soviet Russian government.

The former head of the Provisional Government of Russia in 1917, Alexander Kerensky, and his Foreign Minister, Paul Miliukov, defended the Soviet Russian conquests of the non-Russian nations as serving to preserve the integrity of the Great Russian State. The intentions of the present-day Russian émigrés, who recently (February 10 and 11, 1973) organized a Congress of Russian-Americans, gravitate in the same direction. This consolidated Russian organization in the USA aims at the liquidation of American support for the nations enslaved by Soviet Russia. It wants to abolish the important Captive Nations Law No. 86-90, enacted by Congress on October 17, 1959. This Law designates the third week of July as Captive Nations Week and calls upon the President to issue a "proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world".

By abolishing this law, the Russian-Americans want to stop the US Presidents from issuing proclamations on the observance of Captive Nations Week. They want the government of the US to deny the right of self-determination (that is, of national independence) for all the enslaved non-Russian nations in the USSR. They want to turn the American people and government into supporters of oppressive Soviet Russian policies towards these non-Russian nations. In this way, they intend to eliminate the best allies of the US, which lie behind the Iron Curtain.

These Captive Nations are the following: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasus, Ukraine, the Far Eastern Republic, Turkestan, the Mongolian Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc. in Yugoslavia, Poland Rumania, Czechia, Slovakia, North Korea, Hungary, East Germany, Mainland China, Tibet North Vietnam, and Cuba. Russia dominates scores of nations. The Soviet Russian Communist leadership was instrumental in establishing Communist rule in each of those countries through armed aggression or military aid. Now, Soviet Russia is using the potential of her Captive Nations for her own advantage and expansion.

There also exist in the USA the so-called liberal forces, sympathetic to the present Soviet Russian régime, which are trying to obtain the repeal of Law 86-90 in support of the Captive Nations. This sympathy represents nothing else but abdication in the face of Soviet Russian aggression. This is a kind of defeatism that will be very detrimental to the USA and the whole free world in the future.

We ask you to kindly take the above facts into consideration and to do your utmost to reinforce the Captive Nations Law; to support House Resolution 106 of January 9, 1973, introduced by Congressman Daniel J. Flood, on establishing a special Captive Nations Committee of the US Congress; to remind the American people and government as well as the entire free world that the Soviet Russian menace is growing and threatening the freedom and liberty of every independent country; to request the US delegates to demand from Soviet Russia a real implementation of the principle of self-determination (that is, independence) for all the nations subjugated in the USSR, as a basic precondition for negotiations on the arrangement of the European Security Conference; to support the liberation of the Captive Nations and the resoration of their national sovereignty. The Russian state, when limited to the Russian ethnographic territory, will not be capable of armed expansion on a global scale.

Very respectfully yours,

Dr. Ivan Docheff

Chairman, American Friends of ABN

Mrs. Nixon Receives Queen Olha Award

The Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. has chosen Mrs. Richard M. Nixon, Honorable First Lady of the United States of America, for the Award of Queen Olha in recognition of her interest in humanity and education, for her comprehension of the history and culture of Ukraine.

Dressed in their colorful Ukrainian national costumes and escorted by the Honorable Congressman John H. Buchanan, Jr. the ladies were received by Mrs. Nixon at the White House on April 18, 1973. The Queen Olha Award was presented to Mrs. Nixon by a delegation of members of the organization composed of the following ladies: Ula-na Celewych, President, assisted by Daria Stepaniak, Myroslava Lassowsky, Laryssa Lozynsky, Maria Kulchycky, Maria Twardowsky, Stephania Bernadyn, Adrijana Leheta, Maria Karpyshyn, Anna Hrycyk and Teophila Hanushewsky. (See photo.)

proud period in history but in their homeland the observance of this event was forbidden.

Mrs. Nixon, the First Lady of the land of freedom and democracy, was presented the Queen Olha Award this year in memory of the seven million Ukrainians, mostly women and children, who perished of starvation during the great Famine in Ukraine which was created by the Russian government, punishing the Ukrainian peasants for opposing collective farming which was forced upon them. Conditions have not changed much even at the present time in Ukraine. Persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals, arrests and sentences of from 5 to 15 years in prison or in concentration camps and/or psychiatric institutions continue by the Soviet Russian Government.

Professor Dr. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, historian and former professor of Kyiv University and Dean of Ukrainian Free University in Munich, wrote of



The medals honoring the glory of Queen Olha of Ukraine, done by the well-known artist and sculptor Michael Cheresnowskyj, were struck of gold, silver, and bronze in the United States of America in 1969 on the 1,000th anniversary of her death. The Ukrainians in the free world had the privilege to commemorate the anniversary of this

the courageous reign of Queen Olha in her article published in the **ABN Correspondence**, July 1969 the following excerpts: "Young Queen Olha made her appearance on the throne and took to her frail woman's hands the administration of the largest state in Eastern Europe which stretched from Lake Ladoga in the north, to the Black Sea in the

south, from the Volga River in the east to the Dnister River in the west. Queen Olha introduced to her people something new: her reign of peace, free of wars, her tremendous administrative activities, her provision to regulate finances, her brilliant diplomatic activity which set up relations with the two mighty empires of Europe, namely Emperor of Byzantium, Constantine VII, and Emperor of Germany, Otto I, and chiefly her baptism, which made possible these relations on an equal footing with Christian governments. All this makes Olha an exceptional ruler of the mid Xth Century of Ukraine — known also as the Kyivan state."

She died in May 969 and was buried in the Christian rite. The church calls her Saint and an equal of the Apostles. Queen Olha's great-grandchildren became related with Royal families of France, England, Germany and Sweden. Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain is

related to Queen Olha as of the 34th generation.

Queen Olha reigned as monarch from the years 945 until 969.

Ulana Celewych

April 20, 1973

Dear Mrs. Celewych,

It was indeed a pleasure seeing you and the members of your Association. Your thoughtful gifts, symbolizing the unique artistic creations of Ukraine, will be treasured mementos of our visit.

I am especially grateful for the personal tribute of the Queen Olha Medal not only for its religious and historical significance, but also for its meaningful expression of friendship.

*With appreciation and best wishes,
Sincerely,
Pat Nixon*

CELEBRATION OF BULGARIAN LIBERATION DAY IN NEW YORK

On March 3, 1973, in New York's Hotel Commodore, the Bulgarian National Front organized a celebration of the 96th anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish oppression, with the purpose of keeping alive the spirit of the Bulgarians to continue the struggle for liberation from today's Communist oppression.

The celebration was a great success. Over 400 attended. Official delegations from all the AF-ABN nationalities were present. Mr. Nikola Stoyanoff was Master of Ceremonies. Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of the B.N.F., was the main speaker. In the program there participated the Bavarian Dance Group directed by Mr. Hugel, the Polish Dance Group under Mrs. Jaworowski, and the Ukrainian Dance Group of Mrs. Oprysko. After the performance, each group received a special citation of thanks. Mrs. Oprysko was awarded the medal from the B.N.F. for her long years of participation in the Bulgarian and Captive Nations celebrations.

Russian Rule Rejected: The Valiant Circassians

The Soviet Russian policy of "divide et impera!" (divide and rule) often manifested itself as far as the nationality policy of the Soviet Union was concerned. Nations were split up. Dialects were elevated to literary languages; new borders were set in favor of smaller peoples. The formerly large and powerful Turkestan is a good example for this policy; today it is divided into five Soviet Republics: the Kazakh Republic, the Turkmen Republic, the Kirghiz Republic and the Tadzhik Republic, where Russification continues to move ahead.

Smaller peoples also are denationalized in the same manner. A very good example for this separation policy is the Russian attitude towards the Circassians.

In Europe, Circassians are well known as great and courageous fighters. English and French travellers of the first half of the 19th century praise their valor in their tales. The Serbian writer, recipient of the Nobel Prize, Ivo Andrić, talks of them often (the pasha in the tale "The Beloved of Veli Pasha" is a Circassian). They are also mentioned in the "Bettelstudent" (Beggart Student) by the composer Millöcker.

Up until the subjugation by the Russians after the Crimean War, the Circassians inhabited the coastal areas of the Eastern Black Sea and the Western Caucasus. This means they occupied important strategic positions during the long battles between the Russian and the Ottoman empire.

After the conquest of the Caucasus by the Russians the Circassian rejection of the new masters went to such a degree that half a million people left the Caucasus during the years 1861 to 1864. But not even half that number arrived in Turkey, as pestilence and hunger decimated the masses of emigres and refugees. Other Caucasian mountain peoples formed part of this exodus,

like the Ubykh who left their homeland around Sochi, so famous today, as one man. Today, the Ubykh have been almost completely assimilated by the Turks. Only in two villages is Ubykh still spoken and understood.

Those Circassians that did reach Turkey were settled on the land throughout the empire by the Ottoman government; they may still be found today in the succession states of the Sultan reign from Yugoslavia to Saudi-Arabia.

In 1920, when an autonomous Soviet mountain republic was created in Northern Caucasus, it enveloped half a dozen Caucasian peoples. Later, when autonomous regions for individual nationalities were permitted, the Circassian people was again divided, since Kabardins and Adygs were treated as a separate people, even though "Adyg" is just the name by which Circassians call themselves, and Kabardin is no more than an upper Circassian dialect, while Adyg is lower Circassian.

Thus, only 30,000 true Circassians remained in their own autonomous Circassian region. According to Soviet sources, the population increased from 30,000 to 40,000 during the past years, of which 92% still claim Circassian as their native tongue. As far as numbers are concerned, the Kabardins are much more numerous today, their population having increased from 204,000 to 280,000 within the last few years, and the Adygs, who increased their number from 80,000 to 100,000 during the years 1966 to 1972.

The immigration of Russians is keeping up, just like in all the other parts of the Soviet Union, and autonomous areas are russified more and more. Even though magazines and books are available in the corresponding native languages, the use of the Russian language becomes ever more frequent. (Just think that of 1.8 million Soviet

Germans, only 75% indicated German as their native language).

Especially the shortage of teachers from their own ranks is a fact "which became the undoing of the national culture of many small Soviet peoples". There are important writers however amongst the Circassians and the Kabardins. Ali Assadovich Shogenzukov (1900-1971) was a truly great literary representative of his people.

In Europe, we still find a few hundred Circassians in Northern Greece and Southern Yugoslavia, where the university of Prague endeavoured to record their language. They disappeared from Yugoslav Macedonia, i. e. they were resettled in Turkey, and partly they left of their own accord. We were, however, able to visit a few Circassian families last year in Stanofca, in the area of Kosovo north of Pristina, close to Vuçitrn.

In European Turkey, a few names still remind one of the Circassians, such as Cerkesköy (=Village of Circassians), located at the railroad line from Edirne to Istanbul. One can find them scattered all over the country in Asiatic Turkey, in fact — according to the words of a Circassian author — there is no province without Circassians.

Their settlements are still more compact at Manisa close to Izmir, and at Adapazari on the way from Istanbul to Ankara, as well as in Bursa.

The numbers for Turkey vary between 45,000 and 2 million, but according to Circassians, 100,000 should be just about right, including Ubykhs, whose language is spoken only at Sepanca Lake close to Izmir, in the villages of Haci Osman Köy and Haci Yakup Köy.

During the time of the sultans, Circassians played a big role in Turkey since, being Moslems themselves, they were equal in rights to the Turks. They produced governors, pashas and viziers, of whom about 400 are known to posterity.

The novelist of the new Ottoman li-

terature, Akhmed Mithat, who died in 1913, was a Circassian; the father of modern Turkish poetry, Fikret Tevfik (1867-1915), whose bust stands in the garden of the Galata Serail, was also a Circassian. His "Fishermen" were also published in German in 1916.

In Syria, Circassians were once settled "along the whole desert border, from Aleppo to Damaskus". Today, they are still to be found at Mansura, around Membidj and at Quneitra, which at the present time is occupied by Israel. In Damaskus, a northern city district still bears their name.

In contrast to the situation in Turkey, Circassians still stand apart from the native population in the Arab countries. They are not too well liked by Arabs in Syria, since both the Turks and later the French occupation forces commissioned Circassians against the Arabs.

But the Syrian army of today has many Circassian officers; they are found even at the highest government level.

In Jordan, one can find Circassians in their own settlements, like at Wadi Sir or Djerash, at the famous ruins of Gerasa on the road from Damaskus to Amman.

Since the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, a considerable number of Circassians lives in the capital of Amman. Today, they have a right to two delegates in the Jordanian parliament.

The Circassian club at Amman held evening classes before the civil war and printed a series of Circassian books, amongst them the works of the author Shaban Kube, the talented poet of the Adygs who emigrated from the Soviet Union. Besides being published in Amman, his works were also printed in Syria and Lebanon, and before his emigration, they also appeared in the Soviet Union.

The courageous Circassian people will survive the Russian rule and contribute its fair share in establishing an independent North Caucasian Republic.

Ukrainian Herald Reveals New Facts

Issue No. 6 of **Ukrainskyi visnyk** (Ukrainian Herald) appeared in Ukraine in March 1972, after the KGB's crackdown on dissidents there for which the Belgian tourist Dobosh was used by the KGB for provocation. This issue confirms that the publishers of **Ukrainskyi visnyk** had tried even before the events of January 1972 to change the publication in such a way that, along with purely informative material, it would also feature broader analyses. Issue No. 5, the exact contents of which are unknown in the West (except for

some information published in the **Chronicle of Current Events** and in the Ukrainian weekly **Shlyakh Peremohy**, Munich, carried part one of Vyacheslav Chornovil's work "Shcho i yak obstoyuye Bohdan Stenchuk" (What Is Bohdan Stenchuk Defending and How?). The second and final part of this work appears in issue No. 6. But even the information section is different from the earlier issues because of its detail. Most of the information is accompanied by documents and dates.

Chornovil's Polemic with Stenchuk

During the hectic campaign against Kyiv literary critic Ivan Dzyuba's **Internationalism or Russification?**, a work entitled "Shcho i yak obstoyuye Ivan Dzyuba?" (What Is Ivan Dzyuba Defending and How?) appeared in Kyiv, signed by a mysterious author, Bohdan Stenchuk. Since this name is not known in Kyiv, rumor had it that a group from the Ukrainian branch of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, as well as some party and KGB officials, was using this pseudonym as a nom de plume. Furthermore, the work was designed primarily for distribution among Ukrainians abroad. The piece by Vyacheslav Chornovil, the famous author of the **Chornovil Papers**, is a reply to Bohdan Stenchuk. It is divided into 66 short chapters, each beginning with a quotation from Stenchuk's work. **Ukrainskyi visnyk** No. 5 carried 37 such chapters; issue No. 6 begins with Chapter 38.

The details about the extent of Russification in the Ukrainian schools are especially interesting. Stenchuk refers to a report by a Canadian CP delegation about its study trip to Ukraine, but he fails to mention various critical remarks by the Canadian Communists, instead quoting that part of the report which emphasizes the significant

role of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine. Chornovil humorously suggests that Stenchuk, "instead of traveling to Canada to find testimonials for the legitimate nationalities' policy in Ukraine, had better stroll through the streets of the larger cities in Ukraine, visit the institutions and find out this way what language people use to answer questions posed in Ukrainian." Chornovil relates various "measures" taken by certain circles during the Canadian delegation's trip to convince it of the "predominance of the Ukrainian language" in the republic. At one television factory, they decided shortly before the Canadian Communists' arrival to "solve" the "national problem." "The non-Ukrainian workers were ordered either to disappear or to shut up. The factory director Petrovsky astounded his companions when he began to speak in relatively good Ukrainian for the first time in years. In one village near Lviv, the people were ordered to repair the church wall before the arrival of the Canadian guests." These measures for the "immediate solution of the nationalities' problem" reached their culmination at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute. There, on orders from the director, all portraits of Russian writers were taken off the

wall and replaced by portraits of Ukrainian writers, among them two (!) portraits of Shevchenko. Of this Chornovil says: "Delegations should come to us more often to study the nationalities' problem; at least the church walls get fixed."

While Chornovil's replies to Stenchuk are a fount of information in the truest sense of the word, they also depict the political climate in which the Ukrainian intelligentsia has to live. One of the most significant documents which Chornovil quotes in his work is the report by the Minister for Higher and Secondary Education of the Ukrainian SSR, Dadenkov, at the conference of university rectors in August 1965. (3) This document confirms that even the Soviet Ukrainian party leadership, at the time with Shelest at the head, had tried to take measures to curb Russification in the universities, something that was not condoned by the Soviet Russian leadership.

Chornovil rebuts point by point Stenchuk's argument that there is no discrimination against Ukrainian language and culture. He describes the situation in which the schools teaching in Ukrainian find themselves and compares them with the schools teaching in Russian. The latter are housed in new buildings and equipped with the most modern educational facilities. This explains why parents might prefer Russian language schools for their children. Although the Russian schools in Ukraine amount to about 28% (much more than the proportion of Russians in Ukraine), the number of students in the Russian schools is much higher than in the Ukrainian. Thus all the larger cities must set up extra classes in the Russian schools.

At every opportunity, Chornovil tries to demonstrate, even by quotations from Lenin, that the Party's present cultural policy contradicts "Lenin's teaching." He also criticizes Stenchuk

for deliberately manipulating Lenin's quotations and proves that Lenin himself demanded that all workers employed in Ukraine acquire a command of the Ukrainian language.

Stenchuk criticized Dzyuba for wanting to reinstitute the border between Russia and Ukraine. He terms this "khutoryanstvo" (a "khutor" is a single farm), a sort of "rural provincialism" on a Ukrainian-wide scale. Chornovil replies.

The "closed borders" for which I. Dzyuba allegedly appeals were only a product of your dreadful fantasy; nothing of the sort can be found in Dzyuba. But let's assume for a moment that there is a "separate, independent Ukraine", a possibility that V. I. Lenin allows. If one can call it "khutor", what then should one call the "separate socialist countries" smaller than Ukraine, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia or Rumania? Or do you plan to resettle them in a large village?

If one can speak of "khutoryanstvo" that can be measured on the scale of Ukraine, one of the large European states, then maybe one can (by your logic) also speak of "khutoryanstvo" on the scale of the USSR, because our borders (with the socialist countries too) are very securely shut. (I can already foresee how you will shriek that I want to open the borders to the imperialist news agencies, to bourgeois ideology and the like. But the question is not that, it is your logic.)

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

**The Soviet Union
A Prison of Nations**

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

Reprint from **ABN Correspondence**
Nos. 5 & 6, 1972. — Price: 25 cents

Information on the Extent of Russification

Ukrainskyi visnyk No. 6 publishes two articles in which two anonymous authors give some details on conditions in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and in the publishing organs subordinate to it, as well as in the schools of Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital.

One concrete example shows what the consequences are and how uncompromisingly the officials act toward the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, even the technical intelligentsia, who try to defend the rights of the Ukrainian language in the institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. In one institute an engineer who specialized in radio technology was made head of a department for electrical components. He and his two mechanics performed their tasks successfully, and his achievements were praised at the highest level. At the end of the year, he received an order to put together an annual report on the activity of his department. Since he declined to write this report in Russian he was fired because of a "reduction in the plan targets". He also lost a case in the labor court, although his colleagues unanimously confirmed that his department was very effective and that the components built there were necessary for other enterprises. The engineer and his colleagues are unemployed; he can find no work anywhere in his trade, because he is considered a "stubborn nationalist".

A report on the situation in the schools in Kyiv contains some detailed statistical information. In the Lenin district, the central district of the capital, there are five Ukrainian schools with 1,360 school children and 11 Russian schools with 10,600 children. This article also supports the assertion, contained in Roy Medvedev's *A Book About Socialist Democracy*, that in order to save the last Ukrainian schools in Kyiv, they were turned into "English-Ukrainian" schools to make them more attractive

to Ukrainian parents. In the *Ukrainskyi visnyk* article mentioned above, all five schools were presented as "English-Ukrainian schools", with detailed information about the number of students, addresses and some remarks.

Also of interest are the details about schools in Kurenivka, a Kyiv suburb, which is settled exclusively by Ukrainians and where to this day, Ukrainian is the language spoken. There are five Ukrainian schools there with 5,000 students and five Russian schools with 4,945 students; of the latter, three are equipped quite modernly, with many laboratories, gymnasiums and cafeterias. All teachers in the Russian schools are experienced specialists; so it is small wonder that the Ukrainian schools are under increasing pressure from them. But, the situation within the Ukrainian schools is not very encouraging either. For example, in school No. 123 in Kurenivka, which is considered a Ukrainian-German school, except for drawing, handicrafts, sports and extra-curricular work, all classes are taught in Russian. The German teacher, Frau Derivan, has been working in this school for years now, but she has thus far refused to learn Ukrainian; the German classes are conducted in Russian. All announcements in the school, including notices and posters, are made in Russian. According to regulations, the teachers and students are supposed to speak Russian to one another.

Another report shows the status of the Ukrainian language in the pedagogical institute in the Crimea, which was founded in order to train teachers in the Ukrainian language and literature. One of the things reported about the conditions in this area has a macabre ring to it. The students, 50% of them Ukrainian, are not able, in their exams, to answer the most fundamental questions about the history of the Ukrainian CP, to say nothing of Ukrainian literature and language.

Documents on the Defense of Moroz

Pages 84-110 of *Ukrainskyi visnyk* No. 6 are devoted to various documents connected with the sentencing of Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz. A part of them is comprised of letters from Valentyn Moroz to various officials and his "last word" before the court is also included. There are also letters in Moroz's defense, among them from Ivan Dzuba, B. Antonenko-Davydovych, V. Chornovil, Mrs. Maria Kachmar-Savka and others.

The Party Settles Accounts with the "Homin" Choir

Ukrainskyi visnyk No. 6 published a very detailed report on the campaign of defamation conducted by party officials and Russian chauvinists against the Kyiv "Homin" choir.

What is it all about? A few years ago, the "ethnic ensemble 'Homin'" was formed. The founders wanted to cultivate Ukrainian songs, traditions and rites. For instance, they believed that Christmas carols are an integral part of Ukrainian musical culture. The initiators named Leopold Yashchenko, the well-known Ukrainian folklorist and art history candidate, as choir director. The choir gave no scheduled concerts in the usual sense, but appeared only where the atmosphere was compatible with their songs. The performances of the choir, especially in the countryside, were thus very successful. Various lay groups tried to use these songs in their programs.

Suddenly, the activity of the choir became "suspect" by the state security organs. Numerous choir members were interrogated and students among them were terrorized by the Komsomol and Party organizations. Rumors were spread, especially in Kyiv, that "Homin" was a "subversive organization". L. Yashchenko was the target of an especially ugly persecution campaign. The individual choir members actually began to be tailed in early 1970, when the singers were singing Ukrainian

Christmas carols publicly in the streets. This got worse after the jubilee celebrations on the 100th birthday of Lesya Ukrainka (1971), to which "Homin" also contributed. *Ukrainskyi visnyk* records these activities very precisely. It names 43 persons who either lost their jobs or were intimidated in individual interrogations by the KGB organs. The professions of these persons are interesting: teachers, colleagues of the institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, philologists, engineers, students, some blue-collar workers, office personnel and physicists, most of them Komsomol or Party members.

In September 1971, certain police officials decided to strike the final blow against "Homin". It was prohibited from practicing and performing in the "Kharchovyk" hall. The director of this hall, Mrs. Tarasova, explained: "We have a resident hall choir you can join; together we will sing Ukrainian songs, songs by Soviet-Ukrainian composers, songs from the Fatherland and of the party." Shortly thereafter, the presidium of the Composers' Union of the Ukrainian SSR held a meeting at which it was decided to expel Yashchenko. *Ukrainskyi visnyk* reports on the course of this meeting. Yashchenko was expelled from the union because he "did not react to the recommendations to change his repertoire" and spoke "demagogically" about the choir members being persecuted. He was also responsible for the fact that the choir members assembled on May 22 at the Shevchenko Monument in Kyiv and one of them read out a poem. Attempts to save the existence of the choir failed. Yashchenko's protests remain to no avail.

A new element in *Ukrainskyi visnyk* No. 6, is the reports against the sentencing of the wife of Karavanskyi, Nina Strokata, and her biography. At the end, there is a list of various arrests, house searches and other repressive measures.

The Canadian Government Replies

A letter of Mr. Mitchell Sharp, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, to Dr. P. A. Kondra, President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

January 19, 1973

Dear Dr. Kondra,

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

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,
Mitchell Sharp

US Senate Investigates Labor Camps of the USSR

Senator Gurney. What kind of prison sentences are they giving these dissidents today, do you know? What kind of prison sentences?

Mr. Shifrin. Sentences? These people have 7, 10, 15 years. They gave them full sentences. Now the biggest sentence is 15 years.

Oh, yes, I forgot to tell you a very interesting detail. In 1958 they made a brand new law in the USSR that the biggest sentence in the USSR would not be 25, but only 15 years. And all of the sentences of 25 years would be changed to 15-year sentences.

Senator Gurney. Was this for political crimes or all crimes?

Mr. Shifrin. Political crimes and all other crimes. The biggest sentence, 15 years.

Senator Gurney. Do they have death sentence any more?

Mr. Shifrin. Yes. They have sentences to the death. If you kill people, they would sentence you to death, and also for espionage, for diversion — for all of these crimes they give death. You remember that they give death sentence to Jews in 1970 in Leningrad trial. But they have 15 years as biggest sentence when they send to concentration camp. But what is interesting is that they, with this new law, must change sentences for all of the prisoners who were sentenced to 25 years to 15 years. But, I can tell you real names — Pirus, Zarytska, Horbovyi, Soroka, Azbel, and many others — who were sentenced to 25 years, and were in concentration camps up to 1972 and finished their 25 years without changing of sentence.

Senator Gurney. Why did they not change these?

Mr. Shifrin. Who knows? Many people sit with sentences of 25 years now. What to do? Communists do what they want. In USSR law is not for people, but people for law.

(Excerpts from Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, February 1-2, 1973.)

Genocide of the Ukrainian People

Artificial Famine in the Years 1931-1933

(conclusion)

As a result of forced collectivization and raging terror, privately owned agriculture was almost completely liquidated in the years 1930-1933. All land²⁴⁾ was confiscated from the Ukrainian peasants. All means of production were seized, as well as all cattle²⁵⁾ and the peasants were converted into the most pitiful slaves of the state.

As a consequence of artificial famine no less than 5 million Ukrainians were physically annihilated. Various students of the consequences of the famine and terror in Ukraine mention different figures concerning population losses.

Thus, for instance, Prof. V. Kubijovyc writes in the Ukrainian Encyclopedia that in the Ukr. SSR 2.5 million people perished as the result of famine, 1 million as the result of repressions, 2-3 million were deported, with the total losses of the Ukrainian population equalling 5-7 million.²⁶⁾

The majority of researchers believe that the number of those dying of famine was considerably larger.

S. Sosnovyi, in a well-argued work "The Truth about Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33", places the deficiency in the population of Ukraine between two censuses at 7.5 million.²⁷⁾

D. Solovey, a very serious and conscientious student of the Soviet occupation of Ukraine, is of the opinion that the losses of the Ukrainian population have reached 6 million people.²⁸⁾

N. S. Timoshov, a Russian emigrant, believes that about 3 million Ukrainians perished from famine alone.²⁹⁾

A Polish researcher, St. Skrzypek, argues that in the years 1932-1933, 2.5 million Ukrainians died of hunger while

1.2 million were exterminated as kulaks.³⁰⁾

W. H. Chamberlin and M. Prykhodko mention that 15% of Ukraine's population perished of famine; C. Manning places the losses as a consequence of starvation at 10% of the rural population.³¹⁾

S. Schwarz maintains that 7-8 million persons perished of famine in the USSR, but it is well known that a lion's share of the deceased of famine fell upon Ukraine.³²⁾

Yu. Horlis-Horskyi in his work "Ave dictator" maintains that at the end of 1932, 2.4 million persons were deported from Ukraine only to the north of the USSR, including women and children, at a time when all children deported from Ukraine who were less than 8-9 years old perished from hunger and cold.³³⁾

One of the prominent students of the changes in the composition of Ukraine's population under Soviet occupation, Prof. T. S., places population losses in Ukraine as a result of famine and terror at 10.3 million persons.³⁴⁾

Ukraine was on the verge of death. These were frightening times. The Soviet government banned all assistance to the hungry, swollen peasants who managed to reach the cities. The people became insane, committed suicide. There were instances of cannibalism. Nothing similar had ever occurred in the history of Ukraine. Indeed, had anything similar had ever occurred in history of mankind? ^{35) 36) 37) 38) 39)}

One should not hold the view that the Ukrainian peasants perished in silence, without resistance. From a scientific point of view, the struggle of our people in that period has not been ad-

equately expounded in Ukrainian emigre literature.

A considerable number of materials on this resistance is to be found in Soviet archives. Some of it penetrated to the pages of the Soviet press of the time and is even reflected in historical works and in Soviet propaganda literature and literary works. There are valuable literary works on this subject in emigre literature (T. Osmachka, D. Humenna and others).

It is understandable that in the Soviet press and literature this period is presented in a distorted light, from the point of view of Communist ideology. There, this period is elucidated from the standpoint of "victorious construction of socialism", "the liquidation of the kulak, as a class", "the struggle with hooliganism", etc. But even in that "literature" one can read what a ferocious and uncompromising struggle was then being waged by the Ukrainian nation, decimated and deprived of its leading stratum.

The first phase of this struggle had been resistance to collectivization, in particular a determined sabotage of all ordinances of the Soviet Russian government concerning the raising of productivity of agriculture and an increase in the rate of delivery to the state of food products and agricultural raw materials.

As a result of resistance by the Ukrainian peasants the area under cultivation decreased considerably, leading in turn to a catastrophic decrease in delivery of agricultural products to state store-houses. The USSR was threatened not only with a decrease or even complete depletion of food and other agricultural reserves which were being stockpiled for the event of war, but even with the problem of interrupted supplying of the cities with food products. The Ukrainian peasants cultivated only as much of the land area as was necessary in order to feed themselves and to sell agricultural products to the Ukrainian cities.

This was answered by the Russian colonial government with an intensification of collectivization and an introduction at the same time of drastic measures, including special taxes, confiscation of property, land, food reserves and even simple, undisguised terror.

Not only the so-called kulaks, but also prosperous and semi-prosperous farmsteads were burdened with contributions beyond their strength (the so-called "homestead plan"), and mass deportation of so-called kulaks and middle peasants to the north of Russia, to Kazakhstan, and Siberia was launched, accompanied by horrible terror and the extermination not only of the adults but also of children.

The intensification of collectivization and the Red Russian terror produced a whole series of overt opposition to the Soviet Russian occupation government in general and its local agents in particular.

This opposition can be classified as follows:

1. **Liquidation** of forcefully established Societies of Conscientious Cultivation of Land (SCCL) and kolkhozes only several days after their creation. The peasants took back to their own farms agricultural implements forcefully requisitioned from them for the kolkhozes, recovered their horses and cattle. In the beginning the entire population of a village or villages participated in these actions. Inasmuch as the organs of the Soviet Russian government retaliated for such actions with terror against the heads of households and adult males, arresting them and deporting them beyond the borders of Ukraine, later the liquidation of the Societies of Conscientious Cultivation of Land and kolkhozes was conducted primarily by women. Such female disturbances or so-called "women's rebellions" took place in all regions of Ukraine without exception and are described very often in both emigre and Soviet literature.

2. **Concealment of grain** and other agricultural products from government authorities and kolkhoz leadership into underground caches located on their farms, in orchards, gardens or in the fields and woods. The Soviet press and Soviet statistics reported in good time that in this manner hundreds of thousands of poods of grain and other agricultural products were hidden from the Soviet state purchasing organs. Thus, for instance, according to V. Holubnychyi, in 1930 out of the 23.1 million ton harvest Russia was able to requisition from Ukraine only 7.7 million tons of grain. In 1931 out of 18.3 million tons of grain 30-40% was lost at harvesting. In 1932 out of the harvest totalling 13.4 - 14.7 million tons, 40-50% was lost.⁴⁰⁾

Of course, not all of the above-mentioned millions of poods were hidden by the peasants. A great deal of grain perished in the fields, as a result of the above-mentioned sabotage of the Ukrainian people or as a consequence of unusually bad management which then prevailed in the kolkhozes.

3. **Mass slaughter** of large and small cattle to prevent it from being taken over by SCCLs and kolkhozes.

Thus, for instance, Ya. Shumelda in his work "From Marx to Malenkov" quotes the following figures, on the basis of information supplied by H. Schwarz: In July 1928 on the territory of the USSR there were 33.5 million horses, 70.5 million cattle, 26 million hogs, 146.7 million sheep and goats. In July 1934 there were only 15.6 million horses, 40.7 million cattle, 17.4 million hogs, 51.9 million sheep and goats.⁴¹⁾

4. **Damaging of agricultural implements**, burning of agricultural buildings and even houses. Holubnychyi mentions on the basis of Soviet sources that breaking of machinery was noticed in 9.6% of cases⁴²⁾, but in reality damage or destruction of agricultural equipment was widespread. Not only machinery, but steel and wooden

ploughs and even small implements were broken. In addition a great bulk of the implements perished in SCCLs and kolkhozes thanks to mismanagement.

Inasmuch as the pressure upon the Ukrainian peasants from the side of the organs of the Russian occupational government did not cease, but to the contrary, the Red terror was increased more and more, the Ukrainian population shifted to armed struggle with the occupant.

5. **Initially, these local armed clashes** with the agents of the Soviet Russian government had a non-organized or semi-organized character.

The Ukrainian peasants, revolutionaries (it is hard to call them anything else in view of the situation) began to introduce retaliatory acts of individual terror. In almost all Ukrainian villages representatives of the terroristic Soviet apparatus were killed, including members of district party committees, district executive committees, employees of the GPU (Political State Administration), militia, Communists and members of the Komsomol (Young Communist League) sent from Russia and the cities of Ukraine and activists of the local kolkhozes.⁴³⁾ According to official Soviet data, in 1931 alone attacks on activists were recorded in 44% of the kolkhozes⁴⁴⁾, but strictly speaking, there was not a village in Ukraine where instances of retaliatory terror were not recorded.

6. **When Soviet Russian terror** assumed mass character and the most brutal forms — deportation not only of individual families, but of entire villages, arrests and deportations not only of the "kulaks" and "semikulaks", but also of the poor — when whole families were evicted en masse from their homes in the wintertime, when all means of subsistence, including freshly baked bread and freshly cooked soup, were arbitrarily seized from the entire rural population, when mass star-

vation set in — organized uprising began.⁴⁵⁾

In the literature accessible to us, we find information about uprisings in the Haysyn district, in the town of Soborivka, in the villages near Kryzhopil, Zhashkiv, Bohuslav, Uman, in Rudchyn, in the Holovaniv and Pervomay posts near Tarashcha, in the Okhtyr and Trostyanets districts, in the Kharkiv region in Bohodukhiv, Velykopysariv, Baklaya districts, in the Dnipropetrovsk region and others. The author was an eye-witness of uprisings in the Odesa and Chernihiv regions.

According to Pidkova, "in many localities the authorities fled to large towns. The peasants began to take the kolkhozes apart. In some localities regular units of the Red Army, militia and GPU troops received orders to attack."⁴⁶⁾

Yu. Horlis-Horskyi reports about an uprising in the Kherson region in August 1930;⁴⁷⁾ I. Naddnipryanskyi — about the so-called East Podillya uprising in the spring of 1930⁴⁸⁾; D. Solovey — about an uprising in the Dnipropetrovsk region in 1930 and an uprising in the Poltava region in 1931 under the leadership of Tymofiy Karamzyn.⁴⁹⁾ Lev Orlyhora talks about a revolt in the Bohodukhiv area of the Kharkiv region in the spring of 1930.⁵⁰⁾

We have very interesting accounts about the large-scale uprisings of Ryabchenko in the Chernihiv region, of Ivan Kozlov in the Poltava region and of Volodymyr Bendyk in the Vinnytsya and Kyiv regions.

The insurrection under the leadership of Ryabchenko in the Chernihiv region in 1930 included the Horodnya, Synyavka and Tupichev districts. Ryabchenko with his closest associates, the Zub brothers, organized his headquarters in the so-called Hrymyachiv in a number of districts in the Chernihiv region.

Being aware of the fact that an uprising could develop successfully only

when he could attract military units of the Red Army to his side, Ryabchenko established contact with the 21st Chernihiv territorial regiment. The guerrillas planned to launch an attack on Chernihiv, free about 8,000 arrested peasants from the Chernihiv jails, win over to their side the 21st regiment, seize the weapon reserves of that regiment, arm the freed peasants and the peasants from the Chernihiv villages, disarm the militia, start military operations against smaller regular units of the Red Army, then carry the insurrection further, encompassing all of the Chernihiv region and then the entire Ukraine.

And in fact, at the beginning the rebellion unfolded rather successfully. Units of the 21st regiment which were sent to battle the insurgents went over to the side of the revolting people. Upon orders from Moscow, the most loyal army units were mobilized for the liquidation of the insurrection, in particular the Regiment School of the 21st regiment, but it also joined the insurgents.

The revolt spread further and further and finally assumed such proportions that Moscow was forced to deploy the so-called Moscow Proletarian Division to crush it. Under the pressure of the overwhelming forces of the adversary, the insurgents were forced to retreat into the famous Chernihiv swamps and peat-bogs of the natural boundary Zamhlay. Here they fortified their position and for about three weeks withstood the advance of regular troops.

But obviously, the struggle was uneven. The Zub brothers and many insurgents were killed in action; Ryabchenko was captured and later annihilated.

After the liquidation of the uprising, a retaliatory action was launched. It was characterized by merciless terror. Not only were the insurgents executed, but all those who looked suspicious. Thousands of peasants from these dis-

tricts were deported to concentration camps.⁵¹⁾

Of considerable importance was an uprising under the leadership of Ivan Kozlov, who initially organized an underground peasant organization which included several districts in the Poltava and Sumy region, and then started an insurrection which lasted for about two weeks. It was quelled only with the help of special GPU troops. As an act of reprisal, a series of villages of these districts was burned and the population deported to the North.

All the insurgents were executed by shooting. Kozlov, however, was spared and deported to Solovky. It is interesting to note that during the investigation Kozlov justified his actions by the teachings of Karl Marx. He maintained that Karl Marx said that it is better to die by the sword than to starve to death. Hence, he was defending the peasants for just the same: "One way or another, they would have had to die. So it is better to die in battle than as a starving slave."⁵²⁾

A large insurrection was organized by Volodymyr Bendyk, an elementary school teacher who, according to N. Pavlushkova, was a leading member of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.⁵³⁾

S. Pidhaynyi writes that Bendyk stood at the head of "a huge peasant insurrection of the year 1930, which spread from Kamyanyets-Podilskyi to Vinnytsya and Kyiv. Bendyk," writes Pidhaynyi, "enjoyed great authority among the peasants and was a staunch Ukrainian patriot". Critically ill, he appealed to all: "Love your Fatherland and never put down your arms." He said: "There has never been a nation which has won freedom without struggle and without victims."⁵⁴⁾

Naturally, uprisings in times like these were doomed to inevitable failure. At one end of the struggle there stood a large empire, armed to

the teeth, with a huge army, a grandiose government apparatus, a wide-reaching network of secret police (GPU-NKVD), a large party with its auxiliary organizations, and on the other end masses of Ukrainian peasants, without weapons, half-starving or totally hungry and exhausted. Only despair, the total hopelessness of the situation, and on the other hand, the unconquerable human spirit, the invincible spirit of the Ukrainian nation, could have aroused the masses to a desperate struggle.

These were horrible years.

These were the years which covered with eternal shame not only those who arranged the famine and terror — the Russian Communist Party under the leadership of Stalin — but also the heads of governments of Western Europe, North America and the intellectual elite of the whole world, who viewed these horrors in silence and even maintained, through the utterances of some of their representatives, as for instance Herriot, that there is no famine at all, that the USSR is the most progressive and the most humane country of the world.

Entire villages were dying out.

In the streets of Ukraine's cities, starving people died by the hundreds. "Black marias" transported Ukrainian intelligentsia from the cities every night, while trucks removed the corpses of those who starved to death.

In the streets, in offices, schools and universities, the radio was basting: "I do not know another country where a man breathes so freely."⁵⁵⁾

At meetings, in the press, in official announcements, "the happy life under the sun of the Stalinist constitution" was discussed and written about. Russian Communist terror, unconcealed raged over Ukraine. Ukraine was dying.

But it had not died. The people, brought down to its knees by the

sword of terror bent down but did not perish. The nation lost 7 million of its children. The birth-rate in Ukraine, in the past the highest in the world, dropped to a minimum.⁵⁰) Again, in fact, it has been prohibited to speak in the native language, and higher and special secondary schools have been Russified, but the nation lives and continues to fight. This is proved by the recent events in Ukraine.

Footnotes

24) By October 1, 1930, 98% of all land was incorporated into the kolkhozes.

25) By March 10, 1930, 70% of all cattle was taken to the kolkhozes. Later, all cattle was confiscated.

26) V. Kubijovyc. "The Movement of the Population." *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, Book I, Munich-New York 1949.

27) T. Sosnovyi. "The Truth about Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33" in *Ukrainski Visti*, No. 10-11 for 2-5 Feb. 1950. Neu Ulm.

28) D. Solovey. *Ukraine's Golgotha*, Winnipeg, 1953.

29) N. S. Timoshov. "Is Russia Doomed?" in *Noviy Zhurnal*, No. 17, 1947.

30) St. Skrzypek, *Przegląd Polski* (Polish Review), 7, 1948.

31) According to V. Markus, "Famine", *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, Book 2, Paris-New York, 1955-1957.

32) S. Schwarz. "The Demographic Face of Russia" in *Noviy Zhurnal*, No. 8, 1944.

33) Yu. Horlis-Horskyi. "Ave dictator", Ukrainian Publishers, Lviv, 1941.

34) Prof. T. S. "Changes in the Composition of the Population under the Soviets" in *Narodnya Volya*, No. 19-32, 1950.

35) D. Solovey. *Ukraine's Golgotha*, Winnipeg, 1953.

36) *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book*. Toronto, 1953.

37) H. Sova. *Famine in Ukraine*. 1933. Munich, 1948.

38) O. Kalynyk. *What Does Communism Bring with Itself*, Munich, 1954.

39) *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. I-II, Toronto, 1963-1971.

40) V. Holubnychyi, "Collectivization of Agriculture", *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, Book 3, Paris-New York, 1959.

41) Ya. Shumelda. *From Marx to Malenkov*, Paris, 1955. He refers to the work by H. Schwarz, *Russia. Soviet Economy*, New York, 1951.

42) The above-mentioned author, V. Holubnychyi, mentions in his work "Collectivization of Agriculture" that between 1928 and 1932 the number of large horned cattle as a whole decreased in the Ukr. SSR from 8.6 million head to 4.8 million.

V. Holubnychyi "Collectivization of Agriculture", *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, Book 3, Paris-New York, 1959.

43) According to V. Holubnychyi. The Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine at the time dispatched 74,500 party workers, primarily Russians. See above. In 1930 alone, 10,500 industrial workers and 19,400 workers and civil servants were diverted from the cities to the villages.

44) As above.

45) The following facts serve to illustrate how collectivization of agriculture was being effected:

The head of the government of the Ukr. SSR, Vlas Chubar, stated that collectivization was conducted in line with the principle, "Join the kolkhoz; if not — then off to Solovky."

M. Skrypnyk said in one of his speeches, "There is nothing left to take; everything has been swept away."

On January 30, 1933, the government of the USSR issued a decree on "The Consolidation of Kolkhozes", which permitted

confiscation of all property and deportation to Siberia of all peasants who refused to join the kolkhozes. All the above mentioned facts and classification of the forms of resistance of the Ukrainian peasants are also supported by the author's own observations and materials.

46) Stepan Pidkova. "To the History of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine." Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. Symposium. Vol. I, Munich, 1953.

47) Yu. Horlis-Horskyi. "Ave dictator", Ukrainian Publishers, Lviv, 1941.

48) I. Naddnipryanskyi. "East Podillya Uprising" in *Ukrainskyi Prometey*, No. 19, May 8, 1952.

49) D. Solovey. *Ukraine's Golgotha*, Winnipeg, 1953.

50) Lev Orlyhora. **For the Judgement of History**, "Nova Epokha" Publishers, 1946.

51) V. Skuybida. "In Memory of the Unknown. Ryabchenko and the Revolt of the 21st Regiment." *Nedilya*, No. 13, 1951. Also, the author's own recollections.

52) S. Pidhaynyi. **Ukrainian Intelligentsia at Solovky. Reminiscences 1933-1941.** "Prometey" Publishers, 1947.

53) Nataliya Pavlushkova. **Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and Association of the Ukrainian Youth.** SVU-SUM. Symposium No. 2. New York-Munich, 1964.

54) S. Pidhaynyi. **Ukrainian Intelligentsia at Solovky. Reminiscences 1933-1941.** "Prometey" Publishers, 1947.

55) This was a song of the lowest form of servile flattery which resounded (under compulsion of course) throughout the USSR. The music for it was composed by Isak Osypovych Dunayevskyi.

56) In 1966 the birth-rate in Ukraine — 15.6 per thousand inhabitants — was lower than in the USSR as a whole (19.6) and lower than that of the USA (21.2), Holland (20.7) and other European countries.

The natural population growth fell catastrophically in Ukraine. For instance, in

the Poltava region it equalled 5.6 (the average for the USSR being 12.7).

See V. Plyushch, "The Present State of Health Protection in Ukraine", *Likarskyi Visnyk*, No. 1-2 (52-52) for 1969, New York-Chicago.

*

In the translation from Ukrainian into English of the first part of Prof. Dr. Plyushch's work, the following errors appeared (see ABN Correspondence No. 2, March-April):

1) From the words "A swift ushering... in active resistance to collectivization" on page 23, the text is to continue from page 25 from the words "How mercilessly..." to "The question... stiff resistance". The text is then to continue from page 23 with the words "The November plenum..." to the words "Were this trend to continue, not a trace of the kolkhozes would have remained in Ukraine" ((page 24). From here on, the work is to continue from the words "But after a short while" (page 26) to the end.

2) On page 24, second column, last paragraph, ten lines from the bottom, there should appear the following:

"In 1920, Russia increased requisitioning plans in Ukraine by 115% in comparison with 1926-1927..."

3) On page 26, second column, line 20 from the bottom, there should appear the following:

"The peasants ate all the cattle which still remained here and there, as well as all pigs, goats, chickens, and even dogs, cats and crows."

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Religious Persecution in Albania Protested

On Sunday, April 1, 1973, the Albanian-American Community of New York, comprising all three religious denominations of Albania, i. e. Moslem, Catholic and Orthodox, with total solidarity staged a protest demonstration in front of the United Nations Building and an-

other in front of the Albanian Delegation to the UN on W. 87th Street. Both demonstrations were very successful.

The Free Albania Committee, USA, sent a Pro Memoria on this occasion to the Human Rights Commission, the full text of which is published below.

According to reliable information from Albanian refugees who live in Yugoslavia along the Albanian borders and an AP dispatch from Vienna, Austria, which was published in the N. Y. Times, March 29, 1973, the Albanian Stalinist regime has committed another monstrous crime against a Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Shtjefen Kurti who has been executed for secretly baptizing a child on request of his mother. Rev. Kurti and other priests and many of the faithful of Roman Catholic Church, the Albanian Orthodox Church and the Moslem faith, have been interned into camps since the end of 1967, when Albania was officially declared the "first atheist state in the world."

In February 1968, the Free Albania Committee, has in vain appealed to the UN Secretary General and the UN Commission on Human Rights on matters of severe religious persecutions in the so-called People's Republic of Albania, which actually brought about the total abolishment of religious faith in Albania.

In these appeals it was among others stressed that the Tirana regime had broken all State-Church legal relations with the Roman Catholic and the Albanian Orthodox Churches and with Moslemism and the Moslem Baktashi Sect. This unique legal act contained in the decree N. 4337, and published in the Official Gazette of November 22, 1967, in Tirana, actually delivered the final coup de grace to the religious institutions and public religious services in Albania. This final action was preceded by the most inhuman persecution campaign intended to destroy the religious faith of the Albanian people, in the past two decades. During that time some 200 members of Moslem, the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox clergy, among them the entire leadership of the three Churches, have been executed, murdered without trial or sent to forced labor camps, where most of them have perished. The Albanian population of over 2,000,000 is composed of some 10% Roman Catholics, 20% Albanian Orthodox and 70% Moslems.

It is rightly supposed that one of the main obligations of the United Nations Organization is to defend human rights wherever they are threatened. The customary allegation of interfering illegally in domestic affairs of UN member states should however not hinder the United Nations to ask the Tirana regime for clarification on religious persecution in Albania and further oblige it to comply fully with the provisions contained in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of which the PR of Albania is a signatory.

To condemn publicly and take strong economic, cultural, etc., measures against some UN member states for their racist, colonial or civil rights attitude toward parts of their own citizens, and at the same time, to ignore totally proven and documented severe violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Albania, is flagrantly contrary to the spirit, the moral and legal obligations of the United Nations Organization.

The Free Albania Committee, representing in the free world the inalienable rights for freedom and civil liberties of the silenced Albanian people, once more requests you, Sir, to make use of your great authority as UN Secretary General, and to speak out against gross violations of human rights by the regime of Albania against the Albanian people.

Vasil Germenji, The Free Albania Committee

Final Communique of the WYACL Executive Board Meeting

Being about to convene our Fifth World Conference in the city of London, from August 27-28 of this year, the members of the Executive Board of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL), with the representatives of Alpha 66, Brazil, China, Spain, United States, Guatemala, Italy, Mexico and Ukraine have gathered in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, in order to discuss and elaborate the action programs of our League for future years. After working for two days, we successfully achieved the reconstruction of the General Secretariat of the League, and the designation of our friend, the Mexican Javier Aguilar, as Secretary General, who will be in charge of this permanent body of WYACL.

It is of great significance that the World Youth Anti-Communist League, having realized its Fourth World Conference in Mexico in August 1972, meets again in this country in order to hold the first regular session this year of its Executive Board. This session is a symbol of the desire of the young Latin American countries to be anti-Communist, of their desire to be free, and of the wide union they have with the rest of the countries of the world in the fight against dictatorship and the injustices of Communism.

After interchanging impressions and points of view about the present situation of the world, the members of Executive Board of WYACL made a critical examination of the fighting perspectives of world youth anti-Communists, and in view of the situation at this particular time, we decided that the theme of the 5th Conference would be: "Freedom through Action". It is in this sense that we make a call to all the young patriots of the world in order to fight for building and preservation of the dignity and liberty of their countries, and help in this way to maintain the hope of liberty of the people that actually suffer the slavery of Communism. WYACL, also calls the attention of the free world to the criminal campaign of drug addiction and the lowering of morals that now makes the youth victims of Marxist Communism.

With great concern the members of the Executive Board of WYACL have seen the signature of the bilateral agreement between Nixon and Castro against hijacking in which the United States made the commitment to stop all types of actions which the patriotic Cuban exiles intend to carry out against the criminal dictatorship of Fidel Castro, not only inside the American territory, but "from any other place", in a clear and open violation of the national sovereignty of other Latin American countries. In this way, the USA government not only supports Fidel Castro in Cuba and in the United States, but also closes all possibility to the patriotic forces of the exiled Cubans in other countries to end tyrannic Communism and gain liberty for the millions of their compatriots that actually suffer the slavery, forced labour and sacrificial extermination on the island of Cuba.

We also want to take this occasion to energetically denounce the secret treaties Fidel Castro is actually making with the nefarious American diplomat, Henry Kissinger, which are designed to take Fidel Castro to the Organization of American States (OAS), as a legitimate representative of the enslaved people of Cuba, and to end the economic and diplomatic blockade of Communist Cuba. He can in this way continue with his destructive work of exporting Communist subversive war to the rest of the Latin American countries without any fight or protest.

The young people of the world affiliated with WYACL have been witnesses of the cynic parody of pacification imposed on the free people of South Vietnam, through the covert diplomatic arrangements of Henry Kissinger, with their hidden desires of trying to establish the peace arrangements imposed on the heroic President

Nguyen Van Thieu, only to make the delivery of all the peoples of Indochina into the hands of Communism. And far from obtaining an effective peace in Vietnam, the Communists of Hanoi still maintain 140,000 soldiers on South Vietnamese territory, and the cease-fire has become an infamous farce, not respected by any Communist. We are against the extension of this kind of peace throughout Asia and all other continents.

The Executive Board of WYACL sharply denounces and protests against mass imprisonment and harsh sentences given to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated by the Soviet Russians in the USSR and the satellite states, in particular in Ukraine.

The WYACL Executive Board supports the reinforcement and expansion of NATO, and opposes the so-called European Security Conference, which is desired by Moscow in order to destroy NATO, reinforce the status quo of its present conquest and open the road to further expansion of Communist imperialism in the still free part of Europe and the world.

A precondition to security is the withdrawal of Russian occupation troops from the countries subjugated within the USSR and the satellites and the re-establishment of their national states. Without the realization of the concept of national independence of the subjugated nations and the dissolution of the Russian empire — the USSR — there is no real freedom or lasting peace in the world.

Members of this Board who represent freedom-loving youth from every continent of the world take special notice of the fact that millions of innocent Chinese youths are still being enslaved by the Peking regime with which the Nixon administration has been dealing for political expediency. The mass exodus of Chinese youths from the Mao regime every day into Hongkong and other places on the Chinese border testifies to the fact that freedom can only be won through action!

The Establishment of the WYACL Permanent Secretariat in Mexico

The Executive Board of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL), held its first ordinary meeting of this year on April 2, 3 and 4, in Guadalajara, Jal., Mexico, with the attendance of representatives of Alpha 66 from Cuba, of the Confederation of Cultural Centers of the Youth from Brazil, of the WYACL Chapter from the Republic of China, of the Spanish Anti-Communist Front, of the USA WYACL Chapter, of the Youth Movement of National Liberation from Guatemala, of the Anti-Communist Alliance from Italy, of Mexican Student Force and of the WYACL Ukraine Chapter.

As a result of its deliberations, the Executive Board agreed on the estab-

lishment of the Permanent Secretariat of WYACL with its seat in Guadalajara, Jal., Mexico, under the sponsorship of the Mexican Student Force (FEM), the Mexican Chapter of WYACL. To this effect, the Executive Board discussed and approved the Rules of the WYACL Permanent Secretariat and reappointed Mr. Javier Aguilar, member of the Mexican WYACL Chapter, as the new Secretary General of the League, given the notorious inactivity which prevailed in the General Secretariat since the Fourth Conference of the League and in view of the fact that all attending members of the Executive Board considered it very urgent to formalize and intensify the work and activities of our Organization.

Moscow Is Getting Aggressive

During the last weeks the Kremlin has been displaying its heaviest arms in order to show the world what it means by détente and cooperation. Yury Zhukov, *Pravda's* brilliant commentator, and Mikhail Suslov, the ideological inquisitor of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, scorned all those who were dreaming or even dared talking about freedom of movement between West and East for people and ideas and sneered at them. Both absolutely rejected any alternative of community life within state and society as had been done previously by Brezhnev, Kosygin, Khrushchev, Stalin and Lenin. This delimitation precisely corresponds to the conceptions of historical materialism according to which only Communism teaches the truth. Thus the path from the primitive community to Communism is and remains the inavoidable destiny of world history.

Although banishing any other teaching from its sphere of power the Kremlin in no way abstains from spreading its own views or at least from interfering with the affairs of other states. Adhering to its final objective, i. e. rule of Communism in the whole world, the Kremlin promotes everything that might contribute hereto. In their dialectics the Soviet leaders take it for granted that other ideas must be warded off whereas their own ideas are to be propagated in foreign countries.

From the following selection of examples — taken from all over the world, but being by no means complete — it becomes evident how freely and easily Moscow nowadays manages to interfere with everything and everywhere.

On January 13, 1973, for instance, *Pravda* was censuring Japan for its military expenditures. On January 11, *Pravda* interfered with Rhodesia's affairs. On January 14, Grigorev, *Pravda's* correspondent, commented on the

NATO manoeuvres in the Federal Republic of Germany as follows:

"Many representatives of the European public in the Federal Republic as well as outside of it are asking what those manoeuvres organized in such a boosting manner mean. Really, the great military action recently carried out by NATO clearly demonstrates that this organization continues its activity against the interests of a European détente."

On January 17, *Pravda* attacked Greece when commenting on the purchase of Phantom-fighters by the Athens government as follows:

"It seems that the international development towards a reduction of tensions in Europe should make Greece reduce its military expenditures instead of increasing them. This might relieve millions of Greek citizens of their burden of taxes. However, Greek budget makers are apparently interested in the first place in complying with their NATO obligations and thus being able to strengthen their own position with foreign aid."

Then on January 18, in its commentary *Pravda* blamed the Portuguese government for misleading the international public. In his report on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR, Party Chief Brezhnev referred to the Soviet Union's interference in domestic affairs of other countries in connection with the underdeveloped countries:

"We know quite well that in many underdeveloped countries progressive forces are fighting against the internal reactionary forces supported by the imperialists and that a particular object of this struggle is the development of relations with international Socialism. Past and present experiences show that socio-political oppositions in any state may bring about all kinds of revolutions. We realize this, but the patriots of former colonies and semicolo-

nics having passed through the political school of a national revolution for liberation know from their experience that friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states render the struggle against imperialism successful and the liberated states fully independent."

Such a mixture of threat and flattery is certainly quite clear . . .

In Europe Great Britain remains the favourite object of Soviet intervention. We are not referring to the recurring suspicion concerning the shady role the Kremlin is playing in the Irish tragedy. For months the Soviet press has been painting the situation in Great Britain in the darkest colours. The Conservatives alone are supposed to be responsible for Britain's economic difficulties. If such reports were considered true, Great Britain would be more closely tied to the United States than for instance Czecho-Slovakia to the Soviet Union. The following example shows what kind of arguments are used in the anti-Great Britain campaign: On January 15, **Pravda** reported under a title hardly to be overlooked, i. e. "Bombs from England", that Americans used bombs from US bases in England for bombarding North Vietnam since the American industry was not able to meet as quickly as necessary the suddenly growing demand. What **Pravda** is really aiming at may be taken from the commentary following the report, that reads as follows:

"It is quite possible that the Government of London will pretend that it is not involved in the delivery of bombs. Under such circumstances, however, the question will rise how far the guests from overseas may go with their disrespect for the sovereignty of the host state. Anyway, who knows what else the American Army might undertake in drawing its allies into armed adventures of the Pentagon?"

Pravda frankly threatens:

"Today the question whether London will blindly follow the policy of the

United States is becoming a clear-cut and burning problem."

Moreover, Moscow always refers to Great Britain in connection with the European Common Market. It is known that Moscow tried everything to hamper the European Economic Community in its activity. On January 19, a **Pravda** commentary under the title "New Variant" among other things:

"Observers of many newspapers perceive in his (the English Minister's of Foreign Affairs) arguments a request to provide the Committee of the EEC not only with economic but also with political powers. However, it is well known that many states, in particular France, are opposed to this."

It is not enough to stir up national jealousies. Great Britain is defamed and simultaneously economic difficulties are prophesied for the European Economic Community as a whole: "The English currency being in a bad state, the work of the Ministers of Finance was checked from the beginning". Finally, the EEC as a whole is defamed and misrepresented as the result of a gigantic attempt at exploitation made by monopolist capitalist circles of the "Nine". "They wanted to solve their problems at the cost of the workers in the EEC and of the respective competitors." Unmistakably **Pravda** continues:

"Such contradictions cannot be resolved. Nor can they be overcome by any capitalist integration. In the enlarged EEC they have just become sharper and more profound."

The above examples of intervention certainly tell their own tale, but they illustrate only one side of Soviet Russian tactics. In the long run the network of Communist parties spread over the whole world is probably more essential. Remote control of these parties by Russia, "Mother of the World Revolution", towards her prime object, i. e. one Communist world, remains one of the most essential realities. (W. R.)

(Ost und West, February 6, 1973)

The Situation of Political Prisoners in Cuba

Under the present regime, terror has been institutionalized in Cuba, and practices against political prisoners have the characteristics of ideological genocide, maintained by Cuban authorities against men and women who oppose the Communist ideology and are convicted at biased and illegitimate trials by fanatic and illiterate revolutionary courts followed by mistreatment and abuses, with absolute disrespect for their civil and political rights, enduring the "most cruel, inhumane and degrading" imprisonment system that America has ever known. **This imprisonment includes 44 Cuban journalists.**

The physical and mental tortures, the vexations to men and women, and the imposition of arbitrary measures have been intensified. Some examples follow:

(1) José Oriol Acosta-García was shot in the head at Manacas Security Center No. 4, Las Villas Province.

(2) Student leader Pedro Luis Boitel, died following a hunger strike on May 25, 1972, at the Castillo del Principe Prison, Havana Province, without having been granted medical assistance. He served his 10-year sentence, but 24 months later, he had not yet been released. His critical condition was cabled **eleven days** before his death by Dr. Medrano to President Nixon, the International Red Cross (Geneva and New York offices), the Organization of American States and UN Commissions on Human Rights. No action was taken.

(3) Adalberto Misa — López, Esteban Ramos and Ibrahim Torres died at the walled-in Boniato Prison, Oriente Province, without medical assistance. For two years they remained in their walled-in, 5' x 10' cell without ever coming out. Their bodies were found because of the stench. Deaths set in in early February 1972.

(4) In September 1972, the prisoners at the Guanajay Prison, Pinar del Río

Province, were brutally beaten with chains, rods and bayonets for refusing to appear naked for headcount and search before visits. Among the over-one-hundred wounded were: Alfredo Mustelier, skull fracture; Miguel Cantón, four broken ribs; César Necolardes, left arm and rib fractures; Osvaldo Fernández-Izquierdo, head wounds and broken left foot; Gustavo Arnés, Antonio Berto Soto, Ramón Cuto (or Cueto), and Jesús Rodríguez-Mosquera, severe bodily injuries, fractures and face cuts; Juan José Reboledo, severe head blow, followed by frequent blackouts, present condition unknown.

Since January 1972, the new system of conviction extension is enforced. Prisoners who have refused to accept Communist indoctrination, hard labor, or staged a hunger strike, or talked back to a guard, are not set free upon serving their sentences. They are called before the director of the prison and a "kangaroo tribunal" re-sentences them to new convictions of two or more years. Among the many victims of these arbitrary, abusive and anti-judicial measures are: Reynaldo Cordero-Izquierdo, Perdo Baquet, Vidal Arocha-Cubillas, and Amado González, of the Pinar del Río Prison; Federico Rodríguez, Lázaro Hesta, Bolo Capote, of Guanajay Prison; Evaristo Sardinas-Cruz, Baudilo Hechevarria-Yánes, Alfonso Loo-Sú, Luis de los Santos-Naranjo of the Matanzas' San Severino Prison; Carlos Más-Guerra, Juan Cruz-González; Reynaldo Aquit, Eduardo Cuencio, Blas Camacho, César Ja, José Luis Márquez, Nerin Sánchez, Heriberto Trujillo-Montes, of the Las Villas Prison.

Lately, all the circumstances related to this background exposition have worsened. Repression is stronger, physical and mental tortures are more intense and frequent. The walled-in dungeons of Boniato have extended to

other prisons throughout the island, like Morón. Solitary confinements at San Severino are more prolonged and the lack of medical attention, cancellation of visits and mail, searches, etc. have multiplied at El Principe, La Cabaña, and the Manacas, Melena, and "5-and-a-half" concentration camps.

These conditions are leading the political prisoners in Cuba (aliens included) to despair, as stated in the last paragraph of a very recent letter:

"This imprisonment, dear brothers, is now old, very old. The men, as well as the women, have left in it the best of their lives — and we assure you, we assure the world, that when the régime corners us like savage beasts, like savage beasts we will react. We know it is very difficult to halt the claws that clutch us, but if our death cannot stop those criminal hands, at least it will serve to show the world that anything is better than Communism. We will immolate ourselves if we must, as our brothers Pedro Luis Boitel, Carmelo Cuadra, Roberto López-Chávez, and many others immolated themselves before us and chose to eat their own flesh

in terrible hunger strikes rather than expose it to the fierce thrusts of the criminal bayonets. Either the government sets us free and stops torturing us or we will be martyrs of this imprisonment. And this is hereby denounced, so that it be known that the responsible ones for whatever happens are Communism and the friendly countries which have abandoned us and do not even raise a hand to procure our salvation.

"We have paid a rather high price for the crime of loving our homeland!"

And in a denouncement dated January 1973, we learn the following:

"Note: We have just learned that our companions Enrique García-Cuevas, Raúl Ledón-Pérez, and Mario Pacheco went on a hunger strike on October 31 at Manacas and are on the verge of death. For 75 days they have refused to take any food and every few days they are forcibly fed intravenously by the government, to prolong their suffering. These are the kindnesses boasted by Marxism-Leninism. Valid."

PROTESTING NOBEL PRIZE FOR TITO

Telegram

The undersigned request the Storting urgently to investigate the award of the Nobel Prize upon Tito, leader of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. He stands condemned for having ordered the brutal killing of tens of thousands of Croats and Germans, including innocent women and children in Yugoslavia between 1944 and 1950.

It is impossible to reconcile such deeds with the aims, authority and dignity of the Nobel Prize.

Documentary evidence follows.

Yaroslav Stetsko, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

Suzanne Labin, Chairman, International Conference on
Political Warfare, France

Lady Jane Birdwood, British League for European Freedom

Prof. Dr. F. Peeters, University of Gent, Belgium

Open Letter to Mr. Louis Heren, Foreign Editor, The Times, London

Dear Mr. Louis Heren,

I refer to your article "Russia reaps the harvest of Marxist mistakes" in The Times, of 5.12.72. You stated "What the Russians do to themselves is their own affair... but..." I intend to dwell at first just over this small "but". You are absolutely right when you say that "what they do to themselves" starts already bitter repercussions elsewhere. Not to care "what they do" was the principle of the whole free world till the present. But ironically, there was very little "doing to themselves", but mostly and primarily a great deal of "doing to others". Two thirds of the 246 million population of the present Soviet Union irrespective of all manipulations of the statistics, are, equally as in the past, the non-Russian peoples. They were tragically left by the West to the deliberate manipulations of the Russian imperialists. But — after the last war another hundred million non-Russians in the satellite states were thrown to the Russian imperialists by the grace of President Roosevelt & Co. If to this number were added all the Koreans, the Vietnamese, etc. there would be even more millions cynically left to them. Pity that Roosevelt & Co. did not grant to Moscow West Germany, Austria and Italy too. He would have been more in accord with Trotsky. But probably there were considerations that peacemeal digestion of Europe by Russia is more becoming than in bulk, as Trotsky wanted it as well as Lenin. But the idea is very much alive. School children in the empire get adequately familiarized with and conditioned for such prospects. I happened personally to have heard the sweet dreamy talks of Leningrad teenagers during the last war. But since then the education has certainly "progressed" much more with all the "discoveries" and "corrections" of history, etc.

But, Sir, you are writing about "Marxist mistakes". Do you really believe that both gangs — that of Lenin and that of Trotsky, were each infatuated with the utopia of "COMMUNISM"? If you read Lenins emulations you discover, what is common notion and evident to anybody who is educated, but preserving a clear mind, in the Soviet Union, namely that both Lenin and Trotsky with their respective followings were only cunningly USING Marxism for the realization of their imperialist dreams. The Kremlin leaders definitely continue to make perfect USE of the totally militaristic and enslaving system which can be read into the teachings of Marx. But they certainly are all but utopian humanitarian dreamers or only socially-minded believers in this system. They are only and primarily power lust obsessed Russian imperialists equally as all the Vasilis, Ivans, Peters, Catherines, etc. were in the past, elevated and supported by such traditional camarillas or pretorians.

Collectivization of the Russian type was exclusively dictated and enforced as a radical means to complete enslavement of the vast imperial rural population. The reckless brutal enforcement, with deliberate killing by government-organized famine and terror of over 7 million peasants was realized in Ukraine alone. Agriculture everywhere remains neglected. But this was and is deliberate. The bulk of all resources were and still are allocated to industry not because of ignorance, lack of experts, or the nonsense, so often repeated by Western writers — because of "fear" and therefore defence requirements only and primarily for **aggressive** war preparations. For all other purposes — all consumption requirements — there is left only so much as to keep the slaves working.

Agriculture and the whole economy is greatly hampered by the excessive centralism and bureaucracy. But this again is not because of stupidity or "Marxist dogmatism", but deliberately perpetrated so as not to relax the grip of the metropolis on the colonies to any extent. Management is primarily selected and geared to security and not to economy. The common man replies in self-defence in kind, by go slow and indifference. I certainly do not intend to defend collective farming or any other principle of Marxism. I want only to stress that the whole evil bedevilling this empire is the Russian traditional imperialism permanently and persistently preparing realization of the world domination dream, pervading a great part of this nation. This causes immense losses and sufferings to all the colonial peoples and also torments the Russians themselves. This is the only reason for the traditional "samoderzhaviye", the excessive centralism, socialization, militarism and most brutal police state, without any concern of any real needs of the population.

Even providing for the sad fact that a great part of Western brains remain dimmed by the blare of the former highlights of Tsarist Russia, another part by the "progressiveness" of Red Russia and finally a part inured by the illogical expectation that Russia may be an ally against expansionist China, the blindness of the West to the fact that the Soviet Union is an aggressive colonial empire appears pathognomic. There were ample chances to gain a clear view of the panorama when the Baltic states were re-enslaved, when Hungary, pleading for help, was crushed by the Red tanks, similarly when this happened to Czecho-Slovakia, not to mention Poland, East Germany and all that happened during and soon after the "Great" Revolution.

If not for the dictation of the Russian imperialism, you may be assured that all the peoples of the 14 or so

"Union" republics would have sorted out long ago what may be of use and what is sheer rubbish in the so-called "Marxism". Being free, they certainly would have cancelled the nonsense on their economy, ideologies, attitudes etc. There certainly would have died any memory of the utopian nonsense of "COMMUNISM", based on the principle "to work according to capacity and to get according to need".

Soaring bread prices are only the first (is it really so?) blessing bestowed over the world by the Russians. Soon, there will come much better flowers and fruits to harvest for the West. May the Muscovite "peace" policy only succeed. May the money greedy Western big capitalists and the governments subordinated to them enjoy more liberal trade with Moscow just to help it speedily and adequately modernize and balance its economy. Then you will get the chance to feel, not only to see, all the blessings radiating from it. Remember, Sir, the banner of Moscow is explicitly of BLOOD RED colour. The sickle on it reads: "We harvest other people's crops", and the hammer: "What we cannot grip, we smash".

You are very right, Sir, that presently the Soviet Union is a superpower equalled only by the USA and both have to cooperate. It is also definitely true that the USSR has to cooperate too. It will use all advantages of the relaxation which will be forthcoming only from the West. But it will ceaselessly and not less persistently prepare its plans and means for their realization. With respect to the competitive imperialist attitude of China peaceful embracement of Europe is much more appealing than any risk of uncertain war. Once involvement of Japan against China failed, at least partial penetration and integration of Europe into the Russian sphere of influence is a realistic stand. No real improvement in the east of Europe can be expected till this last monster empire is disintegrated into its natural components, the particular

"Union" republics, so that each may get the chance voluntarily to decide whether to join existing politico-economic complexes in formation, to form new complexes with the neighbours, or to remain independent units.

Before the First World War there was so much nonsense spoken and written about "Balkanization". Well, the Balkans certainly needed much reshuffling. There are presently new states in the world, of peoples who actually never created any statehood. And — they are not just fighting one another. Why then promote crazy notions that the eventually freed colonial dependencies of Moscow would become involved in warfare among themselves? All the peoples of all the "Union" republics have ancient traditions of their own statehood, such as Georgia, which is much more ancient than the whole of Europe. Is it not high time that Western politicians, writers, journalists and experts started to care about bringing their own brains into adequate order?

I believe the West, especially the Anglo-Saxons, ought to worry less about the fighting among eventually freed colonials of Moscow. Ireland was not long ago a sheer "Balkan", Belfast is it at present, and Montreal is seething.

Presently a new Vienna Congress is getting into gear. Or is it a Tilsit? Let us hope its arrangements will be as short lived as were the former's. The colonial peoples of Moscow, including the satellites, are not begging the West for blood sacrifices for their liberation. But they have the right to demand that the Western cynicism be restrained at the conferences. May the Western leaders be enlightened by true understanding of the realities in the East and not be guided by the temporary greed of profitable businesses from the blood of the Russian slaves and not less from these of their own countries.

London, 6th December 1972

Roman Mohyljnyckyj, M. D.

NOTICE

We hereby bring to your attention that Mr. **Yaroslav Shevchuk** is the Chief Representative of the Financial Department of the Central Committee of ABN in the U.S.A.

Mr. Ya. Shevchuk is authorized to collect debts owed to ABN. We, therefore, kindly request your cooperation in this respect.

Also, books published by ABN and ABN emblems may be obtained from Mr. Shevchuk.

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News and Views

Ukrainian Church to Become the Victim of the Dialogue Between Moscow and the Vatican?

K. — What had been forbidden to the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop-Major of Lviv, Cardinal Josyf Slipyi, 81, Rome, by the Vatican, has now been done by approximately 35,000 Ukrainians (according to the Papal Yearbook 1973 there are 22,850 Ukrainian Catholic Christians united with Rome in Australia) at the Eucharistic World Congress in Melbourne: even though not publicly — as had been feared in Rome that Slipyi would do — but in a letter to the Pope they demanded a patriarchate for their Archbishop-Major. At the same time, the letter contained the accusation that the present policy of the Vatican was leading towards the "extermination" of the Ukrainian Church; that it had become the victim of the dialogue between the Vatican and Moscow.

By granting the requested patriarchate, Slipyi would be vested with special rights which would permit him, among other things, to nominate bishops and to return to the old tradition which permits a married clergy.

(*Volksbote* — 16. 3. 73)

March 12, 1973

Dear General Naumenko:

Mrs. Nixon and I were delighted to learn that you recently celebrated your ninetieth birthday.

We know this must have been a day filled with congratulations from your family and friends, and we want to add our own warm good wishes that peace, joy, and contentment will always be yours.

Sincerely,
Richard Nixon

Repression Intensified

The Soviet military build-up in the countries of the Warsaw Pact has been accompanied by a stepped-up repression of dissidents within the USSR and Eastern Europe. Under Brezhnev's policy of re-Stalinization, dissidents are being sent to jails, insane asylums, and labor camps. Communist Party control over all institutions is being tightened.

The intensification of repression is a consequence of the mood of detente which encourages liberal dissident elements within Communist countries as it reduces international tension. The Communist leaders thus have little stake in seeking detente as an end in itself, but they fear that their own population may interpret the relaxation of external tension as a harbinger of similar liberalization internally.

In order to repress any thought or movement for liberalization, Soviet Russian authorities ruthlessly persecute all dissidents. The underground magazine of the Soviet Union, **Chronicle of Current Events**, has published many case histories of Soviet citizens confined in psychiatric hospitals because of their political or religious beliefs. The use of such "hospitals" gives Soviet authorities the chance of keeping non-conformists imprisoned for life.

There is real danger that if the present political trends continue, Western Europe will fall increasingly under Russian domination. It could in time be forced to recognize the superiority of Russian power, accommodate to wishes, sever its alliance with America, and ultimately become part of the Russian sphere of influence.

Bards of Byelorussian Literature

An exhibition celebrating the achievements of the famed Byelorussian writers, Janka Kupala and Jakub Kolas,

was on display at The New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, during March and April.

"Bards of Byelorussian Literature", composed of materials drawn from the Library's Slavonic Division, commemorates two individuals whose influence upon the literary and political ideals of the Byelorussian people is unparalleled in modern times. One measure of their stature and popular esteem was the total failure of the many Stalinist attempts to usurp their positions as Byelorussia's national leaders.

Janka Kupala (1882-1942) was the name taken by Janka Lucevič who devoted his considerable poetic and dramatic talents towards the restoration of human dignity and national pride for the Byelorussian people. Included in the exhibition are his translation of the famous 12th century epic "The Song of Ihor" and "Heritage", a collection of

his works which were banned in the Soviet Union.

Jakub Kolas (1882-1956) drew much of his inspiration from the folk traditions of the Byelorussian people and his works were often eloquent attacks on the social injustice and political oppression inflicted upon the Byelorussian nation. Born Kastus Mickievič, his greatest creation was the poem "The New Land" which has become one of the milestones of Byelorussian literature. The story of a typical peasant, yearning for a piece of land to call his own, it has long been appreciated for its affirmation of the unconquerable human spirit.

The works exhibited are part of the most extensive collection of writings by and about Kupala and Kolas in the United States. Within this collection are numerous first editions, collected works, and translations of these authors in a variety of languages.

SHORT NEWS

On April 5, 1973, a large number of representatives of refugees from the Chinese mainland gathered in Taipei for a panel discussion and issued "An Open Letter to the Free World", exposing the Chinese Communist regime. They denounced Mao Tse-tung's China as a prison of over 700 million Chinese who, in their hearts, long for freedom from the Communist yoke and identify themselves not with Mao's China, but with Taiwan under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek.

It is an appeal to the leaders of the free world to continue their support of the Republic of China which the majority of the Chinese people identify themselves with, and not to fall into the trap laid out by the Chinese Communists.

On January 16, 1973, an unidentified man was found murdered with cyanide in Copenhagen. Danish Police has not been able to ascertain either the name or the nationality of this man.

It is believed that this man was killed by Soviet agents. Age: ca. 35 years. Height: 177 cm; dark hair, brown eyes.

Information as to the identity of this unperson accepted by: Shipping Times, Special Service, 55, Raadhuspladsen, 1550 Copenhagen V, Denmark.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



ALBANIA

Executed Because of a Baptism

Because he baptized a child, the Catholic priest **Stefan Kurti** has been executed in an Albanian prison. This has been made known by Yugoslav travellers to the West who had been to Albania. Kurti had been arrested, and a woman confined with him asked him to baptize her child. An informant observed the ceremony and betrayed the priest and the woman. The clergyman was executed by a firing squad of the army. (Die Welt — 30. 3. 73)



HUNGARY

41 Arrested in Budapest Protest

Hungarian police arrested 41 young people during "nationalist demonstrations" in Budapest involving several hundred people.

The incidents followed official celebrations marking the 125th anniversary of the 1848 revolution against Habsburg rule, the Budapest News Agency reported.

The demonstrators were dispersed, and police checked identities. Forty-one "instigators" were taken to Budapest central police station.

Hungary's regime had taken special trouble this year to commemorate March 15, the anniversary day.

This is because 1973 is the 150th anniversary of the birth of Sandor Petoefi, the national poet. He joined the abortive revolution and died, aged 26, on the battlefield.

The poet's monument on the Danube has traditionally been the meeting place for young demonstrators.

Annelise Schulz (Vienna)



UKRAINE

Ivan Dzyuba Sentenced to Five Years' Imprisonment

New York, N. Y. — News has come from Ukraine that in the middle of March of this year, Ivan Dzyuba was tried in Kyiv and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He was arrested in April of 1972 during the mass arrests of Ukrainian cultural workers which began in January of that year, and which, at intervals, still continue.

Ivan Dzyuba was the most outstanding figure in the defensive movement of the Ukrainian nation in the 1960's and the early 1970's. He is the author of literary-critical essays. His articles and essays on Hryhor Skovoroda, Lesia Ukrainka, Taras Shevchenko, Andriy Holovko — belong to the best examples of Ukrainian literary-critical journalism of our time.

Ivan Dzyuba became known throughout the world for his book entitled, "Internationalism or Russification" which he sent at the end of 1965 to Party leaders of the Ukr.SSR as a protest against the arrests of Ukrainian patriots, against the politics of russification and enslavement of the Ukrainian nation. His book was later translated into several languages.

Ivan Dzyuba was a participant in many protest actions. In 1963 he spoke at the KGB-prohibited meeting of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Kyiv, dedicated to the anniversary of the death of Lesia Ukrainka, and in 1964, at the commemoration to Vasyl Symonenko, at which he sharply spoke out against those who attacked the poet while he still lived. In the spring of 1965, Dzyuba was the main speaker at the meet-

ings in the cinema-theater "Ukraina". In the spring of 1966, he spoke at Babyn Yar in Kyiv, during the observance of the 25th anniversary of the mass Hitlerite crime against Jews.

For over ten years Ivan Dzyuba has been the object of attacks from the Soviet press and the KGB. He was excluded from the Writers' Union of Ukraine in March, 1972. The following month he was arrested and kept in isolation until his trial.

One Million Prisoners in One Thousand Forced Labor Camps

The International Committee in Defense of Human Rights, after an investigation lasting for three and a half years, published a documentation according to which one million people are robbed of their personality by "scientifically tailored" methods in one thousand forced labor camps in the USSR. Moreover, the prisoners are constantly being kept at the point of starvation, and thus worn down.

The Committee has ascertained the exact geographic location of 253 forced labor camps.

(*Deutsche Nationalzeitung* — 9. 3. 73)

A Prisoner's Fare

The Swedish actress Ingrid Bergman, while visiting with the Jewish organization "Woman's Campaign for Soviet Jewry" in England, was given to try out the fare of Soviet concentration camps: a bowl of thin cabbage soup, a very small piece of rye bread, one boiled potato, a little piece of salt herring, one sugar cube and some butter. This is the daily food ration of Jewish prisoners in Soviet concentration camps, according to the organization.

(*Die Welt* — 30. 3. 73)

Polemics in the Press Against Jewish Emigrants

Moscow, 25 March (AP) — The Leningrad paper of the Communist Party *Leninskoye Znamya* has lunched heavy attacks against Soviet Jews desiring to emigrate to Israel.

The article says that only "morally unstable" Jews wished to leave the USSR. Therefore they were accomplices of a Zionist plot to the disadvantage of the Soviet people. Whosoever helped them to emigrate interfered with the inner affairs of the Soviet Union with "dirty intrigues". Like all other national groups, the majority of Soviet Jews rejected these machinations and looked with pride upon the Soviet Union as their mother country, the article says later.

Those Jews who let themselves be "baited" by Israeli propaganda and had given up their lives as free Soviet citizens were now leading a "pitiable existence" in Israel and had very soon realized how fatal a step they had taken, the paper then maintains.

(*Die Welt* — 26. 3. 73)

Right of Assembly Restricted in Moscow

Moscow, March 18 (AP) — According to a new decree enacted by the Supreme Soviet, non-authorized assemblies are punishable as criminal activities.

Informants tell that officers of the Soviet Secret Police referred to this new regulation during the interrogation of a group of six Jews who have been arrested in the course of a protest demonstration. Up till now, such demonstrations like sit-ins, or trying to hand over petitions, were classified as gross misconduct punishable by 15 days' confinement.

According to the informants, the Jews were not permitted to look into this decree enacted on December 25, 1972. There has been no word as to what punishments are in store under this new decree. (*Die Welt* — 19. 3. 73)

The AF-ABN Convention

New York, April 8, 1973



During the banquet: Photo 1 — Congressman Mario Biaggi, the guest speaker, and Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, (extreme right). Photos 2 & 3 — German, Cossack, Byelorussian and Ukrainian delegations.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

PATRIOTIC YOUTH



**FIGHTING FOR
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

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Inspired by the National Idea

The ideas of the young authors of Ukraine are universal ideas. Their thesis: de-nationalization is the de-heroization and de-culturalization of life — is an eternal truth. And the assertion, that de-Christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, forced resettlement from the village to the city is a destruction of traditional, national structures, which had catastrophic consequences for the nation — is a confirmation of the invariable truth that every nation must have links to its centuries-old traditions, to spiritual values, to the heroics of life, if it wishes to hold its own while competing with forces which oppose it. Their postulate is "The Church must be preserved" and their indication that Christianity has grown together with the spiritual and national nature of a Ukrainian is of far-reaching significance. The youth of Ukraine provides great signposts . . .

In Ukraine there is no generation gap: there is a **unity of generations**. A unity of the unique 60-year-old hero Mykhaylo Soroka with the young Alla Horska, a Ukrainian neophyte, all the more a great fanatic of the Ukrainian national idea, and a martyr for it.

Is greater burning for the national idea possible than the self-immolation in 1968 of the fighter of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), Vasyl Makukh, with the exclamation "Long live free Ukraine!"? This is a burning torch of truth and freedom, which will never be extinguished. Have the first Christians who perished at the Colosseum in the jaws of lions while singing religious songs died out in our souls? Christianity triumphed over the tyrants. Our liberation nationalism will triumph over them as well. When the young Jan Palach, on January 19, 1969, called after Makukh: "It is better to die in flames, than to live under the Russian colonial yoke", when the 20-year-old Lithuanian student Romas Kalanta burned himself in May 1972 while shouting "Long live free Lithuania", or when the 60-year-old Anzrus Kukavicius died a similar death in Lithuania while defending its freedom, then this is proof enough that the national idea is invincible, that the nation is eternal. Tanks and cannon are powerless against it. The blood of heroes fighting for truth, justice and freedom has never been shed in vain. "Well, we shall fight", shout the heroes to the court. Their conviction will turn into a boomerang for Moscow. And it is already becoming a boomerang. The proof: Lithuania, Georgia and the events in other subjugated countries. And no less, our actions in the entire world. The stand of the young people in Ukraine — what a magnificent example it is for the youth of the whole world.

Recall the Russian cult of Morozov, a young Russian who betrayed his father, sending him to the torture chambers, and to whom the Russians erected a monument, and compare the young people of Ukraine, some of whom languish in jails only because they refused to denounce their parents. Propagate among the youth of the world the cult of the young heroes of Ukraine or Lithuania, as symbols to be contrasted with all sorts of Che Guevaras, Ho Chi Minhs, Lenins, and Co.

Trial of Ukrainians from Priashiv Region

Not only in Ukraine does there rage a wave of arrests of the nationally active Ukrainian intelligentsia. Ever since Czechia and Slovakia were conquered by Russian tanks, Ukrainians in the Priashiv region as well have consistently been persecuted by order of the Russian authorities. The ABN has already made known the removal of Ukrainians from their posts and the limitation of their cultural activity.

The first trial of four imprisoned Ukrainians took place in Bratislava last March. The local press made no mention of it. The following sentences were handed out:

student Anna Kotsur — 3 years
Professor Petro Grodskyi — 3 years
Dr. Yuriy Bacha — 3 years
Dr. Pavlo Murashko — 4 1/2 years.

The first two defendants were arrested in Ukraine and, as citizens of Czecho-Slovakia, were turned over to the organs of justice of the CSSR. Anna Kotsur was temporarily released from prison before the trial so that she could give birth to her child. Dr. Yuriy Bacha pleaded not guilty and appealed the decision to a higher court.

Prominent Croatian Intellectuals Imprisoned in Zagreb, Croatia

Dr. FRANJO TUDJMAN, historian, sentenced to 2 years.
Dr. MARKO VESELICA, economist, professor of Zagreb University, 7 years.
Dr. HRVAOJE SOSIĆ, economist, professor of Zagreb University, 2 1/2 years.
Dr. ŠIME DJODAN, economist, professor of Zagreb University, 6 years.
VLADO GOTOVAC, poet, philosopher, former editor of *Hrvatski Tjednik*, 4 years.
ANTE BRUNA BUŠIĆ, publicist, 2 years.
Dr. DRAGUTIN ŠČUKANAC, writer and sociologist, 4 years.
ZLATKO TOMIČIĆ, a leading Croatian poet, former editor of the **Croatian Literary Journal**, 3 years.
VLATKO PAVLETIĆ, literary essayist and critic, 1 1/2 year.
Prof. MILJENKO FORETIC, historian of art, 1 year.
Dr. BRUNO TANDARA, sociologist, professor of Zagreb University, 1 year.

Leaders of the Student Movement:

DRAŽEN BUDIŠA, 4 years.
IVAN ZVONIMIR ČIČAK, 3 years.
ANTE PARADŽIK, 3 years.
GORAN DODIG, 1 year.

ZVONIMIR KOMARICA, official of **Matica Hrvatska** (Cultural Centre), 2 years.
JOSIP IVIČEVIĆ-BAKULIĆ, official of **Matica Hrvatska**, 4 years.

Executed at the Beginning of April 1973:

DJURO HORVAT, VEJSIL KEŠKIĆ, MIRKO VLASNOVIĆ. They were Australian citizens.

New Stalin as Peacemaker

Any tyrant who presents himself to the world as universal peacemaker is both despicable and ridiculous. Thus Leonid Brezhnev, current oppressor of over 200 million people in the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its satellite countries, must stand condemned before all men of honour. The idea that the Soviet Union, which for more than 50 years has never yet dared to permit internal international news coverage for fear of ideological contamination; whose economy has faltered from one 5-year plan to the next and which, because of increasingly bitter internal dissatisfaction, is in the throes of a second Stalinist purge, can rank as a super power, is patently absurd and untenable — unless, of course, one equates superiority only with weaponry.

Why should any European who, for the last 25 or 50 years, has had to exist cheek by jowl with that vast cage of human misery in the satellite states or in the Soviet Union, regard the peacemaking posturings in Washington with anything less than contemptuous incredulity?

Thousands of miles from the growing unrest at home, Brezhnev must have prayed that his hosts would forget the man-made Soviet famine which resulted in starvation for 7 million Ukrainians: the recent bombing of the Communist Party Headquarters in Tiflis by enraged Georgians: the self-immolation of a desperate Lithuanian youth: or the moving appeals from Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Latvian, Czecho-Slovak and other writers, artists and scientists to their Western colleagues for support in world councils. How hollow ring the laughter and even more the utterances of this new Stalin, whose promises put one immediately in mind of the now infamous Molotov/Ribbentrop Pact, which threw half of Europe into Russian bondage in

1939. Why should anyone trust a man who, having bargained for and obtained huge quantities of wheat and butter — ostensible for urgent domestic needs — offers them as bribes to underdeveloped faraway countries whom he hopes to attract into the Communist orbit?

No European after witnessing years of savage and unremitting repression could take seriously from such a man talk of peaceful co-existence, the ending of the cold war, or most unbelievable of all, Brezhnev's remark that "the weak are as safe as the strong". If he genuinely desires peace and security not only in Europe but in the world at large, he must first put his "own house" in order. There must be freedom in the Soviet Union and satellite countries as it is universally understood and accepted: there must be self-determination, national independence and human rights for the more than the 200 million people for whom he has arbitrarily assumed the mantle of leadership. He must cease railing perpetually against the materialism of Western capitalism, otherwise his visit to Mr. Nixon, which was clearly necessitated by the failure of Soviet state capitalism to maintain, let alone raise, the standard of living for the underprivileged people he purports to represent, can only be seen to be a farce. At a moment when the future of Europe is of paramount importance to world stability, Western statesmen should not for a second lose sight of the ghastly results of appeasing a tyrant in Munich in 1939. Hitler devastated Europe because men chose to sacrifice moral principles in order to avert aggression. Shall we in 1973 allow our leaders to repeat that hideous blunder, thus laying free Europe at the feet of another tyrant, Leonid Brezhnev, and sealing for innumerable years the fate of his enslaved millions? The answer must, of course, be no.

Our present Foreign Secretary was himself in Munich in 1939. He, more than any man in Europe today, under-

stands that appeasement is no answer to tyranny. We call upon Sir Alec to take the lead at Helsinki.

Peter Reddaway

Jail for Unrepentant Ukrainians

The chain of political trials in Ukraine is continuing. News of three new trials have just reached the West.

All the defendants were, it appears, charged with alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", because of their writing or circulating of uncensored underground typescripts known as samizdat.

Although there is no evidence of circumstances which would justify it under the law, the trials took place in camera. The defendants had previously been held incommunicado for about a year in pretrial detention.

During that time articles prejudicing three of them appeared in the official Ukrainian press, designed to influence public opinion, but these defendants could not, it seems, be persuaded by the KGB, the security police, to "recant" their beliefs. They were suspected of involvement in producing the **Ukrainian Herald**.

The **Ukrainian Herald** came out from 1970 to 1972 in six large issues, and reported from a moderate and determinedly legal position on the persecution of people who had, in the main, tried to defend Ukraine's cultural and political rights under the constitution.

The refusal of the defendants to "recant" almost certainly explains why the authorities decided to hold the trials in camera. For the same reason, the trials have received no mention as yet in the Soviet press, and details of them have leaked out only through unofficial channels.

The heaviest sentence — seven years of strict regime forced labour camp, plus five years of exile to a remote region — was imposed on Mr. Ivan Svitlychnyi, a Kyiv literary critic. Now

aged 43, he became known in 1962 for his opposition to the limits imposed on writers by the official doctrine of "socialist realism".

In 1964 he was dismissed from his job at Kyiv's Institute of Literature for the speech he made at a memorial meeting for his friend Vasyl Symonenko, a young poet and dissenter who had recently died. In 1965-66 he was held for eight months in prison without trial, while 20 intellectuals, including some of his friends, were being sentenced in a big series of political trials. After his release he wrote an introduction to a samizdat collection of documents on an important trial of 1961. He was arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv last March.

The second trial took place at the same time and place, and involved Mr. Yevhen Sverstyuk, who had also been arrested in January last year. Mr. Sverstyuk's sentence was five years of strict regime forced labour.

A literary critic aged 44, Mr. Sverstyuk was unable to publish his work in the official press from the mid-1960s when he became involved in the emerging national movement.

The third trial is that of Mrs. Nadiya Svitlychna, Mr. Svitlychnyi's sister, who is reported to have been sentenced recently in Kyiv to four years in a strict regime labour camp. She was arrested in April, 1972, and her young daughter was forcibly put in an orphanage. Later, after protests, the daughter was handed over to relatives.

In July, 1972, Mrs. Svitlychna's husband, Mr. Danylo Shumuk, was sentenced in Lviv to 10 years in a special regime camp and five years of exile, mainly for writing his memoirs.

(Times, May 21, 1973)

Iryna Senyk Sentenced Anew

As is known from previous reports, Iryna Senyk has been sentenced again, this time to six years' imprisonment and five years' exile. The trial at the regional court in Ivano-Frankivsk lasted for three days behind closed doors. Some fragments of the course of the summary trial are given by special correspondent L. Ulchenko of **Prykarpatska Pravda** in his slanderous attack in the article "The Dark Glasses of a Renegade" (PP 11. 3. 1973).

Iryna Mykhaylivna Senyk, about forty-seven years old, was tempered by the underground revolutionary-liberation struggle and the hell of Bolshevik prisons.

As an eighteen-year-old student Iryna, a native of Lviv, joined the ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and in 1944 took the vow to battle for Ukraine's independence. "Mariyka", regional commander of the OUN women's network, introduced her into the ranks of the Organization and gave her the organizational pseudonym "Lesya".

Iryna Senyk-Lesya "developed the stormy activity of a messenger for the national command..." At night she would steal away from Lviv to the provinces, carrying out special missions for the National Command of Roman Shukhevych, whom L. Ulchenko viciously calls a "German spy" and "hangman". "Besides this, Lesya's duties included collecting the addresses of Soviet activists, and providing the **Banderivtsi** (Bandera-followers) with nationalistic literature."

When one considers that the years 1944-1946 saw the total blockade of Western Ukraine by NKVD troops, the terrorist provocations of Bolshevik special forces, the resistance to collectivization, mass deportations, and large-scale battles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), then it becomes clear that

every nocturnal contact of the messenger Lesya with the underground required the extraordinary courage of a young girl.

In 1946, Iryna Senyk was arrested and sentenced by the occupation authorities to ten years' imprisonment.



After her release, she completed her secondary special education and settled in Ivano-Frankivsk. There, she made the acquaintance of Valentyn Moroz, who was then a lecturer in history at the Pedagogical Institute. In December, 1969, along with other Ukrainian patriots and former political prisoners, I. Senyk signed a grievance to the head of the Presidium of the UkSSR Lyashko and the UkSSR public prosecutor Hlukh protesting the third trial of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, who had again been imprisoned, with four demands for reforming the illegal treatment of political prisoners (**Ukrainian Herald**, Issue I).

Besides her acquaintance with the historian and her signature of the grievance, Iryna was accused of giving Vyacheslav Chornovil a collection of her

poems, which was found at his home after his last arrest — as if the poetess did not have the right to seek the opinion of the "much younger" literary critic, nor of the much older expert on literature and art, the "nonagenarian" Olha Duchyminska, to whom she also showed her poems. The poetess' readings of her verses among her acquaintances was considered as circulation of illegal literature, or intent to print in the *samvydav*.



Young Ukrainians from Cleveland, Ohio demonstrating for the release of the recently arrested Ukrainian intellectuals.

Evidence for the trial was an essay by literary expert E. Rice, "The New Literary Wave in Ukraine", found in a search of her home.

The shamelessly malicious attack upon Olha Duchyminska, a profound authority on our culture who was groundlessly imprisoned for ten years in vengeance upon the Ukrainian intelligentsia for the assassination of the traitor Halan is of such a form of coarse police reproof as passes the bounds of logical thought: "The old woman skips about the country passing out anti-Soviet literature." Can anyone believe this sort of vicious provocation?

All the efforts of the author of the attack to debase and to present as false affectation the courageous deportment of Iryna Senyk before the court and her cool, superior calm before the hangmen are in vain: "In the dock sits the thin, no longer young woman, dressed in black. Her grave gaze passes over the faces of those present. At every question of the court and the prosecutor she slowly rises and replies with studied courtesy, and thanks each witness for his testimony, regardless of whether he spoke to her advantage or disadvantage."

The author of the pasquil is enraged that Iryna Senyk was too proud to make a statement of repentance: "Senyk couldn't muster the strength or the courage to admit that she had lived in error and to return to the way of truth."

The hangmen's court failed to intimidate Iryna Senyk's indomitable courage by terror, to debase her human dignity.

The court only bore out its moral impotence before Iryna Senyk with its groundless decree of liquidation: **six years of prison and five years of etile.**

This unjust sentence from the enemy, which has decided her fate, Iryna Senyk accepted with dignity, fortitude, and the proud calm of a heroine.

Behind Barbed Wire in Mordovia

From the Experiences of a Contemporary Prisoner

Mordovia, Lesnoi Settlement, 30 kilometers from the capital, Pot'ma.

Two rows of barbed wire, a high wall and yet another two rows of barbed wire serve to fence 600 people off from the wide world. These people pass long years and in many cases the greater parts of their lives on a patch of land measuring 200 by 200 meters. Outward uniformity, grey clothing, shaven heads, grey faces and dim eyes. Languid movements, a sluggish pace — not one calorie is wasted.

This tiny world, at first glance completely homogeneous, reflects as in a drop of water decades of history of the Russian empire. Here, all the contradictions and the antagonisms of the contemporary state are presented clearly and ardently: the barbed wire, the machine-gunners on the watch-towers, the watch-dogs...

On the refectory building in the center of the camp hang two signs: "Long live the friendship among the peoples of the USSR!" and "Prisoner, condemn your nationalistic past!"

Not counting the Nazi left-overs, policemen, SS members, co-workers of the special command and guards from German prison camps 70 % of the *zeks*¹⁾ in the camp are nationalists.

The Ukrainians — thick-set bewhiskered *Banderivtsi* (Bandera followers), who survived the horrors of the Stalinist prison-camps and after decades spent in Kolyma, the Urals and in Mordovia have not lost their love and their faith in a free Ukraine.

Their young countrymen, who call themselves "*neo-Banderivtsi*", were imprisoned for circulating the brochure "Who Was S. Bandera and for What Did He Struggle?", for poems of Taras Shevchenko, and for calling for the separation of Ukraine from Russia.

Often one can see them together. The older ones recount battles with the Germans, Russians and Poles, who invaded the Ukrainian villages, and how famously they beat Kovpak in Trans-Carpathia.²⁾

The young tell of the latest events in freedom, how the independent Ukrainian culture is stubbornly repressed daily, how painstakingly the smallest traces of "criminal" nationalism are rubbed out.

Often, melodious Ukrainian songs drift through the air, songs which are no longer taught in the schools of Kyiv and Kharkiv, no longer sung on the stages of Lviv and Odessa.

The remainder of the numerous Lithuanian group of "Brothers of the Forest", who for long years waged an unequal struggle against the Russian divisions. Tens of thousands of young boys from Lithuania died in the bunkers, hundreds of thousands perished from cold and hunger in Siberia, in the camps and colonies to which they were exiled and deported by entire villages, farms and settlements.

They are also being replaced by the young.

Seventeen- and eighteen-year-old youths straight from the school-bench, finding themselves behind barbed wire, take up the activity of their fathers and older brothers. Hard-working and precise, they do not enjoy the admiration of the camp administration, work at the hardest tasks, and it is difficult to find a Lithuanian who would cooperate with the authorities or serve in the operations section.

Armenians, members of Dashnak groups, Uzbeks... it would be hard to

¹⁾ prisoner

²⁾ inaccuracy — it was in the Carpathians.

find a national movement in the Soviet Union that is not represented here.

In 1971, there appeared in the Mordovian camps and partly in the 19th zone a group of Jews sentenced in the anti-Semitic trials in Leningrad, Riga Kyshyniv, ten persons who impressed the entire camp with their solidarity and mutual assistance.

Group hunger-strikes, protest actions came one after another and the Jews always acted as a unified group.

In the camp, where every zek had his "coloring", where to belong to this or to the other group was the basis of existence — it was indispensable to define one's relations with everyone. Enemies were quickly distinguished. The Fascist group under the leadership of Vandakurov, a tall, meticulously dressed (by camp taste) man of forty, who constantly played the role of a "decisive person". His hatred for the Jews had a zoological character. He called himself "a candidate in philosophical studies", but he immediately lost his "intellectual" appearance... when it came to the Jewish question. Vandakurov specialized essentially in petty provocations, undoubtedly instigated and supported by the camp administration. It was easy to deal with him, staying together and preserving constant vigilance.

Considerably more dangerous was the group of Great Russian chauvinists. The members of the Orthodox-monarchist organization existing in Leningrad were in essence incomparably more enlightened and serious people. They did not indulge in petty provocations, but they constantly and expertly carried on anti-Semitic propaganda, inflating national animosity. Here everything was set in motion — both Hohol's and Dostoevsky's foresight as to the Jewish problem and "the Jews' disrespect for Orthodox churches". Their efforts were aimed basically at the isolation of the Jews from those zeks who had been imprisoned for democratic matters.

In all fairness it must be noted that their efforts were nearly always crowned with success. The monarchists' ideological "chief" Vagin regarded not only the Jews with open disdain; in his opinion, the Baltic peoples corrupted the Russian nation as well, while the Ukrainians and Armenians made groundless and impudent claims.

Friendly and trusting ties between the Jews and the young Lithuanians were strengthened by mutual sympathy on a purely human level and by the consciousness of injustice at the hands of the enemy. With their explanations about the history of their movement, the *Banderivtsi* unmasked the old calumny about it. The representatives of the subjugated nations, who led the struggle for their liberation, found a common language.

The camp operations division was worried by such an overly strong re-education of the prisoners in an "internationalist" spirit. Everything was set in motion, and the story about the "Elders of Zion" and the struggle with the "Zionist sects" were renewed, but fortunately all this was in vain.

It was as if lightning had struck out of a clear blue sky when in March, 1972 there took part in a hunger-strike protesting the administration's abuses not only ten Jews, but also twelve Ukrainians, three Lithuanians, and others. It was a long time since there had been such harmony of action, in such numbers and national diversity. The rage and fury of the captors, from the young overseer to the camp commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Usov, knew no bounds. For the first three days, the participants in the hunger-strike passed in single file through the offices.

It was explained to Veresiv, Horban, Dyakiv, Sokulskyi and others that they had best avoid the Jews and Lithuanians, that they were true Slavs and should not fall victim to provocations.

Andiushkovichas, Pashylis and their comrades were told of the methods used by the Jews to seize world power.

It was hinted to the Jews that if they would present their claims alone and with politeness, then a deal could be made.

But the reason for the hunger-strike was serious. There is no need to explain how much a visit means to a zek. Only three visits are allowed per year, and two of these — by a regulation set down in the labor-correctional code — belong not only to the family, but also to "other persons". Not all have close relatives, and when the camp commandant refused to let one of the Jews see a person who was not formally connected with him through family ties, it was a blow to all. A good half of the visits were threatened, one of the few ties with freedom was breaking. It was impossible to let this remain without a response.

And thus, one by one they dragged themselves in a chain to the box for prisoners' statements and complaints, twenty-seven persons — Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians, and others. Each one dropped into the box a piece of paper reading:

To the commandant of camp ITK/19. I bring it to your attention that today, the ... of March, at ... o'clock, I announce a hunger-strike in protest of the illegal actions of the administration.

During such actions, the camp passes into a state of battle readiness: the number of overseers is strengthened, there are diligent night-time inspections, the frequency of "raids" is doubled...

By "secret" (but known to all) instructions of the MVD, a zek who does not end his hunger-strike within three days should be isolated from the rest of the inmates. But inasmuch as the camp isolation ward is only for crimes

committed, this means being thrown into the lock-up room.

A small building twenty meters from the main zone, which was surrounded by additional rows of barbed wire and additional watch-towers, contained ten cells. Cells measuring 2 by 2.25 meters with four trap-beds which were swung down from the wall between ten o'clock at night and six in the morning, a meter-long board on two posts which served as a table, and a separate post which served as a stool. Part of the wall, covered with tin, was heated by a small furnace in the corridor. In the first hours in the cell it was impossible to breathe, but the tin wall very quickly cooled off, and it became cold in the cell.

This time putting everyone in solitary confinement, as the instructions recommended, didn't work.

The camp commandant's deputy in matters of regime, Velmakin, twisted his head with vexation — ten cells were not quite enough.

The composition of the cells was international. The operations division had calculated that during the hunger-strike, when nerves were on edge, conflicts would arise in the cells. To inflame and exploit national enmities has for ages been a well-trying and favorite method of Russian jailers. This time, the KGB's plan was a brilliant failure. In one of the cells, where there were two Ukrainians and one Jew, an ardent discussion was carried on about Khmelnytskyi and Mazepa. Though there was of course no total agreement, this was a discussion among friends and men of like ideas. The overseers in the lock-up ward had the opportunity to hear such a concert of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish and other songs as one could never hear on stage.

During this time the camp administration experienced unpleasant moments. There were frequent calls from

Saransk and Moscow; the Mordovian and Russian authorities demanded clarifications and ordered to cut short, to reprimand, to force, to persuade.

This time the protest hunger-strike was crowned with success. Friends, distant relations and women who had had the misfortune to be bound by a Soviet civil marriage obtained visits with their dear ones without interference.

The Velmakins and Usovs, angered to bestiality, had to wait for their vengeance. The whole camp, punished and re-classified into the ITK³⁾ RSFSR, was put to a test by participation in the

³⁾ a correctional-labor colony.

"international" hunger-strike, but the zeks, accustomed to such "gifts", spoke only of their success.

Immediately after this event one of the Ukrainians, Sokulskyi, was sent off to the Vladimir Prison for two years for "violating regime". And again, despite the fact that there was no chance of saving Sokulskyi from prison, a hunger-strike was held. And the Ukrainians were supported by the Jews and the Lithuanians and the Russians.

The joint protest actions did much for the participants, but the camp administration drew some conclusions as well: the sign reading "Long live the friendship among the peoples of the USSR!" vanished. **Oleks**

Cardinal Slipyi Visits Germany



Munich, West Germany, June 17, 1973

Cardinal Josyf Slipyi (center), the Archbishop-Major of the Ukrainian Catholics, celebrating Mass at Munich's Frauenkirche. His stay in Munich concluded a world tour of Ukrainian communities which began in February 1973, in Australia and included stops in Japan, Taiwan, Canada and the United States.

Ingushets Driven Out of Their Native Land

(Excerpts from the essay "Cataract" clandestinely circulating in Ukraine. Its authorship is attributed to Mykhaylo Osadchyi, 37, who spent two years in a Russian concentration camp in Mordovia in 1966-68. In September 1972 he was sentenced again to seven years of imprisonment and three years of exile.)

A wolf is of feminine gender in the Ingushet language. A wolf means their native land, its symbol, its flag. When the Ingushets were deported to North Kazakhstan during the war, the wolves also disappeared from the Vaynakh hills. The wolves could not live without the Ingushets, who had been deprived of their fatherland. The wolves did not want to become a flag for foreigners. The wolves disappeared from the mountains. They did not go north with the Ingushets. Bitter cold, snowdrifts. The mountaineers lay on the road, cold, feeble, corpses. The mountaineers were not used to bitter cold; and it destroyed them. Their warm homeland was deserted by wolves. There was a new master and the mountaineers died like flies. Ali had not seen this, only his father related it: "Ali", the father said, "Ali . . ." His father had not said anything else. He only stared ahead mutely. "No wolves, Ali, no . . ." And the grandmother, with an ever-opened mouth, entered the house and the dumb frost came with her. The grandmother's mouth had not shut for more than twenty years. It gapes as a wide hole and does not cry.

"Ali", says his father, "we do not have wolves anymore. There are no wolves, Ali."

"If so much of the intelligentsia were transplanted by us, as by you in Ukraine in 1965 alone, we would have nothing left", says Ali. Ali says that their entire intelligentsia "has gone", not in the 1930's, but a little later.

In 1960 they were permitted to return to the mountains, to their homeland. The mountaineers hid themselves in their cold hovels and refused to go. The mountaineers feared that they would be deceived again. They did not want to go. Then the Ingushets, who wanted to have their wolves, went among them. "Go, mountaineers", they said, "the wolves are waiting for you".

"We have no wolves, Ali", said his father, "there are none, Ali!" The agitators were caught and disappeared somewhere forever. The mountaineers returned to their mountains, to their homeland, and then, it is said, the wolves appeared in the mountains. The wolves came to the Ingushets.

"We do not have any wolves, Ali", said the old man, "here are none, Ali". While studying at the Grozny Pedagogical Institute, Ali has heard:

"We have no wolves, Ali, we have none." Later Ali was arrested with another teacher, twice as old as himself, for anti-Soviet nationalist (Ingushet) activity. Ali was told that he was anti-Soviet as a thirteen-year-old, when he wrote a nationalist poem. They attributed a two-man organization to them. They wanted to make the elderly teacher the chief offender, because he could have exerted influence on the younger one. "He did not influence me", said Ali, "I influenced him". They were given four years each.

"We do not have wolves, Ali, we have none." "We are not accepted at higher educational establishments", says Ali. "They are afraid to teach us, afraid that we might perceive something. The common people do not understand; they are afraid when they lack the intelligentsia. Our language lacks many words: **freedom, work**, the word **intelligentsia**. We are two-hundred-fifty thousand. Two-hundred-fifty thousand. A two-hundred-fifty thousand-strong herd of mountaineers. In Kafka, it seems, it went about without heads. Even if our nation does disappear, a skeleton of a wolf will harden in the mountains. A gigantic wolf. This will be the last wolf of the world. Gloating mountaineers."

"We have no wolves, Ali, we have none, Ali." "If I knew that my language will die tomorrow, I would die today, I bear no grudge against any nation, nor its language, but a misfortune has been inflicted upon us. I can point my finger at those who committed this crime. They walk alongside of us; you can see them; they have smiling faces. They are not tormented at all because they have exterminated thousands."

"We have no wolves, Ali, we have none." "I was nineteen, when I was taken. I was proud and, aside from pride, I had nothing else. I did not know at all how to conduct myself. Much later, an investigator approached me and said: **"You are conducting yourself, snot nose, as a spy!"**

"Do you mean — firmly?"

That old poet X spent his entire life in prisons, in exile from his native hills. That old man returned home as feeble as his people. He was dying and said, "I wanted to tell you something, mountaineers. I had so much to tell you, mountaineers." He died without saying anything else, aside from these words.

"We have no wolves, Ali, no . . ." Ali, black as hills, is wet all over. Ali inserts detail after detail in the scratch gauge. Ali polishes. "Do you see these veins? Can mountain blood flow in them? Let it flow at home in the hills. It has nothing to do in the ocean. A foreign ocean."

"Zek*, come here!"

The zek approaches. The zek has a dignified face and intelligent eyes. This zek comes from the mountains.

*) prisoner

"Why don't you salute, prisoner?" Two prisms of red eyes stare at him. They have blue veinlets. This is perhaps from excessive drinking. The face is filled with fat and is distorted. This is some predatory mask. A mask of fat and human wickedness.

They run. They stumble. **"Your . . . your . . . comb . . . contra . . . comrade . . . comrade commandant of the Dubrovlag, Colonel Gromov . . .** He stumbled — fell . . . He does not move; his eyes are lifted in prayer. His eyes are filled with fear.

"To the lock up?"

"What for, commander, comrade?"

"You! Prisoner, what is your name?"

"We have no wolves, Ali, we have none." "Do you see these veins? Can mountain blood flow in them? Let it flow at home in the mountains. It has nothing to do in the ocean, a foreign ocean!" "My name? Ali Khatahulhov."

"Not Ali, but prisoner Khatahulhov! Five days of penal isolator for you!"

"What for, commandant?"

"Next time you must greet the commandant."

"But at home, in the mountains, to greet a person means to wish him good health. And I do not want to wish you health!"

Common Front

In the camp, there are dozens of young and elderly writers. They too, want to lead literary lives. Daniel: "We can compile a collection of poetry of our camp poets of various nationalities. We must show the world that not 'bandits' and 'anti-Sovietchiki' are confined here. Here are gifted people, talented, and the world must know about it. The collection will be in all the languages of the camp poets, Zaure Kabali, a Georgian, Ali Khatahulhov, an Ingush, Knut Skueniks, a Latvian, Valdur, an Estonian. The collection will be artistically finished by our artists Panas Zalyvakha and others. The world must know that 'bandits' are not incarcerated here."

Knut Skueniks: "From today on we commemorate the dates of great writers and artists of the world. We cannot lead a zek's life: balanda, a barrack, and legs to chairs." A commemorative "evening" was held, in the daytime over a cup of tea Sunday. **Franko**. August 22, 1966. Sunday **Shota Rusthaveli**. Early September, 1966. Artist **Christian Raud**, an Estonian and so forth. The writer, of whatever nationality, prepares the "evening". Literary works are being translated into various languages of the

world. They are read. There are many willing to listen, as well as those willing to perform.

I recall the "evening" of Jan Rainis. Translations into Ukrainian, Georgian, Estonian, and Russian. A cup of coffee. The musor**) asks, "What kind of gathering is it?" He sees books, flips over pages, "Jan Rainis", he reads, "What, from abroad? A nationalist, a traitor?"

"No, a national poet of Latvia."

"Then why are you honouring him?" says the musor again.

They keep turning pages. Somebody says, "There is no political intrigue, all publications are Soviet."

"Don't prompt me, I am not blind! Disperse!"

All shout "We won't go!" They drag the one sitting at the edge of the table. "Leave him alone, we won't let you. We are drinking coffee and commemorating a writer who is being honoured by the UNESCO." There are two wardens and about twenty prisoners.

"Too bad that there are no more of us", said the musor. "You would then smell . . . ! Daniel, I know you well, you will answer for the disturbance of the camp regime."

Daniel, tall and with high cheek bones, replied, "O.K., wherever it will be necessary! When necessary, I'll answer!"

It is possible to live. Here one can live as nowhere else. If there had ever been the most democratic country, then it only could have been a camp. Think what you want. Say what you want. Even preach the wisdom of a sparrow. A punished one is no longer punished. Knut Skueniks. Latvia does not have its own camps, they must rent them from the Mordovians. The Russians are the intermediaries. Knut strikes his red beard. Knut calmly raises his arm, "Where should he rush to?" Rags always stick out of his shoes. He takes a piece of toast from his pocket, "Give your lips a taste."

Knut toasts them on the battery in the shop and laughs when somebody cannot break them with his teeth. "You don't have teeth", he says. "I shall find it difficult to talk to you about something." He has an amusing fortune. He graduated from the Moscow Gorky Institute of Literature. He worked for a Riga youth newspaper. He wrote verse. And then he received seven years for anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda. Latvian. Funny. Knut is amused. He makes fun of the word "propaganda". They are not afraid of propaganda, they are afraid of an artist. An artist contradicts evil; an artist strives toward a new good. An artist is not understood. And it is this misunderstanding which gives rise to a label. They stick it on you and — off with you to a "health resort". Hyde Park and balanda. Well and good, if you survive.

**) derogatory name for prison guard

Russian Defeatism and Ukrainian "Madness of the Courageous"

G. Lauter, one of the most recent Russian emigrants who found himself in the West in 1972 provides us with a very characteristic example of Russian defeatism. He, in his own words, is a philosopher by profession and a Christian by convictions. In fact, he is a political capitulant, a totally resigned pessimist, when one speaks about chances of any struggle within the USSR. In his opinion, "all demands put to the Soviet leaders in the sphere of political freedoms are totally unsuccessful, useless, leading to an even greater oppression of an individual". Therefore, he suggests urging only "the extension of freedom" in the sphere of humanistic culture which has no connection with politics, as well as the "softening of the ban on religion, for it is impossible to lift it (the ban) completely". In brief, to raise the least possible demands and to fight for the minimal concessions of the regime.

One should not demand freedom to criticize either, for this is unrealistic. One should limit oneself to demanding that "legality" is preserved with respect to those who are "guilty" in a political sense. In Lauter's opinion, the West should launch a campaign in defense of humanistic culture, spiritual freedom, spiritual life, and those persecuted in the USSR, in particular Bukovskyi (whom he calls "our conscience") and this only with the help of petitions to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from churches, political and cultural leaders, as well as intervention of the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations. The Church in the West, in particular the Pope, should defend the Church and humaneness in the USSR. On the other hand, he justi-

fied the Church's silence when speaking about the events in Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia or the political trials in the USSR, for instance, of Synyavsky and Daniel and other dissidents, for this is allegedly already politics. He also makes excuses for Pimen, for the latter is allegedly a "captive".

Thus, although Lauter rightly criticizes Vatican for its silence and the Western Churches and governments for their inertia, he puts forward to the West demands which could be called completely defeatist and minimalistic and which could hardly be considered a blow of any kind for the USSR. "The sole thing — he says — which could be done to lessen the threat of Communism is to achieve limited humanization in the sphere of spiritual culture and the preservation of legality" in the USSR. This is all! For him only "Russia and Eastern Europe" do exist, i. e. — Russia and her satellites. On the other hand, he entirely fails to see the nations subjugated within the USSR. When there are no subjugated nations, then the national problem does not exist either. There are only oppressed individuals in "Russia and Eastern Europe". The force of terror and the power of Communism are so great that it is nonsense to be at odds with them; to reach for the sun with a hoe are dreams of "silly children".

Thus, Lauter, a supporter of "the one and indivisible Russia", suggests that the West capitulate in the face of Communism, advising the nations of "Russia and Eastern Europe" to reject all attempts of fighting for their national liberation. At the same time Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian, flings a slogan at the tyrants, worthy of Homer's ancient heroes: "Well then, — we shall fight!"

As if in reply to the Russian capitulants one of the unyielding Ukrainians writes:

"The madness of the courageous is a song which must be created (composed) by everyone in the best moments of life. Otherwise, life will be long and boring — without holy days . . . Heroic individualism and the Don Quixotes are one of the old tales, long forgotten in our cybernetic world of great organisms, systems and sub-systems. Your truth is so small that it is not suited for export, for one can only export great truth, which has power, an aim. But why do you deny that besides the portative realists there are internally strong, fine people? They are spattered with mud, while tomorrow they will become pure again, and their eyes will shine with the beauty inherent in them, which you are attempting to reduce to hallucinations. Train them to subordinate themselves to you as much as you will, and they will again walk in their full stature with their own gait. Why do you fail to see them? . . . Legends are created by a Don Quixote, gaizing with a fiery look beyond the pinnacle of life. And the reckless Don Quixotes of this world become heroes of folk tales and folk history . . . Great figures are great first of all by their faith, their love and their ignoring of the Sunday-school truths, ultimate for the moderate. Their scale is determined first and foremost by the merciless highest aim . . . History makes great romantics part of the basis of spiritual culture and creates a foundation from their fervent visions and prophesies. It places Shevchenko high above Kulish, Franko — above Drahomaniv, Lesya (Ukrainka) — above Vynnychenko . . . And on the Black Sea in their light canoes and with a brazen song, the Zaporizhians sail to the shores of Turkey in the face of storms, of whom only a small fraction will emerge victorious . . ."

Here we have two examples of two representatives of two totally different

nations — Russian and Ukrainian. The first of these is in the free world, but he preaches defeatism and capitulation; the second, harassed and persecuted in his native land, preaches "madness of the courageous". Two contrasting figures, two opposing viewpoints — Tolstoy-like toleration of evil and the dynamic posture of the Cossack "Don Quixote".

Therefore, it is not astonishing that Lauter was readily permitted to leave the USSR for the free world, for here he confirms the myth about the legendary indestructibility of the colossus on clay feet. His concept is totally in line with the policy of so-called peaceful coexistence, the gradual, peaceful (by way of petitions, requests and appeals to the "humanity" of the tyrants) "rebirth" of the USSR, for, in his opinion, only thus can the chains be made lighter, can Communism be "humanized" according to the Dubček model. On the other hand, the Ukrainian fighters do not strive for the "humanization of Communism" at all. They want to break Russian chains and to throw them away. Moroz and Lauter! One says: "We shall fight!", the other: "We must beg!" Moroz and Pomerants! Kosmach and Babylon! Kyiv and Babylon!

For Moroz Kosmach is a symbol of the nation's millennial tradition, a symbol of national order in the world. The Soviet society is a Babylonian mixture of peoples. It is a nationless and therefore a cultureless world society. There is no international world culture or literature, for world culture and literature do not exist beyond nations. Shakespeare is an English world treasure, Goethe — a German, Shevchenko — a Ukrainian world figure and treasure. What is the meaning of the phrase: knowledge of world literature? Are not Shevchenko, Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, Moroz, Sverstyuk, Lina Kostenko and Kalynets component parts of it?!

The essential break-through in the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation

which occurred as the result of the actions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the struggle for liberation of the subjugated nations during and after World War II — is first of all the overcoming of fear. Hence, the great crisis in the countries subjugated within the Russian empire, which is already known to the whole world. And so now, when the Unsubdued are at odds with the tyrants, the so-called third Russian emigration released by Moscow into the free world, begins to unearth the old myth about the impossibility of resistance in the USSR, about the unconquerable fear among the subjugated nations, about the stability of the Bolshevik government, about the only correct road of making demands — through "petitions" and appeals to the "humanity" of the Kremlin beasts. Apparently, it is necessary to cover up facts of active, even armed struggle for liberation in the Russian empire — the USSR, and its satellite countries (Budapest, Berlin, Poznan, the concentration camps, Novocherkask, Donetske, Dnipropetrovsk and so forth) and to propagate again the view about the impossibility to overcome terror stemming from the Stalinist times. Thus Lauter and Agruzov and their counterparts in the West — whether they want it or not — are performing a service for the Kremlin through their defeatism.

They might be right when speaking about the Russian people, who do not rebel, do not resist their regime, for they are happy with the present state of affairs and the global expansion of their leaders. But this characteristic cannot be transferred from the nation-oppressor to the subjugated nations, in particular Ukraine. As proved by concrete facts, Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkistan, Estonia, Georgia and other subjugated nations are already at the brink of a revolutionary guerilla struggle against Russia — the occupant — and Communism. There fear has been con-

quered. Now a struggle is being waged not for the improvement of the occupant's system, but for the toppling of the hated empire. The subjugated nations' liberation movement has become a popular movement.

Ukraine's Nationwide Liberation Movement

First of all, we would like to point to the absolutely false thesis of the Russified Ossete (or perhaps a Russian from Ossetia) Avtorkhanov, who declared the following at the NTS conference in November 1972: "Russia is our common fatherland, a union of peoples of various religions and various races, but sharing the same fate. Our road leads through Moscow, and as long as the regime in Moscow is not toppled, we shall neither see a (free) Tashkent, nor Tiflis, nor Kyiv . . ."

We have already mentioned that any hopes of revolution in Russia, in particular of dissolution of the empire through the Russian forces of opposition are futile and naive. The Russian opposition movement has absolutely no support from the Russian people. Yuriy Yofe — an emigrant from the USSR to Israel — stated at the above-mentioned November NTS conference: "The Democratic Movement (in Russia) is a purely intellectual phenomenon, which was never so popular as, for instance, the Zionist, the Crimean Tatar, the **Ukrainian Nationalist** movement . . ." (italics added). Therefore, there is little wonder, — Yofe writes further — that when Bukovsky was tried, a "female patriot from the public" said in agitation: "Why should the likes of him be tried? They should be strangled without any trial!" This is the attitude of the "public" in Russia!

And what about Ukraine? The people tossed flowers under the prisoners' feet in court, and even in the streets when they were led by KGB agents, they covered their path with flowers.

The NTS concepts are rejected not only by the subjugated peoples, but also by anti-Communists in free countries. N. B. Shyroкова, an NTS activist in Sweden, was forced to admit the following: "In Sweden, the youth which fights Communism and uses NTS materials for that (purpose) has a hostile attitude toward NTS..." And this means that the age of imperialism has passed and that honest people do not defend it anywhere.

A. E. Chemesova of NTS also emphasizes that today the liberation movement in Russia is "a movement of the intelligentsia... In the present stage, the liberation movement in Russia does not enjoy the support of the people". And further: "An agreement of the intelligentsia and the common people is reached only where the **national interests of individual nationalities** or religious freedom are at stake..."

V. A. Kapshytser, a recent Jewish emigrant from the USSR to Israel, writes: "One of the major questions facing us is the **national** question... The national forces are breaking the Communist empire apart..."

We are quoting foreigners not because they reveal something new to us, but because they confirm the things we have been writing about for many years already. Apparently, we have evaluated correctly the situation in the present-day Russian empire and made correct diagnoses and prognoses. Hence, we have been and are on the right track. And there is much evidence as to the mighty force of the national liberation movements in the Russian empire. Take for instance the revolts and disturbances in various countries subjugated in the USSR and the heroic sacrifices for the national idea: Makukh, Bereslavskiyi, Palach, Kalanta, Soroka, Oliynyk, Moroz, Horska and countless others!

We have evaluated correctly, too, Russian chauvinism and imperialism, regardless of color. Thus, the NTS leader R. Redlikh, at the NTS conference

in November 1972, openly stated: "For me the national question — our relations with Latvians, Estonians, Georgians, Uzbeks and Ukrainians — is a question of secondary importance. It must be examined as part of the scheme of interrelations among nations on a global scale..." He allegedly has forgotten that the present "interrelations" among nations on a global scale appear as follows: All empires of the world (with the exception of the Russian one) have been liquidated; the former 50 nation-states, members of the UN, were joined by almost 100 new nation-states, which have rid themselves of colonial domination.

"And for me — says that same Redlikh — there is no non-Russian fate, I am first and foremost a Russian... I can feel this much more strongly than the concern for the fate of humanity or democracy..."

Thus, everything is clear. A Russian confirms the things about which a Ukrainian, M. Lado, writes from the Vladimir prison in an essay "Stalin's Death": "We fully depend upon the Russian nation (says Stalin)... It willingly annexed, in spite of sacrifices, other nations to its state... We call the Russian nation a nation-internationalist, a nation-liberator. We call it this, but we are aware that it is far from being this; we know first of all that it is a nation-chauvinist, a nation-imperialist... Our state... is a barrel, made from many staves, which is holding together only thanks to the hoops which were put on it. When the hoops break, the staves will fall apart, the barrel will disappear. This barrel should have disintegrated in '17, and only through unbelievable efforts, at the price of huge (amounts of) blood, we, the Bolsheviks, managed to preserve it, to put new hoops on it... And what will happen today?... Ukraine, the largest peasant country... the largest untrustworthy nation..."

Both Redlikh and Stalin in principle think the same way. But both of them

are forgetting the great truth, which was expressed by another author in Ukraine referring to the role of Shevchenko: "And so the coffin of the greatest enemy of the Russian empire is transported to Ukraine with the permission of the Russian emperor... The imperial state wisdom had always known one general line — to kill. It was afraid of everything living. It closed the "personal files" of the dead with relief and no longer feared them. Naive, it differentiated between the living and the dead through the signs of visibility... "Meanwhile — says a folk legend — our Taras had not died, but only pretended to be dead"... The nation felt that real life, both its and the poet's, hand not begun yet..."

What a totally different world of young Ukrainian authors of subjugated Ukraine — philosophers, sociologists, historians, poets — from the world of the likes of Lauter or Agruzov! Lauter opposes even the dissemination of all leaflets, for allegedly, only "extravagant personalities" get caught in the noose.

"But let's look at national history, — writes one young historian in Ukraine, — had not those become its heroes, who with a child's smile have passed over the abysses and who have raised the highest the spirit of national immortality? Had not the practical, the down-to-earth and the well adjusted been lost anonymously... those who ridiculed the Don Quixotes, because they do not have a cause of their own, but are concerned with everything..."

Yes, heroes and giants are concerned with everything, for they are the movers of the nation, of progress, justice, truth, goodness, freedom. The content and the "practical" are ignored by national memory, are passed over by legend. But it does not pass over heroes, infatuated with the ideals of truth and justice. "The people collect into a legend the traces of great, often futile efforts of a Don Quixote, and sing a song to the madness of the courage-

ous", — stresses a young author of re-born Ukraine.

It is for this reason that the national liberation movement of Ukraine and other subjugated nations has become a nationwide movement. The case is different in Russia. Gleb Rar (also from NTS) writes in the newspaper *Die Welt* of February 2, 1973, that no more than 3-5 thousand people participated in the actions of the Russian democrats. All of them were intellectuals. The "liberals" are again dreaming about and expecting a "thaw". Others plan to search for contacts with the workers who are keeping aloof from the movement of the intellectuals. These are the so-called scientific socialists. Rar acknowledges that "the most natural and the most real are the ties between the elite and the people in the national republics where all are strongly united by the threatened national culture, nationalism."

Yuriy Glazov, an orientalist from the Moscow University, in July 1972 referred to the following eight Russian opposition groups: the **neo-Communists**, who are active within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as an opposition to the top echelon, propagating "humane Communism" of the Dubček type (for some reason he included Gen. Hryhorenko in this group, although, the latter was active on the national front — the Tatars), the **constitution-
alists**, who believe that the dominance of the party and official ideology can be overcome by internal corrections of the system and the application of legality in this group he includes Sakharov); the **neo-Slavists** (or rather neo-Slavophiles), who refer to historic traditions and openly propagate the primacy of the Russians, with traces of anti-Semitism; the **liberals**, who defend personal freedom and oppose collectivism; the **Christian socialists**, who propagate Christian socialism, similarly as in Tsarist times; the **Christian democrats**, who favour the democratization of the system; the **Jews**, who de-

fend their right to emigrate to Israel", the "action group for human rights", in which, from an ideological point of view, one can include Solzhenitsyn.

In spite of the fact that all these groups, with the exception of the Jews perhaps, are not of very great importance in the USSR, they are widely publicized in the West. On the other hand, the national liberation movements are concealed, although the Jews and even the Russians are forced to acknowledge that they alone have deep links with the people and are nationwide movements.

Not one of the representatives of the national liberation movements was permitted by Moscow to go abroad. On the other hand, it lets its own "dissidents" go to the free world, as for instance, Aleksander Yessyenin-Volpin, a mathematician, Yuriy Igtaynov, a well known movie producer, A. P. Fedosyev, doctor of technical science, a specialist of military electronics, twice-decorated with the Order of Lenin, a laureate of the Lenin Prize, the hero of "Socialist labor" and so forth. All this is particularly significant.

In conclusion, with respect to the Russian oppositional or semi-oppositional groups, it must be emphasized that all of them favour the preservation of the Russian empire and totally disregard the national aspirations of the subjugated nations. They demand:

1) A relative liberalization of the system, but within such limits as to preserve the indivisibility of the empire and not to shake its foundations. Their tendencies are manifested in the loyal opposition to "His Royal Highness" Leonid I, in an attempt to correct and democratize the party from above or by pressure from below, but without the use of force.

2) In principle they reject revolutionary methods of struggle and the revolutionary way of removing the present system, the basis of which the majority tries to leave intact, imposing on it a "Dubček" character. All Rus-

sian opposition groups (with the exception of the All-Russian Christian Social Union for People's Liberation, crushed in 1968) reject and condemn armed struggle. The latter was considered to be a chauvinist and anti-Semitic group.

3) They — as intelligentsia groups — restrict themselves to professional affairs, struggling within these or other limits for freedom of speech and religion or the so-called human rights, but disregarding the socio-political aspects of life, the situation of the peasants and workers, and failing to raise the question of the socio-political system and the socio-economic oppression.

4) Nowhere do they stand up in defense of national or human rights in the countries subjugated by the Russians, do not even mention them in their petitions and memorials, although it is generally known that, for instance, about 80% of all political prisoners and those persecuted on political grounds are Ukrainians.

5) They do not propose any alternative to the Communist government, but only wish to "correct" it and partially "democratize" the regime.

In the event of an action which would hasten the fall of the empire all of them would rally to the side of the regime in line with the theses of Milyukov and Kerensky which said that it is better to have a tyrant and a tyranny than "the lacerated living body of Russia". From this stems their very restrained pressure on the regime, including the proposals (Sakharov, O-sypov) for a joint introduction of reforms from above so as not to shake the empire and the system which is the basis of the empire's existence.

Therefore, one should not wonder that Moscow permitted some Russian dissidents to go to the West. It prefers to have them in the free world, where they play the part of defenders of the empire and focus the attention of Western society on secondary matters — the various "alleviations" which can

allegedly be achieved in the USSR. Hence, they are saving the Russian empire from dismemberment into national states.

All the demands put forth by Sakharov, Osypov, Agruzov or Lauter to the regime seem like a farce of those begging for scraps from Brezhnev's table.

A Gun Is Powerless Against Ideas

Thus, unnoticeably, it would seem, Brezhnev's neo-Stalinism — approved by Nixon and Pompidou — emerged on the horizon of the Russian empire. Even in Stalin's time some captured insurgents were sentenced to 25 years in prison, while now the "liberal" and "de-Stalinizer" Brezhnev punishes wives with long prison terms in order to break their husbands. Yurko Shukhevych was sentenced to another 15 years only because he refused to denounce his father, while Ukrainian intellectuals are convicted to 15 years in prison or confined for life in insane asylums (Plushch, Hryhorenko). Brezhnev using modern methods surpasses Stalin in brutality.

But with no barbaric methods is it possible to break the spirit of the nation, to destroy its ideas. A gun is powerless against an idea.

Liberation nationalism is the mightiest and the sole force which can destroy the prison of nations. Moscow is particularly afraid of unity between the Christian and the national idea. **Robitnycha hazeta** of March 13, 1973, among other things, writes: "Priests and former Uniate monks who have not joined (the official Russian Orthodox Church — trans.) attempt to conduct illegal religious activities... Yosyp Slipyi who headed the Uniate dross abroad, together with the former criminal, Stetsko, took pains to revive the Union on the territory of Soviet Ukraine..." Having driven the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church into the catacombs by terror, the Russian tyrants also attempt to liquidate the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

in Ukraine, which has a Ukrainian national character. Therefore, the above-mentioned propaganda sheet in Ukrainian is very much alarmed because: "As of late, also the activity of former Uniate clergy who conduct illegal agitation for the reestablishment of the Uniate Church has risen considerably in individual regions of Ukraine. These priests... project themselves in the eyes of the faithful in the role of martyrs for the faith, disseminate among former members of the Uniate Church religious leaflets, small calendars and prayer books with anti-Soviet and anti-Communist contents, which are delivered with the aid of 'tourists'. One of the most repulsive variants of Uniatism is the so-called Penitentialism ("The Penitents" — stemming from the word "penance" — sharply denounce the pro-Russian — politics of the Vatican — Ye. O.). Penitentialism's organizers — former Uniate priests — Soltys, Potochnyak, Syretskyi and others staged the miracle of the appearance of the Mother of God near a spring on the Serednyany Mountain on December 22, 1954. In their instructions the chieftains of the Penitents urge not to work in Soviet institutions, refuse to accept passports, military cards and other Soviet documents which allegedly bear the stamp of the devil..."

Here we have still another proof that Moscow fears Christ and the national idea. But the ideological bankruptcy of Communism and tyranny are obvious to the point that even terror and persecution of Ukrainian national Churches and their faithful will no longer save the Russian empire.

Christianity and the national ideas have already penetrated the broad popular masses, as an invincible force. The Russian empire and its atheist Communist system find themselves at the verge of collapse and will be destroyed under the blows of the national liberation forces of the subjugated nations.

American Professors Indict Leonid Brezhnev

Mr. Brezhnev,

You have come to the United States on a state visit upon the invitation of the President of the United States of America. You have come here for the purpose of improving mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, a laudible purpose which you confirmed in your address of May 1 in Moscow:

"We shall in the future, too, facilitate a favourable development of Soviet-American relations on the principle of mutual respect and mutual advantage."

This "advantage" you speak of already was partly attained when the US Government and the Government of the USSR signed a mutual trade agreement, enabling your government to buy **\$ 750,000,000 worth of US grain over a period of three years. You also know that \$ 500,000,000 of that sum will be paid with monies generously loaned by the American taxpayer.** Moreover, your representatives have been pressuring the US Government and the US Congress to grant the USSR the "**most-favored-nation**" status (MFN), which would provide American credits for the USSR to finance Soviet trade with the US. It would also remove discriminatory tariffs that are in force against the USSR and other Communist countries.

All these efforts, Mr. Brezhnev, as well as the frantic search by your government for grain in Canada, Western Europe and other countries of the world, prove undeniably if embarrassingly only one thing: despite the military prowess and the alleged technological progress made by the USSR, **its economy is in a very precarious if not deplorable state. Demonstrated again is that your Government does need economic assistance from the "capital-**

ist" states. Demonstrated also is that the USSR needs to display a measure of "good will" and "respect" towards those who are deeply concerned with the internal situation in the USSR, the overriding feature of which is the thorough repression of all the non-Russian peoples by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which you head, and by your efficient KGB, your instrument of effecting obedience and of executing genocide.

Gross Violations of Human Rights in Ukraine

As part of the great American intellectual and academic community, we address ourselves to you, Mr. Brezhnev, on behalf of **hundreds upon thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals** who are being systematically persecuted by your secret police and your courts in very defiance of your own Soviet Constitution and of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which the USSR Government and the Government of the Ukrainian SSR both solemnly pledged themselves to observe and respect. Since your representatives in the UN make much of human rights in their propaganda tirades against such countries as Greece, Rhodesia, Israel, South Vietnam and even the United States, why do they receive such scant notice from a state that vaunts its belief in the individual?

Only this past December the USSR observed the 50th anniversary of its founding, emphasizing the theme that the "nationality problem" has been satisfactorily "solved", and that all the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, constituting over 50 % of its entire population, are "happy" to live in the USSR.

Conspicuously absent from the official pronouncements were less "happy" features of your rule, as well as the

rule of your predecessors, Stalin and Khrushchev, namely:

a) The Stalin-made famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, which resulted in the death by starvation of **over 7,000,000 Ukrainian men, women and children**;

b) The wanton destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in the 1930's, along with the arrest and execution of over 40 Ukrainian Orthodox archbishops and bishops and over 20,000 priests and monks;

c) The brutal destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine in 1945-1946, entailing the arrest and execution of hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic priests, nuns and monks and the subordination of over 5 million Ukrainian Catholics to the Kremlin-controlled Russian Orthodox Church, against their will and belief;

d) The wholesale liquidation of members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet Ukrainian underground, in 1945-1949, in-

cluding their families: parents, wives, sisters, brothers and children.

e) The mass deportation of Ukrainians into the out-flung areas of the USSR, especially Siberia and Central Asia, many of them sent by "administrative order", without benefit of trial, never of choice.

Under your leadership, the Soviet government has been ruthlessly Russifying not only populous Ukraine, but other so-called "Union Republics": Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkistan.

Some 3 million Soviet Jews have been subjected to age-old persecution. A Soviet variant of the pogrom, under your tutelage, was the \$2,000 to \$25,000 "tax" imposed on Jews wishing to leave your much-propagandized democracy.

And now, Mr. Brezhnev, we have the case of the youth educated under Communism in Ukraine — the Ukrainian intellectuals.

The Case of the Ukrainian Intellectuals

From 1965 to the present the Soviet government, under your thinking and direction, has pursued a ruthless repression of these Ukrainian intellectuals that is tantamount to a veritable cultural pogrom. The overwhelming majority of these men and women, may we stress, have been reared under the Soviet system in Ukraine. These are not the tillers of the land, the "peasants" in such alleged need of the enlightenment and liberation of a new social system. No, these are writers, poets, literary critics, journalists, professors, teachers, artists, engineers and research workers. These are presumably the flower of fifty years of Soviet rule.

Yet in 1972 alone over **100 Ukrainian intellectuals** were arrested in Ukraine and charged, as were far more before them, with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Many of them have already been tried **in camera** and sent-

enced to severe prison terms. Their crimes? Glorifying the Ukrainian past, reading prerevolutionary books by Ukrainian authors, now banned in Ukraine, and copying and disseminating speeches of Western leaders, including the encyclical **Pacem in Terris** of the late Pope John XXIII. Also: some of them discussed among themselves ways and means of **legally** resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture; still others protested against the unbridled persecution of the national minorities, notably the Jews.

Their crime, Mr. Brezhnev, evidently was to take the Soviet constitution at its face value. All this is legal and actual in the normal functioning of a democratic, so-called capitalistic society, such as ours. Should you occasionally browse through the pages of the Western press, which is free, you cannot but realize that ours is a society of con-

flicting opinions, values and hopes. We deem this turmoil democracy at its best, arresting no one as a "saboteur", anti-government "wrecker" or even as a Soviet "lackey". No self-professed Communist among us has ever been exiled to the Appalachians.

An American speaks freely. In your state, even those who profess to be Marxists and legal citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, have been victimized by a double-speak regime.

For the record, let us consider:

Yuriy Shukhevych, 40, son of General Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He was first arrested and convicted in 1948 at the age of 15, serving 20 years for refusing to denounce his anti-Soviet father. In September, 1972, for further "deviation" he was sentenced to 10 years of normal incarceration and another 5 years in a chastening labor camp;

Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, 53, poet and journalist. In 1944, he received a 25-year sentence, but was released in 1960. He translated Charlotte Bronte's **Jane Eyre** and other alien works into the Ukrainian. Worse, he wrote ardent petitions to the Communist authorities protesting the persecution of Jews and other national minorities. In 1965, he was rearrested and sentenced to 8 years and 7 months at hard labor by N. Rudenko, Prosecutor-General of the USSR;

Valentyn Moroz, 37, Ukrainian historian. For "deviation" he was arrested and sentenced in 1966 to 5 years at hard labor. While in the slave camp, he wrote **A Report from the Beria Preserve** and **A Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine** in the latter work he assailed the Russification of Ukraine and the police terror. Released in 1968, he was rearrested in June, 1970; on November 20, 1970, he was sentenced to 9 years at hard labor;

Vyacheslav Chornovil, 35, TV journalist, publicist and literary critic. In August, 1967, he was sentenced to 3

years at hard labor for simply compiling factual material on the arrests and trials of 20 Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-1966. His documentary book, **The Chornovil Papers**, was published by the McGraw Hill Company in 1968. Released in 1969, he was rearrested in January, 1972, and in February of the following year sentenced to 7 years at hard labor, including 5 years of "exile" from his native land of Ukraine;

Ivan Dzyuba, 42, editor, literary critic and author of such books as **Soviet Literature, The One Who Chased Out the Pharisees, and Internationalism or Russification?**, which was published in English in London (1968). In January, 1972, in the wave of new arrests in Ukraine conducted by the KGB, he was arrested and interrogated on his "contacts" with Ukrainian anti-Soviet organizations abroad. He was expelled from the Union of Writers of Ukraine for "preparing and disseminating materials bearing an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist character". The following March he was sentenced to 5 years of hard labor. Early in 1963 he spoke at a meeting of the Ukrainian Jews in Kyiv, denouncing the slaughter of Jews by the Nazis in 1943 at Babi Yar;

Ivan Svitlichnyi, 44, noted Ukrainian literary critic and author. Arrested first in 1966 while working for the Shevchenko Institute of Literature, a section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, he spent 8 months in jail. He then wrote articles for Ukrainian journals in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and translated the work of the French poet, Pierre-Jean Beranger. In 1972, he was arrested and kept in isolation and, in March, 1973, sentenced to 7 years at hard labor;

Yevhen Sverstyuk, 45 literary critic, publicist and essayist. Arrested in 1965, he was imprisoned for several months. His essays dealt primarily with the era of Stalinist terror in Ukraine. One important work, **Cathedral in the Scaffolding**, has been widely circulated in Ukraine as an underground publica-

tion; in March, 1973, he was sentenced to 5 years at hard labor;

Leonid Plyushch, 33, Ukrainian cybernetics specialist and a member of the Human Rights Committee under the chairmanship of Prof. Andrei D. Sakharov. He was sentenced to indefinite detention in a psychiatric ward;

Ihor Kalynets, 34, poet and literary critic, and author of such poetry collections as **Poetry from Ukraine** and **Summary of Silence**. He was sentenced in November, 1972, to 9 years of hard labor;

Mykhaylo Osadchyi, 37, writer and university professor. He translated into the Ukrainian the poems of Garcia Lorca and published his own collection of poems, **Moon Field**, and **Cataract**. He was sentenced in September, 1972, to 7 years at hard labor;

Nina Strokata-Karavanskyi, 48, a microbiologist at the Medical Institute, and wife of condemned Svyatoslav Karavanskyi. She refused to denounce and divorce her husband. The charge was

that she maintained contacts with "suspicious" persons in Kyiv, Lviv and Moscow. In May, 1972, she was sentenced to 4 years at hard labor;

Stephania Shabatura, 35, artist and specialist on Ukrainian rugs. She incurred the attention of the KGB by demanding admission to the secret trial of Valentyn Moroz and by signing a petition on his behalf. In July 1972, she was sentenced to 5 years at hard labor;

Irena-Stasiv-Kalynets, 33, college teacher and writer and wife of poet Ihor Kalynets. A writer of poetry for children, she taught Ukrainian language and literature at the Polytechnical Institute in Lviv. In July, 1972, she was sentenced to 6 years at hard labor;

Vasyl Stus, 35, poet and literary critic. In December, 1971, he joined a "Citizens Committee for the Defence of Nina Strokata-Karavanska, "who was being persecuted because she refused to disavow her husband. The reward for his convictions came in September, 1972, 5 years at hard labor.

Innocent Victims of Totalitarian Genocide

Mr. Brezhnev:

As first Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as head of the Politburo, you cannot but know that these Ukrainian intellectuals, plus similar hundreds of others in Ukraine, are not criminals in the light of your own Soviet laws. But your courts, dishearteningly reminiscent of Hitler's "people's courts", insist on trying these young people under Art. 62 of the Ukrainian Penal Code, which spells out punishment for "agitation or propaganda for the purpose of undermining the Soviet rule".

Yet your own Soviet Constitution (Art. 125) guarantees each citizen "freedom of speech; freedom of the press; freedom of assembly and freedom of procession and demonstration on the street". If exercise of any of these rights, in the spirit of the law, is out-of-hand branded as subversion, then

they are "paper rights", sop beneath, at least, the human of the animal kingdom.

Your government and that of the Ukrainian SSR are signatories to the UN **Declaration of Human Rights** which, in Art. 19, states explicitly:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Are these rights mere words to you, Mr. Brezhnev?

Your government is accusing these intellectuals of being "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" who wish to detach Ukraine from the USSR. But you and your omnipresent police assuredly know better. These people are the pro-

duct of your Soviet system; they speak out in terms of it. Yet if some do envision a secession of Ukraine, this in itself is no violation of the constitution, for Art. 17 of the Soviet constitution contains the provision that each Union Republic has "the right to secede freely from the USSR".

It is plain that what they are concerned about is the **genocidal effort of your government to blot out Ukrainian consciousness through an official systematic Russification of Ukraine. The aim is no less than the destruction of the Ukrainian identity.**

These "deviationists" are actually martyrs in the cause of human freedom, for certainly they cannot be accused **en masse** of incredible stupidity. As perceptive human beings, they have recoiled from the corruption of your courts, your KGB terrorization, the overt negation of humankind inherent in the appalling, and abysmally cruel, efforts of the Kremlin to compel a wealth of nations to respond to and live by the nature of but one — the Russian. The avowed goal of a "one Soviet people", they see, is at the least the fabrication of a no-people.

On January 21, 1969, your organ in Kyiv, **Pravda Ukrainy**, reported that in 1968 **7,000 students were expelled from the universities, technicums and other institutions of higher learning in Ukraine for "ideological disloyalty"**.

So many, and at once?

Recently, you ousted from the Politburo Peter Y. Shelest, your erstwhile colleague and trusted viceroy in Ukraine, accusing him of fostering "Ukrainian nationalism" in Ukraine. There is national consciousness among Ukrainians, of course. But the widespread resistance in Ukraine, we submit, is generated by a totalitarian onslaught upon human rights, the basic need of an individual to be himself before he can meaningfully lend himself to others and an idea.

You have come here, Mr. Brezhnev, to seek a bettering of relationship with

the United States and other Western countries.

Before thrusting at short-term gains, however, why not engage in a dialogue that presupposes man and nation to be worthwhile in themselves? Any social system has merit, including one that has survived 50 years. But if fruition of all mankind is the goal, then repression and mullification of large segments of it surely must be inimical, if not fatal, to the goal. A system, however inspired, must cater to the man, never he to the system.

As Americans, this is our fundamental belief.

Prof. **James D. Atkinson**, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Prof. **Lev. F. Dobriansky**, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Prof. **Joseph Dunner**, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Yeshiva University, New York, N.Y.

Prof. **Julius Epstein**, Lincoln University, Palo Alto, Calif.

Prof. **Kurt Glaser**, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Ill.

Prof. **Stephan M. Horak**, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Ill.

Prof. **Henry L. Hull**, Department of History, University of Dallas at Irving, Irving, Texas

Prof. **Jan Karski**, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Prof. **Anthony Kubeck**, Department of History, University of Dallas at Irving, Irving, Texas

Prof. **Peter Lejins**, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Prof. **Franz Michaels**, Sino-Soviet Studies, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Prof. **Michael S. Pap**, John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio

Prof. **Stefan T. Possony**, Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif.

Prof. **Paul Craig Roberts**, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M.

Prof. **Edward J. Rosek**, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado, Denver, Colo.

Prof. **Joseph S. Roucek**, Queensbo-

rough Community College, Bayside, N.Y.

Prof. **David Rowe**, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Prof. **Joseph Schiebel**, Director Russian Area Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Prof. **Peter G. Stercho**, Drexel University, Philadelphia, Pa.

Prof. **Bertram D. Wolfe**, Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif.

Prof. **Richard Walker**, Director, Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

June, 1973

British Intellectuals Denounce Repressions in Ukraine

On February 3, 1973, the following British intellectuals send a letter to the **Times** of London in defense of their Ukrainian counterparts, the most recent victims of Russian persecution. The full text of the letter appeared in **ABN-Correspondence**, No. 2, 1973.

Maurice Cranston — professor of political science, author of a series of scholarly works.

Peggy Ashcroft — theatrical and film actress, honorary doctorate from Oxford.

Sir Alfred Jules Ayer — professor of logic at Oxford, author of a series of books on philosophy, honorary doctorate from Brussels, honorary member of the American Academy of Sciences.

Sir Robert Birley — professor and head of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of London, several honorary doctorates.

Sir Denis (William) Brogan — honorary doctor, professor of political science at Cambridge, author of several books.

Stuart Newton Hampshire — professor of philosophy at London and Ox-

ford, author of several books on philosophy.

Mr. John Frank Kermode — professor of literature at the University of London, author of a book on themes of English literature.

Hon. Yehudi Menuhin — world famous violinist, honorary citizen of Switzerland, possesses several high honors.

Mr. John Boynton Priestley — novelist and playwright, author of dozens of books, former delegate of Great Britain to UNESCO.

Baron Robbins — professor at the University of London, president of the British Academy, honorary doctor at several universities, member of many academies of science, author of several books on economics.

Mr. Richard Wollheim — professor of philosophy at the University of London, author of philosophical works.

The French Defend the Ukrainians

In response to the steps taken by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Community in France, Daniel Maier, head of the French League for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights, announced that his organization will intervene before the Soviet authorities in the matters of V. Chornovil, I. Dzyuba, Prof. L. Plushch, I. Svitlychnyi, and Ye. Sverstyuk.

The Secretariat of the Ukrainian committee sent further information on new sentences to the above-named organization.

Estonia

Estonia's long history is a troublesome one: a country at the crossroads of East and West has seen many invasions, has been a battleground for many bloody wars and has suffered foreign occupations — the most cruel occupation coming from the East, from Russia, which is now called the Soviet Union.

The happiest time for Estonia was her time of independence, when Estonia was known on the international arena as the Republic of Estonia. The Republic was proclaimed on February 24, 1918, and was brought under the Russian occupation in June 1940.

Estonia's independence was gained by the War of Liberation, which lasted from November 28, 1918 to January 3, 1920. During the war the Estonian Army under General Johan Laidoner repulsed the Red Army units, which at Christmas 1918 were only about 20 miles from Estonia's capital, Tallinn. With the Estonian counterattack the Reds were pushed out of Estonia, and at the border area the battles raged a year. At the beginning of December 1919, the Kremlin realized that Estonia was not to be conquered by the Red Army, and it proposed to start peace negotiations.

During the negotiations at the Estonian university town Tartu, the Red Army started fierce attacks at the Narva sector to break Estonian defense lines. They had no success and after more than three months of attacks the Reds had to give up their attempts to subjugate Estonia. At that time Narva was visited by many Western correspondents and the French journalists in several articles compared Narva with Verdun. Verdun at that time was a symbol of resistance and a will to sacrifice.

During the battles for Estonia another battle raged at Tartu at the table of the peace conference. There Estonia's

Foreign Minister, Jaan Poska, assisted by civilian and military men, was also conducting a hard fight against the men from the Kremlin. If we do not count the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, the Tartu conference was the very first which the men from the Kremlin conducted with a "capitalist" country. Therefore, the free world observed with keen interest what was going on in Tartu, Estonia, in December 1919.

The representatives of the Bolsheviks used tricks which they extensively applied at their later conferences. But they failed completely, because the head of the Estonian delegation, as well as its members, were such experienced Sovietologists that Soviet Russian attacks were repulsed after a few minutes of speech. When the member of the Russian delegation, Krassin, attempted to call the war a class struggle and to decorate his speech with typical Bolshevik slogans, Mr. Poska cut him short and told him that the peace conference is not a propaganda forum. "Mr. Krassin, you have to read your instructions better given to you by your Commissar, Chicherin." The Bolshevik was brought to silence and the conference could continue. Estonia's army was represented by General Jaan Soots, who was Chief of Staff to General Laidoner. His counterpart in the Russian delegation was a former tsarist officer of the General Staff, Kostyayev. When Kostyayev threatened Soots that they would bring three infantry divisions to the Narva front and would then succeed in breaking through the Estonian line, General Soots replied with utmost calmness: "No matter, in that case we have to dispatch three fresh companies to Narva."

The difficult conference was brought to an end at New Year's Eve of 1920. Estonia was established as an independent republic. The Kremlin had to give her *de jure* recognition and to pay retributions.

With the war and her stubborn resistance Estonia as well as her neighbors had not saved their countries, but the invasion into Europe was stopped at the Balticum.

On December 25, 1918 *Izvestia*, the paper of the Soviet Russian government put it this way in its editorial:

Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania are directly on the road from Russia to Western Europe, and are therefore a hindrance to our revolution, because they separate Soviet Russia from revolutionary Germany . . . This separating wall must be destroyed. The Russian Red proletariat should find an opportunity to influence Germany. The conquest of the Baltic Sea would make it possible for Soviet Russia to agitate in favor of the social revolution in the Scandinavian countries so that the Baltic Sea would be transformed into the "Sea of Social Revolution".

Estonia and her neighbors cancelled these Russian dreams.

In the Tartu Peace Treaty, the Kremlin solemnly pledged to respect the signed treaty for ever and to live in peace and in good-neighbor relations with Estonia.

That pledge was a lie. In a few weeks Lenin himself declared that the signed treaty was only a breathing spell, and very soon it would come about that the "Estonian working people" would seize power and again join the "happy union of the people". Certainly we must understand under the term "Estonian working people" the members of the Communist Party, which received its directives from the Kremlin.

There was peace and tranquility in Estonia. The Kremlin's pledge was only meant to weaken Estonian vigilance. Subversive activities by Russian agents, attacks in words and deeds by the members of the Estonian Communist Party, inciting articles against Estonia in the Soviet Russian press — all that spoke against peace. Estonia

had to prepare herself for constant vigilance and for constant defense. And so it happened that armed Communist bands started to invade Estonian government offices and military units in the early hours of December 1, 1924. Behind the Estonian-Soviet border, the units of the Red Army were ready to invade Estonia. The commanders of Red bands in Tallinn in several cases were Red Army officers. But the Estonian Army acted so vigorously that in a few hours the bands were liquidated and their leaders captured. From that event Estonia drew a useful conclusion: she strengthened her defense by forming a Defense League — *Kaitseliit* — which effected that almost every second Estonian home was equipped with a rifle and the Communists had no place to do their dirty work. The Kremlin also learned its lesson: it stopped, for the time being, the subversive activities against Estonia.

A new wave of Russian aggression started again after the Kremlin dictator had squared his accounts with his opposition. A "true son of the Kremlin clique", Andrey Zhdanov, in a speech from Leningrad one November day in 1936, openly attacked the Baltic states and Finland and like Peter I boasted that it is time to use the help of the Red Army and to open the window toward the West. It was the first note to the Baltic states and to Finland that the Kremlin had not forgotten them and that very soon a new wave of aggression would be in the offing.

The border incidents increased, and several times on the ice of the Peipsi Lake the Red border guards attacked Estonian fishermen, deported them to the Soviet Union and held them there in custody. Armed clashes between Estonian and Soviet border guards also occurred.

The notorious pact of August 23, 1939, called the Hitler-Stalin Pact, actually signed by Ribbentrop and Molotov, opened better chances for the Kremlin to invade the Baltic states.

At the end of September 1939, the Kremlin invited the Estonian Foreign Minister, Mr. Karl Selter, to Moscow to sign a new trade agreement between Estonia and the Soviet Union. Mr. Selter learned that his visit was planned in order that he should receive from the Kremlin a dictate, camouflaged as a treaty of mutual assistance, to open Estonia's territory to the units of the Red Army. Estonia had to yield and accept the treaty in which it was stated that the social order of the respective countries was to be respected and that no attempts were to be made to change the political status of the contracting parties.

In the middle of June, Estonia saw that the troops of military bases were used to accomplish the occupation of a free country. Very soon Estonia had to accept a so-called friendly government, which consisted of Communist Party members and of fellow-travellers. Shortly, Estonia witnessed the newly elected parliament asking Estonia to join the Soviet Union. On August 6, 1940, Estonia was in the full grip of the Kremlin.

The Russification process had begun.

The leading men of Estonia disappeared into the Soviet Union's concentration camps. The members of the Kaitseleit were especially hunted after. Those officers who very bravely fought in the War for the Independence disappeared or were murdered on the spot. Estonia, with Latvia and Lithuania, experienced the following on June 13, 1941:

"The deportation of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic republics was of great political importance." That long document was signed by the Deputy People's Commissar of Public Security of the USSR. The Commissar of Public Security of the Third Rank was Serov. The name Serov was well known from his criminal deeds in Ukraine, and the Hungarians had a "chance" to learn about him in November 1956.

On the night of June 13/14, 1941 a-

lone, Estonia lost 9,720 people. That was Bartholomew's Night for Estonia as well as for Latvia and Lithuania. The next night, June 14/15, 1941, about 300 Estonian Army officers received orders to go to staff exercises. They never returned, and the Russians give no information on what happened to them. The only explanation: this was an Estonian Katyn. With the retreat of the Red Army, Estonia lost more than 60,000 young men, who were packed into trains or ships and deported to slave labor camps. Great damage was effected in North Estonia by Russian annihilation battalions in the summer of 1941, because the advance of the German Wehrmacht stopped in Estonia for more than two months.

During the Great Nordic War, Russian Tsar Peter I dispatched his General Sheremetyev into Estonia and ordered him "to destroy everything". After a short time Sheremetyev reported: "Between the Duna and Narva River no cock crows, no dog barks". Sheremetyev received the tsar's promotion. In the summer of 1941, another man in the Kremlin again issued an order, very similar to that of Peter. This was Stalin's scorched earth order. It applied not only to Estonia but to all areas where the "invincible" Red Army was fleeing.

Estonia joined the fight against the aggression coming from the East. The dealings in Teheran and Yalta defeated Germany, but they established a regime in Estonia as well as in other countries of Eastern Europe which destroyed all liberties and converted these once flourishing countries into countries where there is no liberty, no freedom, no free enterprise.

Together with the remnants of once free peoples, the Estonians continue their struggle for freedom. Our joint efforts may constitute a new superpower, and thus we hope one day to see the flags of freedom displayed again in Tallinn, Riga, Kaunas, as well as in Kyiv and Budapest.

Avraham Shifrin's Testimony

Avraham Shifrin, a Jewish nationalist and former prisoner of Russian concentration camps, well known to the Ukrainian community as friend and defender of Yuriy Shukhevych, testified in Washington before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Affairs on February 1-2, 1973. Shifrin's swearing in and interrogation were conducted by the subcommittee's chairman, Florida Senator Edward G. Gurney.

The immediate ground for the subcommittee's session was Avraham Shifrin's assertion that the USSR always poses a threat to the internal security of the USA in spite of the official policy of peaceful coexistence, signed agreements on the limitation of armaments and enlivened trade relations. In Shifrin's opinion, Russia never forgets its program of conquering the USA which is expressed by the formula: "External encirclement plus internal demoralization equals progressive capitulation". At the present moment, the greatest obstacle in the realization of this program is the internal ferment in the USSR. Through its policies with respect to the USSR financial means Washington is helping Moscow to suppress domestic ferment. Hence, it is not only directly responsible for the fate of the numerous dissidents in the USSR, but also furthers the growth of potential threat to itself.

Shifrin illustrated his testimony by maps on which the location of concentration camps known to him were marked, plans of some concentration camps, photographs, copies of letters and so forth.

One of the reasons for the inquiry was also the assertion that Russia, in spite of the fact that it is a member of the United Nations, brutally violates human rights and extensively applies genocidal methods of rule.

In the West, the conviction is widespread that concentration camps in the USSR are a thing of the past (which to a certain extent is a success of excellent Russian propaganda). A. Shifrin's testimony confirms the opposite. He admits that Khrushchev, who after Stalin's death declared that 15 million political prisoners are languishing in concentration camps, released at first a certain part of them, but states that very shortly thereafter the camps were filled to capacity with new prisoners. At this very time, in 1973, about 2 million people are interned in Russian concentration camps.

Concentration camps are scattered across the territory of the USSR, but their greatest concentration is in the Arctic zone of Siberia, along special KGB private railroad lines.

There are no words in the human language with which one could transmit the sufferings and the tortures of people banished to these concentration camps. Exhausting, dangerous, energy-consuming work in mines, forests and special factories, with starvation rations of rotten cabbage and a gluey substance called bread. The bitter cold which penetrates all the way to the marrow of the bones, the sufferings of the tired body in the most primitive, refinedly cruel surroundings, the maltreatment by the brutalized prison guards, the ceaseless, cynical trampling of human dignity, coarse language, a stifling moral stench, — these are only the general outlines of this genuine hell on earth. And when one adds to this the longing for the dear ones, for the family, the concern for their destiny, the helplessness in the face of bestial, subtle, legal tortures of the corrupt system — then is it a wonder that many prisoners break down. They die like flies; they commit suicide in the hor-

ribble delirium caused by hunger, or in a state of mental breakdown.

Against this background, A. Shifrin depicted several macabre, horror-filled scenes which make pictures of Dante's hell seem pale. There were instances where prisoners in a hunger delirium cut their veins, dipped bread in blood and ate it, cut off their own flesh so as to fry it and eat it. Or at the height of despair they tattooed on their foreheads: "slave of Communism", cut off their ears, flinging them into the faces of the KGB men, at the same time harboring a secret hope that when they are freed they'll convince the world of Moscow's outrageous crime with their earless heads.

And amidst this hell there are also women and children. A. Shifrin related to the dumbfounded committee that one time in Potma in 1961 a party composed of 3,000 prisoners, hardened by sufferings and pain, unexpectedly saw 250 weeping female prisoners with children in their arms, in the midst of the cursing guards, barking dogs, crying children. Shaken by this scene, as if struck by lightning, the prisoners shouted: "Murderers, canibals!" The guards began to fire, and a voice from a radio transmitter was heard over the heads: "Rejoice, citizens, again a great victory of the Soviet Union: cosmonaut Yuriy Gagarin has just soared into outer space."

In another concentration camp, in Taishet, in Siberia, A. Shifrin saw how the camp guards, angered by the prayers of nuns, threw themselves at them, tore off their clothes, and dragged them, naked, by the legs to a barrack containing a shower.

Or still another scene: several KGB men wearing white coats play the role of doctors; the whole camp, all stark naked pass them one by one; the KGB men feel the intimate parts of the prisoner's body and decide whether they will last for some time, or whether they should be dispatched to a special camp, doomed to slow death by starvation.

What were the motives for the persecution and imprisonment? — asked the committee chairman.

Different motives at different times. From a conscious arousing of an atmosphere of terror and intimidation and the liquidation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Stalin's time, retribution for revolts and insurrections in Khrushchev's time, to the liquidation of the anti-regime struggle and the stifling of the manifestations of "nationalisms" at present, in the time of Brezhnev's rule.

Some facts cited by A. Shifrin seem unbelievable, fantastic. They are filled with such contempt for human dignity, such brutal violation of human rights, such inhuman cruelty, that it is simply hard to believe that they could have occurred in the 20th century.

Some ignorant, innocent man dreams that Stalin has been killed. He talks about it in his cooperative apartment and as a result receives 25 years of concentration camp as a "potential terrorist"

A Ukrainian family, Pavlyuk, — mother, son and daughter — all were convicted to 25 years in a concentration camp for belonging to the UPA only because they let a tired, unknown traveller stay at their house overnight.

A young Ukrainian in Mukachiv, accused of nationalist activity, asks while being beaten during an inquiry: "Why are you beating me; I am only under investigation; perhaps the court will declare me innocent?" In reply to this, the investigator drags him to the window, points to the market in Mukachiv and says: "These people are under investigation; you are here, so already convicted." Of course, he also received 25 years in a concentration camp.

As a classical example of cynical disregard for human rights and conscious criminal act, A. Shifrin cites the fate of two boys aged 14: Pyotr Yakir — a Jew, and Yuriy Shukhevych — a Ukrainian. Pyotr is a son of a Soviet general annihilated by Stalin, while

Yuriy is a son of the UPA general, fallen in battle with the Bolsheviks. Both boys, although innocent, languished for 20 years in concentration camps as sons of "the enemies of the people", and both, after a short time in freedom, are again in prison now. Both are paying the highest price for their loyalty to a moral principle, for their spiritual insubmissiveness.

In his testimony about the motives for imprisonment and inhuman persecution, A. Shifrin reserved a special place for Ukraine. He maintained that national consciousness in central and eastern territories of Ukraine, lulled by the Russians, was re-awakened by the following events: a) the annexation of western Ukrainian lands to the Ukr. SSR in 1945; b) the actions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which for 8 years, without anybody's help, opposed the might of the Russian empire. In the opinion of A. Shifrin, it was a great error of Moscow that it banished to concentration camps at least half of the entire population of West Ukraine. These people, in specific conditions of concentration camps, became fully mature and grew spiritually, many of them becoming highly qualified intellectuals who captivated the eastern regions of Ukraine with their national consciousness and their nationalist outlook on the world. As a result, Ukrainian nationalism is widespread on all Ukrainian territories. The recent revolt in Dniprodzerzhynsk and many other localities of Ukraine is a pronounced proof of this.

In his testimony, A. Shifrin returned time and again to the portrayal of the horrible physical and moral sufferings of prisoners. For instance, seven prisoners, of which he was one himself, were confined to a cement cell 3 x 3 meters for a year. ("How was it, — asked the chairman with distrust — do I understand you correctly: seven people in three square meters?" — Yes! — declared A. Shifrin confidently.) He extensively described the mental break-

downs of prisoners, brought to the edge of human endurance. And against this background he painted with warm, affectionate colors the silhouettes of the intrepid and unbending, so dear to us: the present Cardinal Josyf Slipyi, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, the late Mykhaylo Soroka, Yuriy Shukhevych, Kateryna Zarytska and others. His narration revived in the imagination of his listeners the majestic figure of Archbishop J. Slipyi, who preserved perfect human dignity in the midst of the greatest degradation of man; the animated the figure of Yuriy Shukhevych who walks around this most horrible hell with a book in his hands and takes advantage of every free moment in order to increase his knowledge; the late Mykhaylo Soroka who — in spite of his tragic fate — was always forgiving, good-humoured, cheerful and even-tempered; Dr. V. Horbovyi who, despite temptations from the side of the KGB which promised him a free and comfortable life if he would stigmatize the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" preserved a dignified, inflexible posture; Kateryna Zarytska who, in spite of the severe blows of fate, for 25 years stood firm, with an angelic smile on her face, vis-a-vis Russian raging.

Outlining the situation in the Baltic countries occupied by Russia, A. Shifrin called attention to one interesting moment: coming out from a position favourable to it — "divide and rule" — Russia sent Ukrainians to these countries to fill responsible positions, so that the hatred of the population to the regime would also have an anti-Ukrainian hue.

Concluding his testimony, A. Shifrin expressed a certain warning to the free world, in particular to the United States. Communism is still alive and dynamic. It has encompassed half of Europe, China, Cuba, Chile and a part of Africa. The Communists are attempting to destroy American society with the help of radical groups. The Russians stupe-

fy American youth by their propaganda. They attempt to demoralize the whole society as well in order to gain control of the entire country. "I am not spreading attitudes of panic — said A. Shifrin, — but do recall that there was a time when here was no Communism in Eastern Europe, on Cuba, in Chile and the red flags did not flap so brazenly in France and Italy. In the USSR the Russians are attempting to liquidate all dissidents, all democratic, all freedom-loving and national movements. They thrust people into concentration camps only because people dare to think. This is a great potential danger for the USA as well: the more the Russians consolidate their internal forces, the greater the threat they pose to the free world."

"This is the explanation, — continued A. Shifrin — why I am standing here before you. I wish to remind you of your responsibility to those who are subjugated. They need your help. Helping them you are helping yourselves."

A. Shifrin's testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Affairs was unusually interesting, thoughtful and stimulating. For every thinking man they can be an inducement to make certain comparisons: an unconditional sacrifice and heroic inflexibility of the better representatives of the national idea and our lemonade-like, opportunistic coexistence, lined with cheap phrases. They can also push us onto the road of genuine action in defense of the unsubdued.

Jehovah's Witnesses Imprisoned in Lithuania

Nine Sentenced for "Anti-State Activities"

Nine Jehovah's Witnesses in Soviet-occupied Lithuania were sentenced to prison terms ranging from five to two years. They are: V. Arajus, T. Šerelis and I. Šušnys — to five years of strict regime prison each; P. Babonas — to five years in prison; V. Anužis and A. Kukutis — two years of prison each; Mrs. S. Kikutiene and Mrs. K. Velskus to three years each on probation. Their trial was concluded this year in Klaipeda, Lithuania's third-largest city and a major base of the Soviet fishing fleet.

The 1973 trial of Jehovah's Witnesses was described in detail in the April 1st issue of the Russian-language daily, **Sovyetskaya Litva**. The newspaper found in their creed and activities unusual subversive dangers and a direct threat to the Soviet Russian system: "The religious-political doctrine of the Jehovahites, hiding under the veil of religion, not only accepts concepts and principles inimical to our Marxist-Leninist ideology and to the Soviet socio-political system, but also incites actions incompatible with the norm of our life. During the court trial that

lasted over a month, . . . the guilt of the leaders of the sect as well as of their helpers was fully proven. Many facts presented there showed that the preachers of Jehovah's creed forced the believers to renounce civic activities and to ignore Soviet laws by intimidating them with God's punishment."

Dissemination of "underground Jehovah's publications" in Lithuania, Latvia and the Kaliningrad area was the crime of V. Arajus, a high-ranking "servant". Among the many booklets seized in his home the police also found a report that "included provocative incitements".

One of the state witnesses, A. Povilonas, had been an active member of Jehovah's Witnesses for more than ten years.

ELTA Information Service

Soviet citizens say: "During Stalin's time the USSR reached the brink of economic disaster. Since Stalin we have moved ahead."

(From **Look Comrade — The People are laughing . . .** by John Kolasky)

Soviet Nationality Problems

Of all the troubles haunting the new tsars in the Kremlin, the most profound and most explosive one is the nationalities problem. Although the Soviet leaders repeatedly claim that this problem "has been solved", there is a continuous flow of evidence that nationality and minority problems in the USSR have become increasingly serious and worrisome for the leaders.

There is also a growing awareness among Western political writers and scholars that Russian ethnocentrism — chauvinism — and the active ethnic assertiveness of the non-Russian nations and nationalities are constantly in collision.

The proof of this awareness is not only the book **Soviet Nationality Problems**, published in 1971 by the Columbia University Press, — but even more — the creation of the "Program on Soviet Nationality Problems" initiated in 1970 at Columbia University, which is the sponsor of this publication.

The volume, consisting of ten essays, emerged from a special research seminar conducted in 1968-1969 at Columbia University. It is supplemented by maps, tables and an extensive bibliography; the preliminary results of the Soviet Census of January 1970 are shown in the appendix. The volume's editor is Prof. Edward Allworth, who also contributed a methodological introductory essay and a closing chapter on "Materials for Soviet Nationality Study: the Problem of Bibliography" (pp. 241-281).

The other contributors are (in alphabetical order): **Alexandre Bennigsen** (Paris), specializing in research of the former Muslim people of Russia and USSR; **Zbigniew Brzezinski** (Columbia, former member of the Policy Planning Council, US Department of State), who has made a lasting contribution toward focusing American attention upon the

significance of Soviet nationality affairs; **John Hazard** (Columbia), specialist in Soviet political and legal institutions; late **Hans Kohn**, widely known for his works on nationalism and nationality problems in USSR and other areas; **Václav Lamser** (Bielefeld, Germany — formerly Chairman of Department of Sociology, Institute of Sociology in Prague); **Robert A. Lewis** (Columbia), specializing in Russian and Soviet population, migration and urbanization; **Marc Raeff** (Columbia), whose special field of interest is the history of Russia before 1900; and **Paula G. Rubel** (Barnard College, Columbia), who has done research on the Kalmyks and has visited Soviet Central Asia.

In the first essay — "**Restating the Soviet Nationality Question**" — Prof. Allworth deals with the broad aspects of the nationalities question within the Soviet Union, American naiveté and ignorance of the problem, and the slow but constant growth in academic commitment to the field and the indications that the ageless question continues to exist. "Though certain problems may arise for the first time, disappear, reappear or change, the question as such — the disposition (arrangement) and satisfaction of ethnic nationalities culturally, socially, artistically, economically, and politically within the USSR — remains the same." (p. 13) The author suggests "a fresh, objective approach via interdisciplinary methods" and hopes that "the next ten years (will) become the decade of the nationality question" for the American Sovietologists.

In the second essay — "**Patterns of Russian Imperial Policy Toward the Nationalities**" — Prof. Marc Raeff goes beyond the main topic and analyzes imperial expansion of the Muscovite-Russian state "from about the late sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth

centuries". He describes the methods of expansion and states that "in this process, conquest or acquisition was the first step, incorporation the second, and **assimilation the final goal**". (p. 26, italics added) The author's later statement: "Yet, the Russian government did not aim at eradicating or destroying nations and nationalities" (p. 37), seems to contradict not only the above description of the "final goal" but also another statement on p. 30 "consider the brutal and rapid extinction of the particularism of Tver and Novgorod in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries". The draconic ukaz of 30th May 1876 directed against the use of the Ukrainian language should also be mentioned here.

The author can also hardly reconcile the notion that "Russian society remained unaware of the state's having become a multinational empire" with the statement that "feelings of religious and cultural superiority on the part of the Russians... (were) quite strong as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". (p. 34)

It seems that Prof. Raeff, who has discarded the use of historiographies of most nationalities as "extremely chauvinistic" (without any proof!), became the victim of the "Great Russian" historiography which — in his own words — "barely takes into account the multinational character of the political entity with whose history it deals". One may well ask whether assimilation (the "final goal") can be achieved without "eradicating or destroying" the identities of the nations and nationalities subjected to this assimilation. In spite of many contradictory statements in Prof. Raeff's essay, it represents a valuable contribution toward better understanding of the problem from an historical perspective.

In the third essay — "**Soviet Communism and Nationalism: Three Stages of a Historical Development**" — the late Prof. Hans Kohn analyzes in depth "the role of Soviet communism in a

world of nationalism" and distinguishes between the first stage under Lenin's personal influence and guidance, the second stage from the mid-twenties until Stalin's death in 1953, and the third stage, from the mid-fifties to 1969.

One can rightly disagree with the author's opening statements that the nationality problems of the Soviet Union "have been solved relatively well... for the very reason that Lenin refused to regard the Soviet Union as a Russian nation-state" (p. 43) or that "Lenin's communism did not bear a Russian coloring" (p. 49). Lenin, contrary to superficial appearances, was partial to the Great Russian people and considered "fusion", "merger", and "amalgamation" of nationalities, in short the extinction of many of them, as hopeful and promising tendencies, though his thoughts were shrouded in ambiguities and inconsistencies. Even in his letters of December 1922 (his political testament on the nationality question), Lenin's essentially tactical approach reveals itself unmistakably.

Bearing in mind that even in Lenin's time Stalin was the Commissar of Nationalities, the author's distinction between the first and second stages, when "Soviet communism became to a growing degree, Russian" may be more apparent than real. Strong Russian tendencies certainly did not disappear with Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" speech in February, 1956, because the crypto-Stalinists never gave up their convictions about the "superiority" of everything "Russian". The educational reform act of 1958 and the new party program of 1961 (neither one mentioned in the essay) prove that post-Stalin leadership persistently emphasizes the Russian nationalist elements at the expense of communist ideology. The author's statement that in the third stage "No longer could the Kremlin dictate" (p. 67) can be refuted by references to the Czecho-Slovak invasion of August 1968 and the "Brezhnev doctrine" (again not mentioned in the essay).

In the next essay — **"Political Implications of Soviet Nationality Problems"** — Prof. Z. Brzezinski discusses four topics: (1) the actual political situation in the USSR; (2) the influence of the nationality question on the political evolution of the Soviet system; (3) the conditions under which secessionism from the Union would be possible; and (4) the implications for American policy. Analyzing the "political expression of the sense of national identity", the author suggests a "highly generalized spectrum..." from biological assimilation by the Russians on one end to "a nationalism, potentially secessionist in its political aspirations and attitudes" on the other end. By way of example, the author places the Balts and the Ukrainians as "potentially the most secessionist of nationalities" on the one end and the Kazakhs, threatened by biological assimilation in their own republic, on the other end of the spectrum. He distinguishes within each nationality certain groups which "tend to be more nationalistic" from the others, "most assimilationist, integrationist or cooperative", and advances a "tentative generalization" that "the intellectuals, the humanists, the pseudo-intellectuals" belong to the first and "the engineers, technicians, scientists, ... the modernizing elite" belongs to the second group. Prof. Brzezinski believes that the nationality problem "has a profoundly conservative influence upon the prospects of political evolution in the Soviet Union", making the Russian leaders realize that reforms can potentially jeopardize their preeminence and leadership.

"Secessionism, as a realistic alternative for the future, is only likely in the conditions of some form of combination between domestic crisis and an international calamity" is the author's answer to the third question. With the continuation of economic development and scientific innovations "we are going to observe more rather than less assimilation and perhaps more inten-

sive rather than less Russification" prognosticates the author, adding, "and this will be the source of frictions and tensions".

Prof Brzezinski confirms that up to now "in the American government planning process any discussion of nationality problems in the Soviet Union was almost nonexistent". He suggests for the future a middle road policy (between the present refusal to recognize the problem and the "playing up anti-Russian feelings" saying, "To the extent that the United States has a variety of informal means for stimulating a greater degree of responsible self-consciousness among the nationalities of the USSR, efforts in that direction seem justifiable."

Prof. John Hazard in his essay — **"Statutory Recognition of Nationality Differences"** — analyzes the legislative activity of the member republics from Lenin's time through the first federal constitution of 1923, Stalin's constitution of 1936 and its amendment of 1957. He stresses that Lenin, who was "a centralist without compromise", fostered his concept of centralized leadership even in the formative years 1917-1920 when the republics (Ukrainian, Byelorussian, etc.) were independent states.

The constitution of 1923 authorized the republics joining into the federation to enact their own codes while the federal legislature was granted the right to enact federal "fundamental principles" to which the republics were required to adhere. Under Stalin, the pressure for uniformity of legislative policy increased progressively over the years and the 1936 constitution, as originally promulgated, put an end to the rights of the republics to enact their own codes of law. Although Stalin's constitution still remains in force, its provisions centralizing the legislative process were amended in 1957 to reinstate the powers granted the republics by the first federal constitution of 1923.

After Khrushchev's ouster in 1964, the pendulum partly swung back. In spite of the amendment of 1957, the Supreme Court of the USSR has increased its supervisory activity over the work of republic courts and established a uniformity in the application of republic codes when the texts need not, in principle, be conformed.

"Theorists within the USSR had been trying for several years to redefine the relationship between the center and the republics", stated Prof. Hazard, pointing out that "one of the promised changes... is the enlargement of the powers of republics". Bearing in mind the new party program and the most recent enunciations about "a new historical community of man — the Soviet People" it is very doubtful that the powers of the republics will be enlarged.

Human geography and demographic problems in the USSR are examined by Prof. Lewis in his excellent essay — **"The Mixing of Russians and Soviet Nationalities and Its Demographic Impact."** In this three-part study, the first section is devoted to a discussion and evaluation of sources with the resulting statistical series and maps, the second part deals with the mixing of Russians and other nationalities between 1897 and 1959, and the third section analyzes the Russian mixing and such socio-economic variables as Russification, urbanization and labor-force characteristics.

From among many important findings supported by elaborate tables it is worthwhile to quote some facts depicting nationality changes from 1897 to 1959. In this period "the Russians increased their proportion in total population at a rate faster than the Ukrainians and Byelorussians probably because these two nationalities suffered greater war losses and most likely because of Russification." (pp. 139-141) "In contrast to Russians the nationalities seem to have concentrated since 1897. In 1897 about 78% of the Ukrainians lived

in Ukraine and by 1959 86%. The corresponding figures for the Byelorussians were 74 and 84." (p. 145)

From three specific indices Prof. Lewis deducts that "Russians are becoming more mixed relative to the distribution of the total population, and Ukrainians, Byelorussians and non-East Slavs (many diverse nationalities) are becoming more concentrated". (p. 154)

In the section "The Impact of Mixing", the author analyzes the migration processes and the resulting nationality mixing, labor-force problems, and Russification. Russian rural out-migrants move primarily to the non-Russian cities where they fill most jobs (probably better-paying); there is "slower Ukrainian outflow" from rural areas for various good reasons mentioned by Prof. Lewis. He adds, "If a rural Ukrainian inside or outside the Ukraine planned to migrate to an urban area, he would probably choose Donetsk over Sverdlovsk for reasons connected with his nationality if not considerations relating to distance; this could account in part for the concentration of the Ukrainians in their home republic..." (p. 161) The author anticipated that "as the nationalities develop economically and educationally, they should make more demands upon the Soviet government. Under these circumstances Soviet nationality problems will almost certainly intensify and collectively become a dominant force shaping the future of Soviet society". (p. 165)

In two specialized essays — Prof. Bennigsen's **"Islamic or Local Consciousness Among Soviet Nationalities"** (pp. 168-182) and Prof. Paula G. Rubel's **"Ethnic Identity Among the Soviet Nationalities"** — the authors investigate the group identity of various Soviet "Muslims" (Turkic and Iranian groups) and the Kalmyk-Mongols. Prof. Bennigsen points out that "there is emergence of a very large non-Russian intelligentsia with a strong desire to rediscover the national past" which is "a common Muslim past"; this is "the

most potent factor working for the rapprochement (**sblizhenie**) of all Muslim nations" (p. 181), defeating the aim of Soviet official policy which was (and still is) "the 'drawing near' (in Russian **sblizhenie**) of different Muslim groups to the Russians... and accomplishing in its final stage the merging (in Russian **sliianie**) of a nationality into the Russian nation". (p. 179)

According to Prof. Rubel's study, based on anthropological concepts, "beliefs, values, goals, and meanings, those traits which make up what is called ideology, appear to be more durable than material traits such as dress or house type". (p. 222) Basing herself on the Kalmyks, she proves that even a numerically small nationality experiencing many adverse blows (Kalmyks became "nonpersons and their republic was abolished" after World War II) may be able to preserve various features as signifiers of ethnic, that is nationality, identity. She examines the Soviet political policymaking on the question of the future of nationalities and finds "the ideological schism" between the "assimilationists and the moderates". In conclusion she points out that "the compulsion (proposed by the assimilationists) may produce the opposite effect, strengthening and reinforcing nationality and ethnic identity". (pp. 235-236) She believes that the local elites may play "a pivotal role in determining the future course of nationality events..."

Prof. Václav Lamser in his excellent essay — "**A Sociological Approach to Soviet Nationality Problems**" — uses a special table, "Analytic definition of nationality", with many variables applicable to various nationalities differing in size, location, consciousness, attitudes, etc. (p. 186) He identifies various indicators (e. g. employment, urbanization, cultural institutions and others) including "the phenomenon of closed society", which "plays a substantial part in Soviet ideology, policies, culture and consciousness of be-

longing to the Soviet whole". Showing graphically five zones of Soviet policies (p. 203), the author stresses that "since the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia of August 1968, Soviet nationality affairs have started becoming a part of larger policy extended to Warsaw Pact countries". In Prof. Lamser's opinion, "Soviet nationality policy serves as a link in the chain of internal and foreign policies. Domestic nationality policy reacts to foreign stimuli sensitively, and, conversely". He scrutinizes such external influences as direct and indirect contacts between individuals, possibilities open to mass media of information, capacity and/or willingness of Soviet citizens to receive foreign communications, and others.

In conclusion, Prof. Lamser points out that "the nationality problems of the USSR are to be looked upon from the perspective of their sociocultural development... The impact of development processes is favorable in some instances and unfavorable in others... The development process will be especially advantageous to large nationalities like the Ukrainians... We can assume that these nationalities will maintain their key position notwithstanding the application of a milder or tougher nationality policy by the Soviet regime." (pp. 208-209)

The last chapter, devoted to the bibliography, is impressive. It contains Soviet and Western bibliographies, a listing of recent Soviet writings on nationality problems, and a selected reading list which, unfortunately, is not all inclusive since it leaves out such a remarkable study as Ivan Dzyuba's "Internationalism or Russification", published in 1968.

The volume under review is certainly a landmark in this long-neglected field of study. Let us hope that many more such useful volumes will emerge under the auspices of "The Program on Soviet Nationality Problems".

News and Views

Ukrainian Catholics' Cardinal Greeted Warmly Here

Eastern Ukrainian Catholics gave a tearful, surging welcome to Joseph Cardinal Slipyi, the 81-year-old spiritual leader of their church, as he began a visit to the metropolitan area over the weekend.

Wherever he went, crowds greeted the Cardinal as "Patriarch", evidence of the Ukrainian faithful's desire to have their little-understood communion granted the semi-autonomous status of Patriarchate in the Roman Catholic Church.

Patriarchal status, already enjoyed by Melkite, Chaldean, Maronite and Coptic-rite Catholics, would permit the Ukrainians to elect their own bishops and be free from controls by the Roman Curia.

Cardinal Slipyi last visited the US in 1968, when sentiment among Ukrainian Catholic bishops appeared divided on the demand for a Patriarchal system.

He was met yesterday and Saturday with bread, salt, bouquets of roses and rose petals and emotion-filled speeches and applause by leaders of some 200,000 Ukrainian Catholics in the New York area.

Of the world's seven million Ukrainian Catholics — they constitute 75 per cent of all Eastern-rite Catholics — five million are in the Soviet Union, where they are unrecognized legally. Regarding this, the Cardinal said: "The situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is most unfortunate because of the policy of rapprochement with Moscow initiated by some groups within the Roman Curia. This policy has caused the Vatican, which might be expected to offer a vigorous defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in its homeland, to remain silent."

The Ukrainian-Vatican controversy, he said, does not focus on dogmatic dif-

ferences but on administration. The nonrecognition of the Ukrainians as a Patriarchate involves "basic human rights" on a religious basis, he said, asserting that "our entire people want a Patriarchate now".

Cardinal Slipyi began a world tour of Ukrainian communities last February, visiting Taiwan, Japan, Canada and the United States. He returns tomorrow to Rome, where he has lived since 1963, when he was released from a Soviet prison camp as Vatican-Soviet relations began to thaw.

Twice since then Ukrainian-rite Catholic bishops have held their own plenary world synods. These have been regarded as invalid by the Vatican. Since the last one, held in October, 1971, the Ukrainian Major-Archbishop has met regularly with a "permanent synod" of five prelates to discuss administration problems of the Ukrainian Church.

The white-bearded Cardinal holds the church rank of Major-Archbishop of Lviv, an Eastern-rite title ranking lower than Patriarch but higher than archbishop in the Western church. He said that in private audiences with Pope Paul VI early this year, the Pontiff had alluded to Vatican efforts to gain concessions and freedoms for Latin-rite Catholics in Eastern European countries.

"We will save what has to be saved", the Cardinal quoted the Pope as having told him.

"When these considerations are finished, then our situation will be resolved", Cardinal Slipyi said. "The whole trend now is to find a method of coexistence and to find out when our role is seen to make a contribution to that dialogue. A Patriarchate will come about, I am sure. Perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow, but it will come."

(The New York Times, June 11, 1973)

Massive Demonstration in Washington on the 40th Anniversary of the Great Famine

Thousands of Ukrainians from almost every corner of America convened in Washington, D.C. on May 26, 1973, a day of national grief, for a manifestation of mourning in commemoration of the tragic starvation of over seven million Ukrainians in the years 1932-1933.

Close to seven thousand Ukrainians, along with our American friends, gathered before the wreath-bedecked monument to Taras Shevchenko to protest before the whole world against the unprecedented artificial famine planned and executed by Red Moscow in order to destroy the Ukrainian nation.

At one o'clock sharp, the banners were brought in: the Ukrainian and American flags and the banners of various combatant, Liberation Front, women's, youth and other organizations, with which the flag-bearers took their places on either side of the monument.

The President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Prof. L. Dobriansky, opened the demonstration with a short speech in English. He then passed the lead on to Mr. Joseph Lesawyer. Mrs. Mary Lesawyer sang the American national anthem, and the Ukrainian anthem was sung by all those present. Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn began the prayer, which was ended by Bishop Vasyl Losten. Illinois Congressman Edward Derwinski stated that America has the obligation to defend the captive nations right to independence. Ukrainians should protest before the whole world against the tragedies of the famine and genocide, against total Russification. No one can be sure of liberty when half the world is enslaved, but the time will come when Ukraine shall again be free!

Senator Paul Yuzyk of Canada spoke next. The "Prometheus" men's chorus of Philadelphia under the direction of M. Dliaboha sang "For the Homeland",

"A Cloud Is Rising", and later "Prometheus" and "The Eternal Revolutionary", ending with the "Testament".

General Thomas Lane, head of the American Council for World Peace, and veteran of the Vietnam war, reminded the audience that forty years ago seven million Ukrainians perished for their faith in God and in freedom. Former Congressman W. Judd stated that the only ray of light in Washington are the Ukrainian freedom-fighters. They have a great responsibility: to tell the whole truth about the Bolshevik terror, to find strong allies against Russian Communist tyranny in Europe and Asia, to keep alive the flame of liberty in the hearts of the millions of the captive nations. The head of the Political Council of the UCCA and the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Prof. Ivan Vovchuk, delivered the main address.

Mrs. Vira Kakhno, a witness of the 1933 famine and widow of a Ukrainian Orthodox priest of the town of Horodetske by Uman and later of Kyiv who was tortured to death in Siberia, related the unheard-of horrors of the artificial famine of 1933. Mrs. Kakhno appealed to America and the free world to organize an international trial of Moscow, so that the world be spared from a similar catastrophe in the future. On either side of her stood her grandchildren, Vira and Halyna, little girls in Ukrainian costumes.

Mrs. M. Stepova-Karpiak, Mrs. Y. Dychko-Blavatska, and Messrs. Y. Kurylo, V. Shasharovskiy and M. Soltys, members of the Society of Ukrainian Stage Artists (OMUS), recited two chapters of the narrative "Death", by B. Antonenko-Davydovych.

In a short speech, Prof. Dr. Mykola Stepanenko recalled the oath of the Brotherhood of **Tarasivtsi** taken in 1900 upon the grave of Taras Shevchenko under the leadership of M. Mikhnovskiy. Today, this oath of allegiance to Ukraine and to Shevchenko's legacy must be renewed!

Senators Javits and Schweiker sent letters expressing their solidarity with the Ukrainian nation in its struggle against Russian imperialism. A final prayer was led by Ukrainian Orthodox Archbishop Marko, who summoned all to pray for millions of our brothers and sisters murdered on Moscow's orders.

Immediately after the rally there was formed an imposing procession which passed along 23d, K, and 16th Streets to the Soviet Embassy, where it dispersed.

Lesia Dychko, a young Ukrainian Youth Association member from Yonkers, led the procession wearing chains to symbolize enslaved Ukraine. Behind her came flag-bearers with the Ukrainian and the American flags and the banners of various organizations, mainly of the Liberation Front: the organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, the Women's League for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, the Ukrainian Youth Association of America, and veterans', women's, and youth organizations. There were close to 100 flags and 200 signs bearing anti-Communist and anti-Communist and anti-Russian legends and various illustrations.

The marchers uninterruptedly sang revolutionary and insurgent songs and chanted "Freedom for Ukraine!", "Russian Hangmen!", "Murderer Brezhnev!", "Free Moroz!", and so on. The procession stopped by the Russian Embassy, sung the Ukrainian national anthem three times as well as other songs, and continuously chanted anti-Russian slogans. Gathered **en masse**,

some 500 American policemen called through megaphones for the marchers to move on or else be arrested. However, thanks to the energetic and dedicated work of the supervisors led by Mr. B. Skaskiv, there were no arrests. It had been forbidden to stop by the Soviet Embassy, but the procession remained there for an entire forty-five minutes, protesting against Moscow.

Around seven thousand Ukrainians took part in the procession, nearly half of them young people: students, members of the Ukrainian Youth Association of America, the **Plast**, and the Association of Ukrainian Democratic Youth. The greater part of the participants were from Liberation Front organizations. There were many women.

It should be mentioned that before the demonstration Mrs. Daria Stepaniak, head of the Women's League for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Mrs. Maria Dushnyk of the Ukrainian Women's Association of America, and others laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery, with the appropriately prescribed ceremony, including the participation of American soldiers.

Members of the UCCA Washington Branch under the direction of Mrs. Slava Skaskiv organized a buffet for the demonstrators which served several thousand people.

Among the minuses was the unfortunate fact that there was no representative from the city of Washington, D.C. The White House was so occupied with the "Watergate Affair" and with Brezhnev's visit that it "did not have time" to send a representative or even to communicate its sympathy in writing...

May 26, 1973 will go down in the history of the Ukrainian emigration in America as a great day of national mourning and solidarity in the struggle against Ukraine's mortal enemy, Moscow.

I. Savyn

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Resolution of the Convention of the AF-ABN Held in New York City on April 8, 1973

The Convention resolved to recommend to the Executive Board of the AF-ABN to prepare and deliver to the concerned parties the corresponding material, as follows:

1. A protest note to the Australian Government due to recent persecution of Croatian freedom fighters in Australia;

2. A protest note to the Nobel Prize Commission in Norway against the Soviet Russian proposal that Marshal Tito, the Communist mass murderer of the Croats, etc., receive the Nobel Peace Prize;

3. A protest note to the Government and the trade unions of West Germany against the invitation to visit West Germany extended to Shelepin, the Soviet Russian murderer of the Ukrainian national leader S. Bandera;

4. A protest note to the Commission on Human Rights at the United Nations with a request for an investigation of the recent Communist acts of terror (with special attention to intellectual genocide), as follows:

a) Shooting of a Roman Catholic priest in Albania for baptizing a child;

b) Persecution of Croatian poets in Yugoslavia: Mirko Vidovic, Zlatko Tomazic, Gotovac, Tavletic, Fra Jeronim Setka, Fra Krstko Krzanic, Mate Marcinko, and others;

c) Self-immolation of the Ukrainian Vasyly Makukh in Kyiv;

d) Self-immolation of the Czech Jan Palach in Prague;

e) Self-immolation of the Lithuanian Romas Kalanta in Kaunas;

f) Arrest and disappearance of many Hungarian young people in Budapest after a demonstration on March 15, 1972;

g) Persecution or murder of many Ukrainian intellectuals: Valentyn Moroz, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Ivan Dzyuba, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Alla Horska, Yuriy Shukhevych, etc.;

h) I. "Missing and forgotten people" arrested, deported to Siberia or shot, after Soviet Russian occupation, following World War II, such as:

Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, North Caucasians, Georgians, Armenians, Turkestanians, Azerbaijanians, Cossacks, Croats, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Germans, Poles, etc.

II. American and South Vietnamese prisoners of war, missing since their capture by the Communists.

The International League Fighting Racism and Anti-Semitism (LISA) Protests

The International League Fighting Racism and Anti-Semitism having its headquarters in Paris was founded by Countess de Noailles, Leon Blum, Edouard Benes, Albert Einstein, Thomas Masaryck, Romain Rolland and many others. Among its members still alive are the widow of President Auriol, Josephine Baker, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, Charlie Chaplin, Cardinal Danielou, President Houphouet-Boigny, Rabbi Kaplan, Mendes-France, President of the Senate Allain Poher, Minister Gaston Monnerville, the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre. The League sent the following communiqué to the press:

"For a year now Soviet authorities have been intensifying the persecution of intellectuals who are condemning any failure to respect the Soviet Constitution and human rights in general.

The most severe persecutions are carried out in Ukraine.

The League joins the protest of the French people of Ukrainian origin and the Ukrainians living in France. It calls upon all international organizations to join its protest and to intervene before Soviet authorities in order to secure the liberation of these intellectuals and to stop further persecution in Ukraine."

Special Committee on the Captive Nations Proposed

by Mr. Flood in a Resolution submitted on January 9, 1973

Whereas on the all-important issue of imperio-colonialism the posture of imperialist Moscow, as shown in part by the rape of Czecho-Slovakia and the Brezhnev doctrine, has not been adequately exposed by us in the United Nations and elsewhere; and

Whereas Presidential proclamations designating Captive Nations Week summon the American people "to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the people of those captive nations"; and

Whereas the nationwide observances in the fourteen anniversaries of Captive Nations Week have clearly demonstrated the enthusiastic response of major sections of our society to this Presidential call; and

Whereas, following the passage of the Captive Nations Week resolution in 1959 by the Congress of the United States and again during the annual observances of Captive Nations Week, Moscow has consistently displayed to the world its profound fear of growing free world knowledge of and interest in all of the captive nations, and particularly the occupied non-Russian colonies within the Soviet Union; and

Whereas, the indispensable advancement of such basic knowledge and interest alone can serve to explode current myths on Soviet unity, Soviet national economy, and monolithic military prowess and openly to expose the depths of imperialist totalitarianism and economic colonialism throughout the Red Russian empire, especially inside the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas, for example, it was not generally recognized, and thus not ad-

vantageously made use of, that, in point of geography, history, and demography, the now famous U-2 plane flew mostly over captive non-Russian territories in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas, in the fundamental conviction that the central issue of our time is imperialist totalitarian slavery versus democratic national freedom, we commence to shed popular light on this issue by assembling and forthrightly utilizing all the truths and facts pertaining to the enslaved condition of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and other subjugated nations; and

Whereas the enlightening forces generated by such knowledge and understanding of the fate of these occupied and captive non-Russian nations would also give encouragement to latent liberal elements in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic — which contains Russia itself — and would help bring to the oppressed Russian people their overdue independence from centuries-long authoritarian rule and tyranny; and

Whereas these weapons of truth, fact, and ideas would counter effectively and overwhelm and defeat Moscow's worldwide, anti-American propaganda campaign in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and specifically among the newly independent and underdeveloped nations and states; and

Whereas it is incumbent upon us as free citizens to appreciatively recognize that the captive nations in the aggregate constitute not only a prima-

ry deterrent against a hot global war and further overt aggression by Moscow's totalitarian imperialism, but also a prime positive means for the advance of world freedom in a struggle which in totalistic form is psychopolitical; and

Whereas in pursuit of a diplomacy of truth we cannot for long avoid bringing into question Moscow's legalistic pretensions of "noninterference in the internal affairs of states" and other contrivances which are acutely subject to examination under the light of morally founded legal principles and political economic, and historical evidence; and

Whereas, in the implementing spirit of our own congressional Captive Nations Week resolution and the twelve Presidential proclamations, it is in our own strategic interest and that of the nontotalitarian free world to undertake a continuous and unremitting study of all the captive nations for the purpose of developing new approaches and fresh ideas for world peace with freedom and justice: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby established a nonpermanent committee which shall be known as the Special Committee on the Captive Nations. The committee shall be composed of ten Members of the House, of whom not more than six shall be members of the same political party, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. (a) Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection.

b) The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members. In the absence of the chairman, the vice chairman shall act as chairman.

c) A majority of the committee shall constitute a quorum except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of administering oaths and taking sworn testimony.

Sec. 3. (a) The committee shall conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, which includes those in the Soviet Union and Asia, and also of the Russian people, with particular reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over them, facts concerning conditions existing in these nations, and means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes in their present plight and in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms.

(b) The committee shall make such interim reports to the House of Representatives as it deems proper, and shall make its first comprehensive report of the results of its inquiry and study, together with its recommendations, not later than January 31, 1974.

Sec. 4. The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times within or outside the United States to hold such hearings, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable.

Sec. 5. The committee may employ and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and other employees as it deems necessary in the performance of its duties.

Sec. 6. The committee shall enjoy a nonstanding status, performing its duties in the course of the Ninety-third Congress and subject to renewal only as determined by needs in the completion of its work and further purposes of the House of Representatives.

Western Ostpolitik and Russian Western Policy

I am really disgusted at the current turn of events. So many people wish to rush into the grip of Russia and every time I hear the word "detente" I would literally like to throw up. First of all to me "detente" and "relaxation of tensions" means surrender to Russia and abandonment of the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain. The Russians take and every one else gives. Everything must be done to please Russia or the satellite governments not representative of the countries concerned. Is Poland's Communist regime any more representative of the Polish nation than Hitler's General government? Do the Czech Communists represent the Czechs anymore than the Bohemian and Moravian Protectorate? And that Hungary's regime represents only itself 1956 proves that.

It is refreshing to read, however, that despite the cowardice of the West the Slovaks, for instance, still honor the memory of the Slovak leaders or that Latvian students will honor the memory of Latvia's first president. When there was no Poland the Poles in Napoleon's legions sang "Poland is not yet dead while we still live". This, I think, can be universally applied to all 24 nations. Their countries may not "officially" exist but in the hearts and beliefs of the people they continue to live. If Ukrainians and Lithuanians, for instance, retain their heritage and individuality can anyone say Ukraine and Lithuania do not exist as nations?

The Germans should be cursed or more specifically the SPD (Social Democratic Party) for attempting to decide the fate of other nations besides their own in dealings with Russia. The actions of Brandt were the same in every way as Hitler's as far as the treatment of other nations in the Eastern treaties was concerned. If the Germans wished to surrender their own lands, Pomerania, Silesia, East and West Prussia that was

one thing, but what right did they have to determine the Latvian or Slovak boundaries. These countries do not "belong" to Germany; neither do they "belong" to Russia, and the crass ignorance of their existence was shown by Brandt. Some people have told me that Brandt made it possible for East German families to travel outside East Germany for three weeks instead of one for instance. They should realize that, if it were not for Brandt and people like him that preceded him, the German people could travel across the whole of Germany as one nation without ANY time limit. The policies of Brandt will insure the division of Germany and of Europe and this should be recognized.

Some weeks ago I was listening to AFN (American Forces Network) and a Hessian minister or professor was speaking about the book he had written in defense of the "Ostpolitik". He stated that the opposition was correct. Yet Germany had surrendered claims to over half the country but has allegedly achieved "better relations". With whom, however. The Russian puppets or the peoples involved? Germany will win many new enemies for its latest fling into idiotic politics. By ignoring the subjugated peoples the Germans may very well seal their own doom. This same writer also admitted that after the "Prague Spring" of 1968, Germany decided to make peace on Russian terms since it seemed that attempting to pull the nations westward would fail and would therefore spell the end to the policies of Adenauer. The Russians have one thing going for them and that is their ability to wait.

The Russians simply wait until someone in the West decides to improve relations by meeting their demands. If the Western leaders had any sense, they would realize that they can do the same thing. Only recently no one would have recognized East Germany since it was not a true country, but a

Russian colony. Yet because of Brandt, the world will now rush forward to grant the long desired recognition. The East Germans waited and got all their demands filled and gave absolutely nothing in return. Did the Wall come down? Was political freedom increased in the Russian-occupied Zone? No! But all the demands of the Russians were fulfilled merely because they had the patience to wait until someone like Brandt came along and thought that in order to "improve relations" giving in might be the best thing to do. On no basic issue have the Russians ever retreated from their stand. They appear to but in reality, by studying closely what they say and do, they never retreat. If Nixon or Brandt would take the time to look behind the propaganda and at the actions of the Russians they would see the Russians had not changed. The so-called renunciation of force will not work in the "Security Conference" because of the way the Russians define "force". The invasion of Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia was not the use of "force" to the Russians but "friendly assistance to a fraternal Socialist country".

The West will end up tying its hands even more so than previously, while the Russians will continue to act like the Russians. There is absolutely nothing to be gained from agreements with the Russians. To be murdered by a smiling killer or an evil looking one has the same end results. Why is so

much value placed on meaningless externals. In fact, it is better to have the Russians act like they did under Stalin, because the only way some people will not be deluded is when they get ice water thrown in their faces every so often. But even then Khrushchev once said about the American delegates to the UN, "We spit in their faces and they call it dew". In fact, I think only the return of a hard line Stalinist will wake up a lot of Western leaders. Diplomacy tends to be the fine art of hypocrisy and the hard line would be better. Charles XII of Sweden once said "The sword is best for the sword does not jest" and he fervently despised the diplomats of his day. What would he think of Egon Bahr? **H. A. May**

Croatian Independence Day in New York

On April 7, 1973, the Union of Croatian Societies of New York held its annual celebration of Croatian Independence Day at its new center on West 40th Street at 10th Avenue. The Union's President is Mirko Baric.

Demonstrations of Croatian Emigres in Support of the Persecuted Croats

On 3rd December 1972 huge demonstrations were held in New York, Chicago and Toronto. On March 18th, 1973 many thousands of Croats protested in Canberra, Australia.

"BEWARE OF RUSSIA!"

General Walker of the USA, former chief commander of NATO forces, Northern Sector, stated last November at the North Atlantic Conference, "Russia is ready to attack without warning, and she will blind us with electronic weapons... The Reds can blockade Western Europe, cutting our maritime connections... The threat to America comes not from Vietnam or Central Europe, but from the Russian port of Murmansk on the Arctic Ocean... The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks may lull Western public opinion into believing that the Russians are manifesting "good will". The West German press did not report this statement.

Book Reviews

Vucinich, Wayne S.: **Contemporary Yugoslavia; Twenty Years of Soviet Experiment.** By Jozo Tomasevich and others. Edited by Wayne S. Vucinich. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969. 441 pp. Maps. 24 cm. Price: \$ 9.50.

This book is the product of a conference on contemporary Yugoslavia held at Stanford University in California, USA, on December 4-5, 1965, and sponsored by the East European Studies Faculty Seminar. In eight chapters it presents the post World War II situation in Yugoslavia, a nationally diverse state.

Chapter VI, by Wayne S. Vucinich (pp. 236-284) deals with Nationalism and Communism in Yugoslavia. On page 256 there is Table 3, with Communist membership by nationality for 1,046,018 members. In first place are 541,526 Serbs, later the Croats with 186,605, the Slovenes with 70,516, followed by the Macedonians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Albanians, Hungarians, and 28,886 of other groups.

Yugoslavia is a multi-national and multi-confessional socialist state, whose cultural and economic development challenges that of the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia is a supporter of the United Nations. Her leader, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, has been denounced by the West, the Soviet Union and sometimes by China. But Yugoslavia benefits politically and financially from both East and West.

In international relations, the book points out the disillusionment with Soviet Communism, its type of socialism, and with cruel Stalinism. "Yugoslavia developed a variant of Communism, was expelled from the Cominform, and has a de-centralized form of government." But it still suffers from econo-

mic crises like high unemployment with its surplus of population, lag in agricultural production, cultural antagonisms, and student unrest. This is an artificial state of diverse nations with an unresolved nationalities problem, and with its constitutional privileges restricted by the central government and the ruling Communist Party. The nationality problem awaits its solution to this day. (A.S.)

Aphorisms by Hryhoriy Skovoroda

Is it not love that unites, builds and creates, just as enmity destroys?

*

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

*

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

*

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

*

The value of time is fully known only after it has passed.

*

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

*

Everything passes away, but love remains.



Archbishop VASYL VEYCHKOVSKYI

Confessor of the Faith, martyr of Russian prisons and concentration camps, died of a heart attack, in Winnipeg, Canada, at the age of 70.

Archbishop Velychkovskyi, a Redemptorist monk, was one of the most unflinching and staunchest defenders of Christ's teaching and Ukraine in his struggle against the militant Russian atheists. For his Christian faith and love to his country — Ukraine — he was given the death sentence, later commuted to ten years' forced labour, which he served in Vorkuta and other concentration camps and prisons.

After his release he continued to preach the word of God.

Appointed bishop in 1959, he diligently continued to perform his duties of priest and bishop in catacombs. Sentenced for the second time, on January 27, 1969, to three years of harsh regime prison, Archbishop Velychkovskyi served his sentence in the Donbas under horrible conditions, degraded, tortured and poisoned, but unbroken.

After completing in full the hellish three years, about which he talked with calm, the Russian occupants transported him against his will to Yugoslavia, from where he journeyed to Rome. In Rome the Martyr was not accorded respect due him. The Redemptorist monk humbly left the Vatican, going to Winnipeg, Canada, where ailing, he ended his long-suffering life of martyr and fighter for Christ's truth and Ukraine.

Archbishop Velychkovskyi is yet another great figure of a Martyr on the road of resurrection of our Church and Country.

His funeral services were held on July 5 in Winnipeg.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is saddened to report that

Prof. Dr. NESTOR PROCYK

60, passed away on June 30, 1973, in Buffalo after a long and serious illness.

The deceased was the co-organizer of ABN in exile, a long-time head of the Ukrainian Division of AF-ABN and President of the AF-ABN Council one of the most distinguished leaders of the nationalist camp on the international and community levels. He was one of the most outstanding member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) from the time of its founding, a member of the OUN Executive, and a leader of OUN headquarters in various countries in different periods of its revolutionary activity.

Dr. Procyk was a long-time and unbroken prisoner of German prisons and concentration camps, a fearless and uncompromising fighter for the Sovereign United Ukrainian State and the dissolution of the Russian empire. He remained true to his principles at all times and under harshest conditions, exemplifying revolutionary virtues, loyalty to his ideals and high morality, self-sacrifice and total dedication to the revolutionary cause. He was a profound Christian.

Receiving his Doctor of Medicine Degree from the Sorbonne, he was a prominent psychiatrist, a professor of psychiatry and a deputy director of State Hospital in Buffalo.

The Central Committee of ABN sends its condolences to the grieving mother, wife and children of the deceased.

The funeral services were held on July 3, 1973, in Buffalo, N. Y., USA.

The Central Committee of ABN

NEW PUBLICATIONS

UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine

Issue IV

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

OUR ALTERNATIVE

ABN and EFC Conferences

Brussels, November 12th - 15th, 1970

Speeches, reports and messages.

In English and French.

Back Home Again

„The Sunday Times“, S. Africa



ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

ABN and EFC Conferences

London, August 24-27, 1973



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Dangers Implied by the International So-Called Security and Disarmament Conferences and Treaties with the USSR

(Statement of the European Freedom Council Conference in London)

Treaties between the USSR and the free Western countries, in particular the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany, strengthen the military potential of the Russian empire, contribute to the intensification of Russian terror in the countries enslaved in the USSR and in the satellite states, and intensify national, cultural and physical genocide. The main goal of the Russian imperialists is to be at liberty to suppress the national liberation movements of the captive nations. Treaties with the West provide this liberty. Furthermore, by guaranteeing the status quo, the West allows the Russians to continue their usurpations and besides to obtain formal approval for Brezhnev's doctrine of military intervention by the West, if such intervention should be in the interest of Russian imperialism.

The so-called European Security Conference initiated by Moscow is nothing other than an insidious attempt to include the free countries in a common front against the captive nations or at least to obtain their favourable neutrality in case the enslaved nations' rebellions are suppressed. For none of the Western countries has any aggressive intentions, and only Russia's "security" vis-a-vis the subjugated nations is at stake. This Conference is concerned with the security of Moscow against revolutionary liberation movements of the enslaved nations within and without the USSR, i. e., with security guaranteed and supported by the West but directed against the West's safest allies. Its object is to consolidate Russian influence in Central and Northern Europe and in the Mediterranean region in order to enable the Russians to continue infiltration, subversion and occupation by modern strategic methods from these bases. Another aim of the Conference is to remove US forces from Europe.

The so-called Disarmament Conference, similar to the last treaties between the USA and the USSR (Yalta and Teheran), is intended to fulfill the Russian aim of liquidating the free world's atomic shield. Officially, the West would give up its first line of defence — the nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states — in the "Security" Conference, yet the Russian empire by far surpasses NATO in conventional armaments. Nor does the West conduct any liberation policy based on guerrilla warfare (the most modern type) within the empire.

As the experiences of World War II and the post-war period show, any promises made by Moscow (after dictating the status quo and syste-

matically removing US forces from Europe) concerning the exchange of ideas, information and human facilities, will not be kept.

We therefore appeal to the governments of the free states to demand:

1) the removal of occupational Russian forces stationed in the CSSR, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and other countries occupied by Russian forces,

2) the realization of the right of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite countries to national independence, including nations in Yugoslavia and putting the Declaration of Human Rights and UN Charter into practice,

3) the cessation of military provocations, mutinies, diversive and disintegrating activities on the part of the USSR, within any free country, and to oppose the presence of the Russian Navy in the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian and other oceans.

Furthermore, we request the Western states, which have no aggressive intentions towards any country of the world, to develop an offensive policy for liberating the nations subjugated within the USSR (i. e. the Russian empire) and in the satellite states. Only thus can they insure that in the age of the downfall of empires and the creation of national states throughout the whole world, colonialism will be liquidated in Europe and Asia as well.

We draw the attention of the governments of the free Western countries to the fact that any agreement with the Bolshevist tyrants and imperialists makes the free nations accomplices in the tyrannical enslavement of nations and people. Thus, the defensive potential of the West is weakened, while colonialism, imposed on nations, some of which have a 1000-year-old culture, is consolidated.

We appeal to the free European nations to develop their own military power, including thermo-nuclear and in particular conventional weaponry, in order to avoid falling victim to sudden Soviet Russian aggression — for Moscow is constantly supplementing its arsenal. We also appeal to these nations to weaken the military potential of the Bolshevist empire by winning over soldiers of the Soviet and satellite forces by means of strengthened radio broadcasts in the languages of all the oppressed nations, through a liberation police, bearing in mind that the nations subjugated in any empire are its Achilles' heel.

We remind the governments of the free countries of the world that a lasting and just world peace is possible only if insatiable Russian imperialism is eliminated by the disintegration of the Russian empire and the re-

establishment of independent states of all the nations enslaved within that empire, and if colonial empires and artificial state structures such as Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia disappear in Europe. We wish to emphasize that although the Russian imperialists and chauvinists speak of peace and friendship, they are in reality arming with all kinds of offensive weapons which far surpass those of the free world.

The Russian empire is built on a volcano. Its pillars are rotten, and its only strength is in ideological, political and moral weakness of the West. And the West has failed to rely on the captive nations — its most faithful and strongest allies. For prisoners never defend their prison.

Detente Warning to West

A former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Dr. Yaroslav Stetsko, declared in London yesterday that it was not in the interests of the West to improve relations with Russia.

As President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which unites political emigres from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Dr. Stetsko said at a Press Conference:

"The age of empire has passed. Why then should we defend the Russian colonial empire in Europe and Asia?"

Russia's weakest point was the large number of non-Russian peoples now under Russian rule. The revolutionary movements inside the Soviet empire opened up the possibility of destroying it without resorting to war on a world scale.

Moral Support

"The liberation movements should have all possible moral and material support from the Free World," he said.

"The other alternative, the policy of cooperation and detente, which the West now practises, will never stop the Soviet-Russian aggression, as it did not stop Hitler's aggression, and it will lead eventually to war."

"Supporting the revolution within the Soviet Union means supporting peace. Supporting a policy of detente means encouraging war or capitulation," Dr. Stetsko concluded.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc and the European Freedom Council are meeting in conference in London for the next three days. They plan a mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday.

(London, The Daily Telegraph, Saturday, August 25, 1973)

ABN and EFC Conferences

To mark the 30th anniversary of its founding (November 21-22, 1943, in Zhytomyr, Ukraine), the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) convened an international conference in London, Great Britain on August 24-27, 1973. The main theme of the conference was LIBERATION NOT CAPITULATION. The ABN Conference was held in conjunction with the conference of the European Freedom Council (EFC). Both conferences included closed and open sessions at Bonnington Hotel and a mass rally at Trafalgar Square on August 26th. Representatives of ABN branches in the following countries were present: Great Britain, United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, France, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, and Italy.

The conference of ABN was preceded by a press conference at 11:30 a. m. on August 24th. It was led by Mr. Don Marlin, Chairman of the British League for European Freedom. Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN, delivered a statement to the press and answered questions of the representatives of the press. Excerpts from this statement were published in **The Daily Telegraph**, a leading British newspaper, on the following day.

The press conference was followed by the opening of an exhibition prepared by Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Czech students of Toronto, Canada. It dealt with uprisings in Ukraine, Lithuania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, riots in various cities behind the Iron Curtain and concentration camps, organized famine, religious persecution, deportations and Russification in the Russian-subjugated countries. Mr. Yuriy Shymko (Canada) delivered the opening remarks. The exhibition was opened for the duration of the conference.

A meeting of the ABN Central Committee was held in the afternoon. In

the evening the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain gave a cocktail party and the Ukrainian Youth Association invited all the delegates to an exhibition of Ukrainian folk art, and paintings and sculptures by Ukrainian artists both in the homeland and in exile.

The ABN Conference was opened on August 25th. President Yaroslav Stetsko delivered the opening address (for full text see pp. 14-15). The reports on ABN activities were given by the following branches: Mr. Glinski — Great Britain, Mr. Vasyl Bezkhlibnyk — Canada, Mr. Ernest Rigoni — France, Dr. K. Drenikoff — Italy, Dr. I. Docheff — United States, Mr. W. Chopivsky — Southern United States, Mr. Carl G. Holm — Sweden, Mr. Zenon Koval — Belgium. Mrs. Slava Stetsko reported on the activities of the Central Committee of ABN in the last two years. After discussion on the reports and recommendations for future activity, a committee was elected to elaborate the Appeal and Resolutions. At this session Mr. Stetsko was reelected president.

The EFC closed session was held in the afternoon, with the opening address of Ole Bjorn Kraft, President of EFC. After Min. Kraft's speech, Mr. Stetsko expressed the gratitude of all ABN members to Min. Kraft for his staunch support for the cause of independence of the subjugated nations and proposed that he be elected Honorary President of EFC and Honorary Member of ABN Presidium. His proposal was seconded by Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer. A hand-painted scroll, made by Oksana Volchanska, was presented to Pres. Kraft to the general applause.

The reports on EFC activities were given by the following delegates: Prof. Dr. L. Lohrisch — Germany, Madame Suzanne Labin — France, Mr. Bertil Wedin — Sweden, Mr. Bunchuk — Byelorussian Liberation Front, Dr. S.

Fostun — Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Mr. Watson — Anglo-Ukrainian Society, Mr. Don Martin — British League for European Freedom, Dr. Ante Bonifacic — Croatian Liberation Movement.

At the end of the EFC closed session a statement on the international situation and the need to strengthen Western support to the oppressed nations fighting for national and human rights was proposed by Prof. Dr. Oberländer and accepted unanimously.

The EFC open session started at 4 p. m. with the address of Min. Kraft on the international situation and the tasks of EFC. It was followed by speeches of Mme. S. Labin on the Helsinki and the Disarmament conferences, Prof. Dr. Oberländer on the dangers of Western policies toward the Russian empire and Dr. Kyril Drenikoff on what Moscow fears most.

The ABN open session commenced at 7 p. m. and included the following speeches: Mr. Volodymyr Kosyk — "Martyrs for National and Human Rights in the Soviet Russian Empire and Action in Their Defence;" Dr. B. Hayit — "The Power of Liberation Nationalism in the Russian Empire;" Prof. Dr. S. Halamay — "Nationalists and Dissidents in the USSR;" Col. D. Kosmovich — "Subjugated Nations — The Neglected Superpower."

Both open sessions, which were attended by about 300 people, were followed by discussions. At the end of the ABN open session the ABN Statement and Resolutions were adopted.

The mass rally in defense of persecuted and unjustly condemned was held on August 26th. Over 4000 persons assembled at Trafalgar Square, the heart of London, many of them carrying national flags and placards demanding the release from imprisonment of V. Moroz, I. Kalynets, Ye. Sverstyuk and other political prisoners, the withdrawal of Russian occupation troops from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania and

other countries, their liberation from the Russian colonial yoke, as well as of Croatia and other Communist-dominated countries, an end to Russification, religious persecution and so forth. The sky was blue and the flags of the host country, the ABN, the EFC, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia and Rumania, of the free and the subjugated countries whose representatives participated in the conferences, fluttered in the wind.

The rally began with a prayer by the clergy of various nationalities. Then the Ukrainian choir "Homin" from Manchester sang the hymn "Great God" and the British national anthem. The rally was officially opened by Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), Chairman of AF-ABN. It was then addressed by: ABN Pres. Yaroslav Stetsko, Christopher Jolin (Sweden), Yuriy Shymko (Canada) [who conveyed greetings to the participants from John G. Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada], Eric Butler (Australia), Mr. W. Bunchuk (Byelorussia), Dr. A. Ilic (Croatia), Dr. K. Drenikoff (Bulgaria), Col. N. Nazarenko (Cossackia), Mr. Sladechek (Czechia), Mrs. A. Lemberg (Estonia), Madame S. Labin (France), Dr. Lohrisch (Germany), Mr. L. Zourabichvili (Georgia), Mr. Tompson (Latvia), Mr. Praskunas (Lithuania), Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan), Dr. Yarkin (Turkey), Mr. Y. Deremenda (Ukraine), Dr. Chopivsky (USA) and Mrs. Slava Stetsko (ABN Central Committee). The speeches were interlaced by the performance of the vocal trio from London accompanied by a guitar, and the band of the Ukrainian Youth Association from Huddersfield, which played the ABN anthem composed especially for ABN's 30th anniversary. The Youth Appeal was read by Miss Slava Hrynyuk. The rally was led by Mr. Illya Dmytriw, Dr. Ivan Docheff and Mr. Mykhaylo Hrynyuk.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed by young people in the course of the rally.

On the same day the youth panel was held in Bonnington Hotel. It was moderated by Borys Yurkiv (Ukraine). The penalists were Miss Zourabichvili (Georgia), Askold Krushelnytsky (Ukraine), [who delivered the introduction], Carl Holm (Sweden) and John Haydon (Great Britain). Active part in discussion was taken by representatives of the Croatian, Byelorussian and other youth.

The participation in the activities of ABN and EFC of young people representing different nationalities and organizations was a particularly pleasant and encouraging sign.

On August 27th another ABN open session was held, at which the following topics were covered: Dr. Ivan Docheff — "30th Anniversary of the Founding of ABN", Mr. Levan Zourabichvili — "Eastern Policy of the West as a Promoter of the Russian World Aggression", Dr. Ante Bonifacic — "The Role of Titoism in the Communist as well as in the Free World", Prof. David Rowe (USA) — "The Present US Foreign Policy".

In the afternoon a panel was held on the situation in the countries within the Russian colonial empire. Dr. Joseph Kaskelis (Lithuania) was the moderator. The panelists were Rev. J. Garyba (Lithuania), Dr. A. Ilic (Croatia), Dr. Hayit (Turkestan), Dr. Yarkin (Turkey), Mr. G. Tompson (Latvia), Mr. Ivan Krushelnytsky (Ukraine), Dr. Lohrlich (Germany) and Mrs. Adelaide Lemberg (Estonia).

During the Conference a research paper, "The Threat of War", by Col. Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaluk was read.

All ABN sessions were attended by distinguished guests from various Western and Asian countries, who conveyed greetings and took an active part in discussion. Among them were Mr. Osami Kuboki (Japan), Chairman of the International Federation for Victory over Communism, Prof. David Rowe (USA), an expert on Far-Eastern affairs, Mr. Eric Butler (Australia), Dr. Chapin

(USA), Mr. McGillick (Australia), Mr. and Mrs. Chopivsky (USA), author Bernadine Bailey, Prof. and Mrs. Schlafly (USA), Mr. Walter Patrick, General Secretary of the Freedom Council of Canada, Mr. Lee Edwards (USA) and Mr. Ira Latimer (USA).

In the evening a reception was held, hosted by ABN. It included speeches by Pres. Y. Stetsko and Mr. Don Martin, Osami Kuboki, Hon. G. Stewart-Smith, Prof. D. Rowe, Mr. Watson and Mrs. Slava Stetsko. Mr. Borys Yurkiv read an appeal from Ukraine clandestinely sent from Ukraine. Cultural entertainment added color to the occasion. Prof. Dr. S. Halamay (AF-ABN) was the master of ceremonies.

The ABN and EFC Conferences received numerous messages and expressions of solidarity, among them from Cardinal Josyf Slipyi, Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USA, Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church of the USA, Archbishop Ivan Bucko, Rome, Bishop Volodymyr Malanchuk, Paris, the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada, Sen. Barry Goldwater of the USA, Prof. Raimundo Guerrero, Chairman of WACL, Archduke Otto von Habsburg, Min. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, John Graham, John M. Fisher, President of the American Security Council, Dr. Walter Becher, Member of the West German Parliament, General Vanuxem, Sir John Rodgers, Bt. DL, MP, Tonis Kint, Acting President and Prime Minister of the Estonian Republic in exile, Sir David Renton, MP, Rev. B. J. Hargis, László Pásztor, Director of Heritage Groups Division of the Republican National Committee, Mr. N. M. Guerrero, as well as dozens of ABN branches and Croatian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Baltic, and other organization and individuals from the USA, Canada, Australia, Latin America and Europe.

Moscow Attacks ABN Conference

The ABN-EFC conferences have disturbed the Kremlin and the present-day tsars seating in it have instructed their mouthpiece, Radio Moscow, to broadcast a "commentary" for listeners in Great Britain and Ireland only two days after the conclusion of the activities of the ABN and EFC in London.

As it has been the Kremlin propaganda machine's custom for the past 50 years, the "commentary" tried to present the despotic rulers of the Soviet Union as innocent sheep, while accusing the West for stepping up psychological warfare despite the fact "that the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries have received official recognition in documents signed by leaders of the USA, the FRG, France and other Western countries. The "commentary" praised Senator Fulbright for urging that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe be shut down and also unnamed members of the Federal German Parliament for their hounding down of anti-Communist emigre organizations in West Germany.

But Moscow's anger and venom have been directed most of all against leaders of the ABN and WACL. Employing the centuries-old tactics of ordinary Muscovite thieves by crying out "catch the thief" in order to divert public attention from themselves, the Russian Communist bosses in the Kremlin accuse the ABN leaders of having "the blood of thousands of victims in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on their hands", as if there had not been butcheries Stalin's purges and Communist collaboration with Hitler and the Nazis not only before 21st June, 1941, but also during the Second World War in their joint extermination of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and of other non-Russian nations, as if there had not been the rape after the war of the nations now enclosed behind the

Russian Iron Curtain, or to recall the most recent example — the bloody suppression of Czechs and Slovaks!

The relevant paragraph, expressing Moscow's anger and containing the wholesale lies about the ABN national emigre organizations, reads as follows:

"On an international scale all these supposedly national emigre organizations and centres are united in such alliances as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the World Anti-Communist League. At the head of many of these bodies are men who fled from the socialist countries, criminals and collaborators who during the Second World War stained their hands in the blood of thousands of victims in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. And today they have still not given up the practice of provocations and terrorist acts. What is surprising is that the governments of the Western countries which are perfectly aware of these facts still remain and support and nurture these men of yesterday. And this at a time when tensions are being normalized. What is more, there are some who are even prodding these organizations into greater activity and providing them with the chance to hold anti-Communist gatherings. Obviously, such an attitude adds no credit to those who are opposing the efforts to rid the international atmosphere of the foul vapours of psychological warfare."

It must be obvious even to the blindest of political observers in the West that Moscow's whole efforts to promote "peaceful co-existence" and preserve the status quo in Europe by signing documents and holding "security" conferences are only designed to lull the West into a false sense of security in which the Russian Communists could wage psychological warfare on their own terms, as a preparation for the further enlargement of their empire by subversion and use of brutal physical force.

No Detente Possible

(Speech by Ole Bjorn Kraft, Former Foreign Minister of Denmark)

President Stetsko, members of the board, delegates,

It is the last time that I have the honor to speak to you as president of EFC. It is a sad occasion for me, but my resignation from the post of president — which you have for so many years bestowed on me — has become a necessity for personal reasons. But it is my hope that this will not be the last time we meet. I shall try to follow your activities and, my strength and personal situation permitting, I shall take part in the fight for freedom, human rights and independence of the subjugated nations suffering under the yoke of the dictatorial regimes and Russian occupation.

The fight, I tell you, is more necessary than ever before. I am sure you know this. You don't belong to the people — the majority of the people in the Western world I'm afraid — who believe that we have entered a period of peaceful coexistence and detente, with the development of freedom and human rights everywhere, including the USSR and the satellite states. You know better. You know, and it is our duty to make this known in all countries, that Soviet Russia has not given up its goal, which is world domination one way or another. You know that the suppression of the people in the Baltic states, in the satellite states of Eastern Europe and of the nations inside the Soviet Union is as hard and merciless as it has always been. You know the recent events in Ukraine and other nations subjugated in the USSR.

This is the real situation in the world and in Europe, because the subjugated nations belong to Europe. But although it is true for the time being, detente is the password of Western policy. Of course, it may be necessary to negotiate with the Soviet Union on questions which constitute a danger to peace. In principle, a security conference could be useful — if only both parties sincerely wished to establish a real peace and were prepared to accept the conditions which would make it last. First of all, they must accept — what we in the Western world accept — that only self-determination and freedom of speech and thought can make peaceful coexistence possible in the long run. We all know that these conditions will never be accepted by the Communist states. Western powers have clearly stated at the security conference that free movement of individuals, ideas and information — for example free sale of daily papers from all countries of Europe in Eastern Europe and USSR as well — is the condition for an acceptable result of the conference.

The goals of the two parties are obviously quite different. What the Kremlin wants is clear, and in reality the Soviet Union has already achieved most of its goals. Brezhnev and his men are to this day negotiat-

ing in line with the old principle of Russian negotiations: What is mine, is mine, what is yours must be subject to negotiations.

What the Kremlin wants is that the **status quo** existing in Eastern Europe since 1945-48 is legalized by the Western powers. We know what this signifies. The West should accept the annexation of the Baltic states and the satellite regimes in the whole of Eastern Europe imposed against the will of the people. We should forget all about suppression. We should forget what happened in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 and what happened everywhere under Russian rule, inside and outside the Soviet Union. We should forget the cruel suppression of intellectual, national and cultural freedom.

To reach its goal the Soviet Union, for the time being, speaks with a soft voice. The Soviet Union talks about detente — how peaceful and human it is. But we must not trust the Kremlin. President Stetsko delivered a powerful statement yesterday about the situation behind the Iron Curtain, and a strong voice from inside Russia warned us only a short time ago not to believe in and accept detente on the conditions of the Soviet Union. It is Professor Andrei Sakharov, the famous nuclear scientist. He is afraid of what will happen. Nobody can live in security with a Soviet neighbor who is armed to the teeth. It is wrong, he says, to be friends with a closed society which hides its true face. He does not believe that friendship between East and West will lead to more democracy in the Soviet Union. We must inform about it so that his warning will be heard and that the powers in the West will listen and act in accordance with it.

No, we cannot believe in detente. All facts tell another story. They still shoot people on the wall between East and West Berlin. Before negotiations about reduction of the armed forces in Europe begin, the Russians are sending troops and heavy arms to the zone where a balanced reduction is to take place. The Russians have now developed a new strong missile system and put a new class of atomic submarines into production.

No, do not believe in detente. We must wake all the people to reality. The Communist system is middle-aged and a step backward. It will bring back all that mankind has tried so painfully to escape throughout centuries: The few and powerful despots suppressing the majority of the people, terror and secret police as an instrument in the hands of those in power, inequality before the law, and lack of protection against injustice, suppression of conscience and persecution of heretics, the denial of the right to self-determination and independence to peoples.

The West can only win in this gigantic struggle about who shall govern the earth, if the people in the West respect the values they believe in and live in accordance with them and consequently are ready to fight for them and try to protect them wherever they are threatened.

The world policy today is the fight for ideas and the souls of the peoples. It will be won by nations which have the strongest faith in their message and are ready to fight for it.

A Policy of Detente Leads to War A Liberation Policy Leads to Peace

Press Statement by Yaroslav Stetsko

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was formed thirty years ago on the 21-22nd November 1943, in the forests of Ukraine's Zhytomyr region. The initiative came from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych, (who, in 1950, fell in battle with MVD forces) and from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera (who was assassinated by a KGB agent at the orders of Shelepin in 1959). The revolutionary committee of the subjugated nations was formed, consisting of the representatives from the revolutionary movements of 12 nations.

The activities of ABN were directed, at the time, against two aggressors, Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. The realization of ABN's main idea of a common front, against the common enemies, was achieved by the formation of military detachments of the various peoples subjugated by Russia and Nazi Germany, which fought under the general command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Relying exclusively on its own forces, the ABN has fought for the last 30 years, both in its homelands and abroad.

ABN's goals are: The disintegration of the Russian empire, the USSR, into independent, democratic nation-states, the restoration of full national independence to the so-called "satellite" countries and the liquidation of artificially built states, such as Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia (CSSR).

At the time when all over the world the colonial systems have been or are being liquidated, there is no room for such a system in today's Europe.

ABN's conception of liberation: The

synchronized national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations directed against Russian occupation and Communist totalitarianism will destroy, from inside, the Russian empire and the Communist regime.

The isolated uprisings of separate nations cannot be successful, as they could easily be suppressed by Russia, e. g. uprisings in East Germany, Hungary, Poland in the past. On the other hand, a synchronized chain of uprisings of the subjugated nations, supported by a liberation policy of the Western countries in favour of the subjugated nations, would be successful and would bring the revolution against the Russian occupants to a victorious conclusion.

We feel that the Western countries, helping the nations oppressed by Russian Communism, are serving their own interests.

The subjugated nations form a first line of defence of the free world. Had it not been for the resistance and liberation struggle of these nations in the past, the Russian aggressors and totalitarians would by now have dominated all of Europe.

The Achilles' heel of the Russian empire and Communist system is the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and oppressed people. As the ratio of Russians to non-Russians in the Russian sphere of influence is 1:2, in favour of the subjugated peoples, the only policy the Russians see fit to keep the empire together, is the policy of terror.

But the Russian Empire is not invincible:

The ideals of Freedom, which motivate the subjugated nations, are stronger than terror and mightier than any nuclear weapon.

The essential thing is that one should be aware of the weaknesses of the Russian empire and the awkwardness of its system. The West should recognize these weak points of the Russian empire and thus remove the myth of the "invincibility" of Communism and the Russian empire.

To attack the weak points of the USSR, and especially its nationality policy — the Achilles' heel of the empire, is a policy which we recommend to the governments of the free world.

Nuclear weapons cannot be used against the revolutionaries for obvious reasons. On the other hand, simultaneous revolutionary upheavals in many subjugated countries give the insurgents all the chances to destroy this prison of nations and individuals without a world war and nuclear holocaust. There is no other more appropriate way (with the least sacrifices and dangers involved) than the path of liberating revolutions to get rid of the last major aggressor and the last most vicious colonial empire of all times. For this reason, the liberation movements should have all the moral and material support of the free world.

The other alternative, the policy of cooperation and detente, which the West now practises, will never stop the Soviet-Russian aggression, as it did not stop Hitler's aggression, and will consequently lead to war.

As for now it makes it possible for Moscow to infiltrate the free nations from within and conquer them later at an appropriate moment.

George Meany, the President of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in an interview on May 30th, 1973, with a German television network, gave an accurate analysis of Russia's world expansionist policy:

"Brezhnev himself explained what detente means to the Kremlin and what the Soviet rulers are trying to get out of it. Addressing a conference of select

Communist representatives at Karlovy Vary, the Soviet dictator said on April 24, 1967:

"Experience teaches, in particular, that the 'cold war' and the confrontation of military blocs, the atmosphere of military threats seriously hamper the activity of revolutionary, democratic forces. In conditions of international tension, in bourgeois countries, the reactionary elements become active, the military raise their heads, anti-democratic tendencies and anti-Communism are strengthened.

"And conversely, the past few years have shown quite clearly, that in conditions of slackened international tension, the pointer of the political barometer moves left. Certain changes between Communists and Social-Democrats in certain countries, a noticeable falling off in anti-Communist hysteria, and the increase in the influence of West European Communist Parties is most directly correlated with the reduction in tension which has taken place in Europe!".

(AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News,
June, 1973)

There can be no lasting coexistence, not to speak of cooperation, between tyranny and freedom. Sooner or later, it will come to a conflict, because they are two totally contradictory worlds. To prepare a victory to one's own plans is sensible, but to wait for a chance outcome when the enemy is already actively engaged in its course of action is suicide.

We consider that the West, in its policies towards the present-day Russian empire, should observe some existing facts and respect the moral principles. The age of empires has passed. There are no more Western empires. The UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights condemn in principle any imperialism or colonialism. Why then defend the Russian colonial empire in Europe and Asia?

The constant and persistent efforts of Western governments should be directed towards the restoration of national independent states of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the realization of human rights in Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus and elsewhere.

The West should aim for the restoration of full independence and the realization of human rights in Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Rumania and other satellite countries.

The West should stand for the reunification in freedom and independence of the German people and the removal of Russian occupational forces and terror apparatuses from all the subjugated countries, so that the liberated nations can have free elections and may recover all the attributes of sovereignty that every independent country in the world enjoys.

Without the fulfillment of these demands, no agreements or talks with the Russian imperialists or Communist tyrants should be indulged in. Such an attitude of the free world would create an unbearable atmosphere of pressure on Russian and Communist tyrants and would drive them into a dead end. Simultaneously, the nations subjugated by them, having regained their strength and confidence would disintegrate the empire from within. Then the free nations would gain lasting allies in the subjugated nations and, last but not least, a true and just peace.

Unfortunately, the present-day policy of the Western world towards the Russian empire is inconsistent, often contradictory, and does not serve its own interest. As a consequence, the Western policy is leading towards war, as our liberation policy leads towards peace.

Why? Because the strong national revolutionary liberation movements inside the empire paralyze the aggression of Russian imperialism and Communism.

On the other hand, the weakening of the revolutionary movements within the Russian empire, via a policy of detente, creates for the said empire a possibility of consolidation without any danger from the outside and this inevitably leads to the extension of aggression to ever new territories. The time will come when, as in the case of Nazism, the West will not be able to retreat any further and war will be the only solution.

Hence, supporting the revolution within the USSR by the ways and means stated above means supporting peace; supporting a policy of detente means encouraging war or capitulation.

Ours is the age of ideologies; it is also the age of thermo-nuclear weapons, of national liberating and anti-imperial revolutions and the age of the guerrilla warfare. Along with the development of military technology, grows the meaning and importance of an armed people, with the guerrilla type of warfare.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the Helsinki conference surpasses all other previous international conferences or agreements with Moscow, as it acknowledges all the Soviet Russian conquests in Europe and Asia and gives Moscow a free hand to carry out acts of terror, Russification and extermination upon the subjugated nations, acts needed by the empire for furthering its existence.

The hope that such a confirmation of the "status quo" at the Helsinki conference would provide "the possibility of an exchange of ideas, information and people" between East and West, and thus will lead to a lasting peace, is merely an illusion.

No country in the world is intending to attack the USSR! Should the Soviet Russian aggressors be standing on the very shores of the Atlantic, they would not feel "safe" and would then perpetually desire new guarantees of their

current conquests, until they have captured the whole world.

A compromise will always be to the detriment of the free world, and the subjugated nations.

As the crude facts of the present day have demonstrated, the treaties with Moscow have caused greater intensification of terror against the subjugated nations (e.g. the recent "Ukraine's plea for help").

Since the official circles of the free world render neither practical assistance, nor human compassion and moral support to those who suffer and fight, we appeal to the Western man in the

street, to the young people, to the mass media and to the intellectuals to support the subjugated nations in their fight for national independence and human rights.

We especially appeal to the press, radio and T.V. to come to the defence of all those who have been incarcerated, banished from their homelands, or locked up in the psychiatric clinics for their uncompromising stand against all violators of national and human rights.

We give our full support to an appeal recently received from Ukraine by Mr. David Floyd of "The Daily Telegraph."

Mr. K. Glinski reporting on activities of ABN Branch in Great Britain.



Closed session of the conference.



Liberation Not Capitulation

Opening Address by Yaroslav Stetsko

I have great honour and pleasure in opening the ABN Conference. Its central theme is LIBERATION NOT CAPITULATION. This method of treating the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism is mandatory at the present time when defeatism, the spirit of compromise with Bolshevism and agreements with it, not only at the expense of the subjugated nations but at the risk of losing the freedom and independence of the still free nations of the world, are dominant in the free world. ABN must steadfastly remain the banner of uncompromising struggle against Russia and Communism, as champion of the national state versus the empire, as a bearer of liberation nationalism in contrast to Communist tyranny, as a trailblazer of the idea of man being a creature like unto God — in contrast to man — a cog in the totalitarian machine.

On the thirtieth anniversary of its existence ABN has fully justified itself. This is obvious. Out of a two-front war of nations against Nazism and Bolshevism, it expanded — from the forests of Ukraine where it was founded by revolutionaries of twelve nations — into a global anti-Russian and anti-Communist force.

ABN has always depended and still depends on its own strength and not on the aid of foreigners. Its organ, the **ABN Correspondence**, the only international magazine of its kind in the world, which in 1972 celebrated its 25th anniversary, is financed solely with our own funds. It serves as a contrast to the Bolshevik **Novoe Vremya** (New Time) which appears in Moscow.

ABN is the symbol of the uncompromising forces of the freedom-loving world in its struggle for NATION and INDIVIDUAL, for the SPIRITUAL over the MATERIAL, for the HEROIC over the EGOISTIC, for the ETERNAL over the TEMPORARY.



Delegates paying homage to those who died for ABN ideas.

The national principle of the organization of the world is gaining victory over the imperialistic one. ABN is the vanguard of this global process and progress. Its concept of liberation: national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations have justified themselves as well. Not a nuclear war, but uprisings are the road to victory over empire and tyranny. Nuclear bombs are not dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries. Ideas are stronger than nuclear bombs.

The best fight, suffer and die for those ideas.

Brezhnev and his henchmen intensify terror, also due to the capitulation of some Western states before Russia. But the extermination of nations is not possible, not because the tyrants do not want it, or because they have become more humane, but because the nations — in particular their young generation — HAVE RID THEMSELVES OF FEAR AND ARE RISING AGAINST TYRANNY AND EMPIRE!

The best from among our nations face the enemy courageously and overtly. Therefore the main theme of our Conference is: LIBERATION NOT CAPITULATION.

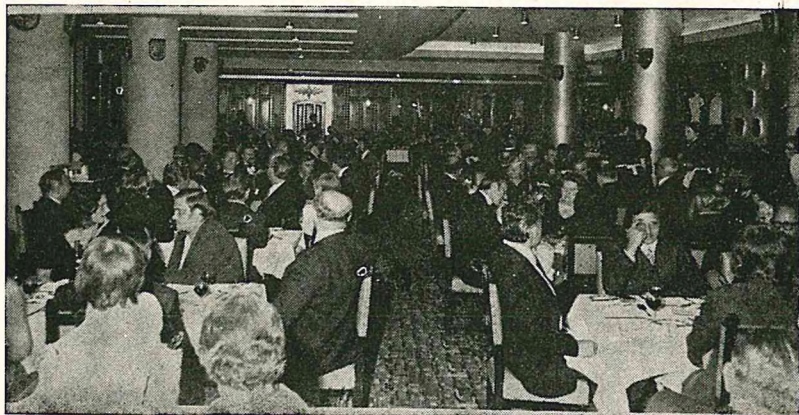
Let us join ranks and urge the entire freedom-loving world to raise a mighty voice of protest against terror and persecution of fighters for national and human rights!

This is a concrete slogan of our Conference and Mass Rally!

Let the tyrants feel that the offensive spirit of struggle for truth, justice and freedom, for independence of all nations, including those of the West, is alive and regenerating itself. The ABN should be the promoter of the offensive of the West.

If a certain segment of mislead people in the West can support Russian ideas, then the majority of them will surely support ABN ideas in their own interest.

With faith in our nations' victory over the occupants, I declare the ABN Conference open.



ABN
Reception

AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCES OF FREE MEN

Before your very eyes, national and cultural genocide is taking place in countries subjugated by the Russian aggressors and Communist totalitarians. This is facilitated by political and economic agreements of the free countries of the world, in particular the USA, with the USSR, and international conferences such as the conference on so-called European Security, which are attended by the USSR and its satellites. Not a single state in the world intends to attack the USSR. Against whom then does Moscow want a guarantee of "security"? It wants it against the nations it subjugates in the USSR and the satellite states, against their liberation revolutions! The national liberation struggle of these oppressed nations and individuals are the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire and the despotic Communist system. The aim of the Helsinki and other similar conferences is not only a *de facto* recognition of the frontiers of the contemporary Russian colonial empire, but also its legalization in international law.

When Western empires have ceased to exist, why should the Russian empire — whose avowed intention it is to encompass the entire world — be preserved in Europe and Asia? Imperialistic Russia will feel "secure" only after it conquers the whole world. When Russian Communist armies will stand on the shores of the Atlantic the Kremlin tyrants will demand "security" for the expansion of their colonial empire as far as the Atlantic. What is Russia looking for in the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Northern seas, in Latin America (Cuba and so forth), in Africa, the Near East and the Pacific Ocean? Why is it building up the strongest navy in the world? The strongest conventional land army? Thermonuclear weapons of the widest range? Neither the US nor Great Britain intend to attack anyone! Why does Russia provoke civil, class and peripheral wars, urban guerilla warfare, wildcat and political strikes? Why does it interfere in the internal affairs of every national state of the world, corrupting its people from within? Obviously, all this is a means of and a road to the conquest of the world! Political, economic and technological support of the Russian empire on the part of free countries of the world is a boomerang against those who extend such aid. The West is preparing its own doomsday, at the same time depriving itself of the confidence of its most trusted allies — the subjugated peoples — and thus weakening itself in the decisive encounter with the aggressive Russian and Communist power!

A prominent military theoretician of the West, British General J. F. C. Fuller writes:

"If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic, and though the atomic bomb has its uses, they must be weighed against the psychological effects they are likely to produce. To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder, and the way in which it is used will determine whether the millions of enslaved people in Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow. What they seek is liberation and not obliteration — let the Western nations remember this."

The first line of defense of the West are the nations subjugated in the Russian empire and its sphere of domination.

Friends! The free world also shares the responsibility for intensified terror, Russification, mass imprisonment of fighters for national and human rights, faith in God, the freedom of spiritual creativity, for deportations to Siberia, for the around two million prisoners in concentration camps, who were imprisoned for

their national, political and religious convictions, for the destruction of national cultures and religions, and the intermingling of nations within the empire. The governments of great Western powers, even Western churches, negotiating and supporting the Russian empire and the godless Communist system and thus confirming the **status quo** of subjugation and imperial boundaries share the blame for cultural and national genocide. Not a single state, in particular the USA, has placed any preconditions before the Russians while extending all types of assistance to them.

In spite of this, the subjugated nations have not bowed to their oppressors. Their struggle for liberation continues. The peoples, in particular the youth, have gotten rid of their fear.

Since the official circles of the free world do not render practical assistance, nor human compassion and moral support to those who suffer and fight, we appeal to the Western man in the street, to the young people, to the mass media and to the intellectuals who are aware of the fact that their freedom to create and the spiritual values they hold themselves are defended by the inmates of Russian concentration camps, Tito's prisons and KGB psychiatric prisons to join the broad front of protest and defense of the subjugated nations' fighters for national independence and human rights. Therefore,

SEVERELY CONDEMN AND TOGETHER WITH US URGE THE LIQUIDATION OF ALL CONCENTRATION CAMPS !

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ALL PRISONERS CONDEMNED AND IMPRISONED FOR THEIR NATIONAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS !

DEMAND THE TERMINATION OF THE APPLICATION OF CHEMICAL AND MEDICAL MEANS OF BREAKING THE WILLPOWER OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS IN ORDER TO EXTORT STATEMENTS OF REPENTANCE FROM THEM !

VIGOROUSLY DENOUNCE THE PRACTICE OF CONFINING FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN INSANE ASYLUMS !

DEMAND AN END TO PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS IN GOD AND CULTURAL LEADERS WHO DEFEND THE ESSENCE AND SPIRITUALITY OF THEIR OWN NATION, WITHOUT WHICH A NATION PERISHES !

DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN OCCUPATION FORCES AND THE COMMUNIST TERROR APPARATUS FROM THE RUSSIAN-SUBJUGATED NATIONS WITHIN THE USSR AND ITS SATELLITES !

DEMAND A RETURN OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY TO ALL THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM IN THE USSR AND THE SATELLITE STATES, AS WELL AS FOR THOSE NATIONS ENSLAVED IN THE ARTIFICIAL STATE OF YUGOSLAVIA !

A just and lasting peace in the world is impossible WITHOUT NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND STATEHOOD for each nation and without the liquidation of the colonial empire — the USSR — in Europe and Asia !

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO SEE AN END OF CULTURE IN GENERAL AND THE REIGN OF BARBARITY IN THE WORLD, FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF INTELLECTUALS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS !

WITHOUT NATIONAL CULTURE THERE IS NO WORLD CULTURE !

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO SEE A KGB GUN AND THE LAW OF THE JUNGLES PREVAIL IN THE WORLD FIGHT FOR HUMANISM AND FOR MORALITY BASED ON RELIGION !

OUR DAY OF PROTEST AGAINST RUSSIAN AND COMMUNIST CRIMES AND OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND OF ALL

NOBLE-MINDED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IS DEDICATED FIRST AND FOREMOST TO THE IMPRISONED AND PERSECUTED FIGHTERS !

Of the countless political prisoners of Communist death camps, prisons and insane asylums we shall name only a few martyrs:

- a) Those imprisoned in insane asylums for an indefinite period: **Gen. P. Hryhorenko**, **Prof. L. Plyushch**, the community leader **A. Lupynis** — all of them Ukrainian;
- b) Prisoners of Mordovian concentration camps in Potma: poets — **Zaure Kabali** (Georgian), **Ali Khatahulhov** (North Caucasian), **Knut Skueniks** (Latvian), **Waldur** (Estonian), heroic Lithuanian sailor **S. Kudirka**;
- c) Further — **Andrei Amalrik**, **Pyotr Yakir** (Jew);
- d) The most consistently persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals, sentenced to 10-15 years of prison, concentration camps and exile: **Yuriy Shukhevych**, after serving a 20-year sentence, sentenced again to 15 years because he refused to disavow his father, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); **Valentyn Moroz**, historian — after 5 years to another 14 years; **Ivan Hel**, student — after 3 years to another 15 years; **Prof. M. Osadchyi**, — after 2 years to another 12 years; **V. Chornovil**, — after 3 years to another 12 years; literary critic **I. Svitlychnyi** — to 12 years; **D. Shumuk**, — after 27 years to another 15 years; **Iryna Senyk**, artist — after 10 years to another 11 years; **Ye. Sverstyuk**, historic philosopher, — 12 years; **Ihor and Iryna Kalynets**, both poets, **Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk**, — sentenced to 10 years; poet **V. Stus**, literary critic and scholar **Ivan Dzyuba**, as well as member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and commander of UPA **Ivan Iichuk** who has languished in prisons for 25 years, nationalist **O. Bilskyi** who has been in prisons for 35 years and has become blind as the result and nationalist fighter **Maria Palchak** imprisoned for 25 years;
- e) Hundreds of Croatian intellectuals: **Prof. M. Veselica** (7 years), **Prof. S. Djodan** (6 years) and numerous Czeck, Slovak, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Byelorussian, East German, Hungarian, Turkeستاني patriots. Out of thousands murdered by the Russian occupant we shall name artist **Alla Horska**, architect **Mykhaylo Soroka**, leading member of the OUN, commander of UPA **A. Oliynyk**, and soldier **Ivan Moyseyev**, for openly declaring his Christian beliefs while in the Army.

The heroic death of freedom fighters and the sufferings of others in prisons, concentration camps and insane asylums for human rights and the national independence of their peoples is a great warning to all freedom-loving mankind!

THE OPPRESSED FIGHT AND CALL UPON YOU TO JOIN THEM IN THAT STRUGGLE !

HE WHO HELPS THEM HELPS HIMSELF !

Otherwise, the Russian Communist deluge will annihilate the still free part of Europe and the world!

FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS OF THE WORLD UNITE,
IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM
AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS !
DECRY THE RUSSIAN AND COMMUNIST PRISON OF NATIONS !
LONG LIVE FREEDOM FOR ALL NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS OF THE
WORLD !

London, August, 1973

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

Resolution on the Nations Subjugated by Russian Imperialism and Communism

WHEREAS, the Russian occupants, being under the pressure of the struggle for national liberation and independent statehood of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite states and fearing that the nations subjugated by them will rise in a revolution, need the support of the Free World in order to fight the enslaved nations; and

WHEREAS, the Russian occupants are combatting by all means liberation nationalism in all forms in the countries subjugated by them and are trying to create a so-called "Soviet" people by merging the nations into one Russian supnation; and

WHEREAS, the Russian chauvinists and imperialists are attempting to destroy the national cultures and replace them by a so-called "Soviet" culture (i. e. de facto Russian culture) by imposing Russification by force on all fields of creative work of the subjugated nations and to abolish even the so-called national republics by establishing seven economic regions directly subordinated to Moscow; and

WHEREAS, re-Stalinization is systematically continued and brutal terror increasingly practised, nationalists being executed and national upheavals crushed by force in the occupied countries, and in particular the terror practised against cultural workers and fighters for national independence and human rights being intensified; and

WHEREAS, cultural workers are cruelly sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment (e. g. in Ukraine) and concentration camps of severe regime or to confinement for life in psychiatric hospitals (e. g. Professor Plyushch, Kyiv) and the KGB is using the most diabolic methods to break the prisoners' resistance by chemical devices (e. g. Lukyanenko, Kandyba, Yakir, Hryhorenko, Moroz and Dzyuba); and

WHEREAS, on the one hand, the practice of religion is persecuted more and more cruelly, and on the other, the Russian Church of the Kremlin regime (its hierarchy serving the atheist Russian imperialists) is being imposed on the non-Russian peoples; and

WHEREAS, the primary goal of all International Security Conferences initiated by Moscow, among them the so-called European Security and Disarmament Conferences, is to safeguard Moscow against uprisings of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite states fighting Russian occupation and to provide Moscow with a base for further conquests;

NOW, THEREFORE, the ABN Conference resolves to strengthen its activities in the Free World for:

1. the support of the national liberation movements of the nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states and others governed by a totalitarian Communist regime — in their struggle for reestablishing their independent democratic national states;

2. the support of the right of each nation to establish its own state, social and political order, to create its own cultural values, to practice its religion, to realize its social ideas in accordance with its proper historical traditions and by its free will;

ABN Conference resolves to:

3. strongly protest and condemn Russification, the concept of the so-called "Soviet" people, national and cultural genocide, the destruction of historical traditions and historical monuments of the subjugated nations, denationalization and the annihilation of religion, resulting in the disintegration of culture and the barbarization of life, its deprivation of heroism and humanity when the traditional roots are taken away from the people;

4. with special firmness protest and

condemn the assassinations and executions of fighters for national independence and their imprisonment, the confinement in prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric asylums of cultural workers and fighters for national and human rights, the use of barbaric chemical devices for breaking their resistance in order to obtain declarations of repentance, the persecution of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Jewish religion as well as of faith in God in general, and the crushing of nations' aspirations to independence and freedom by armed coercion;

5. appeal to:

a) the governments of the free nations of the world to place for decision on the agenda of the UN General Assembly the violation of the UN Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, especially with respect to the cultural workers persecuted in the USSR and in so-called satellite states and the fighters for national and human rights;

b) world public opinion, including various types of organizations, to organize worldwide activities of protest in defense of all those who are being persecuted;

6. urge the governments and parliaments of the Free World to set as a prerequisite for any conference or agreements the realization of the right to national independence of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the

satellite countries, and not to disarm in a situation when the Bolshevik aggressors are arming;

7. support the Captive Nations Law No. 86-90 of October 17, 1959, enacted by the US Congress, supporting the liberation struggle for the national independence of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Hungary, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Albania, Rumania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Cuba and all other nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states or governed by a totalitarian Communist regime, for reunification in freedom of East Germany, Vietnam, Korea being in favor of the Congressional activity of US Senator Jackson, who requests the right for the nationals of all subjugated nations to freely move abroad, support the US House Resolution 106 dated January 9, 1973, introduced by Congressman Daniel J. Flood on establishing a special captive nations' committee of the US Congress;

8. warn the Free World of the dangerous consequences of the so-called European Security Conference and Disarmament Conferences, as well as of any agreements with the USSR, whose goal is to consolidate its rule over the subjugated nations with the prospect of further usurpations of the still free part of the world.

"Anti-Soviet Demonstration in London's Trafalgar Square"

Under this heading the DPA (German Press Agency) on 26th August, 1973, carried the following article:

"On Sunday, in the heart of the British capital there was held an international anti-Soviet demonstration. Thousands of people from all over Britain, as well as from abroad, gathered in Trafalgar Square. The majority of the demonstrators were from those countries which are at present under Soviet-Russian occupation. The greater

number of the participants were Ukrainians, some in national costumes or in uniforms of the Ukrainian youth organizations in Great Britain. The reason for this gathering was the 30th Anniversary of the foundation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Many participants carried placards with such slogans as Better Dead Than Red, Freedom For Ukraine and others. They listened to choirs and freedom songs, and to the speeches of exiled East European politicians."

Subjugated Nations – The Neglected Superpower

The USSR is not a voluntary community of peoples, but a power scheme construed by Russian Communists, based on a Russian national sentiment, though operating on behalf of the peoples. The USSR is a vast impenetrable concentration camp of peoples, having different cultures, religions, customs, languages as well as historical and geographical limits.

The Soviet lawyers estimate that 35 national states belong to the USSR, i. e. 15 Union republics and 20 autonomous republics. 15 Union republics are therefore "sovereign states". By means of a distortion of terms the historical meaning of peoples' sovereign rights has thus been falsified. The Soviet Union definitely succeeded in influencing the free world by means of its powerful propaganda, based on falsifications.

The so-called Council of Nationalities and the Union Council have no influence on legislation; only the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decides what is to be considered law. The individual peoples therefore have no rights to represent their own interests freely. The Soviet Union's power actually serves to satisfy Russian great-power chauvinism. All the other peoples continue to live in the vast prison of the USSR.

In 1970, 241,720,000 inhabitants were registered in the Soviet Union; 129,015,000 thereof were said to be Russians. There are 21,267,000 Russians living and working outside the RSFSR in national Soviet republics. In the RSFSR there are 107,748,000 Russians; 15% thereof are living and working in the so-called national autonomous republics. Thus the peoples in the USSR do not have national sovereign rights or autonomous rights as such. The Russian officials support the regime and centralized power within the "national Soviet republics" as well.

The national principle in the organization of the world and the concepts of national liberation and the establishment of national states have become the general tendency in the development of the world as an antithesis to the so-called large-area concepts. The national idea — nationalism — is the sign of the present era.

The two superpowers, the USA and the so-called USSR, whose power position was determined by the possession of the atomic or hydrogen bomb, were later joined by the third superpower (Red China), in all today, there are almost five of them, when one takes into consideration Japan and Western Europe whose economic complex is now being joined by Great Britain with her economic "club" of smaller states in EFTA.

Hence, we can see the differentiation of the world, which continues invariably. The rapid development of technology does not contradict the emancipation of nations, while thermonuclear arms are incapable of arresting the triumphant march of the national idea and its realization, which is tantamount to the dissolution of empires. The very formula of "thermonuclear stalemate" among the superpowers signifies the self-neutralization of the nuclear threat. Thus, the thesis which we propagated for years is being confirmed, namely that thermonuclear war is an anachronistic concept, alien to the spirit of the national liberation revolutions; the concept of guerrilla warfare has become the token of our age. Hand in hand with the development of military technology there is the increase in the significance of man as a spiritualized being and the significance of human communities as free nations. And when in the Western world technological process does not always correspond to the moral and ethical perfection of

man, Christianity, spiritualization of life, its materialization and de-hedonization, then in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, subjugated by Russian imperialists, we can discern a clear process of spiritual renaissance of the individuals and nations. Today, as in the past, those deprived of freedom, persecuted, oppressed, those who suffer and are ready to make sacrifices in defence of national and human rights and freedom are the ones who in a practical struggle become a model in the realization of the heroic concept of life, are more strongly inspired by the national ideals than those who are free, content and self-satisfied.

We can see from historic experience that the greatest world empires of the past — as for instance the Roman and the British — no longer exist but the people and nations continue to live.

The spiritual values are incessant. Faith in truth, faith in ideals, in victory of spirit over matter, is of decisive importance for a subjugated nation. Otherwise, it will be overcome by lack of confidence in its own strength and its underestimation in relation to the mighty technical, material power of the adversary — the occupying power. Therefore, the thesis about the "inevitability" of the de-ideologization of the liberation struggle and policies, is a knife in the back of every liberation movement.

At the time when a considerable part of the free world is becoming Communized, in Byelorussia, Ukraine and in other countries subjugated by the Russians, Communism is becoming bankrupt. Despite the fact that our age is also an ideological age, in the free world its thermonuclear parallelism is being stressed as a dominant second force, typical of our age, while the first force — the spiritual, ideological force is forgotten completely.

At the time when the free world, impoverished ideologically and ethically, is only counting on technological and material power, when thermonuclear

arms and the number of human robots are of decisive importance for it, we must recall the forgotten different world which is a component part of the contemporary age, atomic and ideological at the same time. We have in mind the individual, the ideal, and the subjugated nations.

General J.F.C. Fuller wrote that "ideas are stronger than atomic bombs". Therefore, the guerrilla-partisan war is an alternative to a nuclear war. When today one speaks of Five Superpowers, then it is impossible to pass silently over the sixth one — that of the subjugated nations. In the future, this sixth superpower will be decisive, for it enjoys superiority over the five — noble and just ideas — and cultivates the heroic concept of life which elevates the dignity of man and nation. In addition to this, the sons of the subjugated nations who are serving in the army of the Russian occupying power, have weapons in their hands; hence they also have technology at their disposal.

The United States of America, the greatest power in the Western world, employs the concept of the "balance of power" among the superpowers in its world policy, having completely disregarded the nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states. In its very basis, such a concept is erroneous and ruinous. It does not lead to victory but to the defeat of the free world. In the past, Napoleon lost the war with the Russian empire because he failed to see the potential power of subjugated Byelorussia, Ukraine and other oppressed nations, striving to liberate themselves from the Russian yoke. Hitler not only ignored the subjugated nations but also tried to transform Byelorussia, Ukraine and other nations into his colonies. Today, the USA is making a similar mistake and it will also lead to tragic consequences. Despite the fact that Russia and other "powers of this world" do not recognize nations and nationalism, con-

sidering them as "survivals", nationalism has become the sign of our epoch as the most just and progressive idea.

Together with the development of human societies and civilizations, the principle becomes a cornerstone of a just order in the world. Therefore, when we speak of a forgotten or neglected superpower (the nations subjugated in the empire of tyranny), we are not rejecting the problem of empires as the sign of the epoch, but the significance of the nation as the standard of our age. In particular, we emphasize the importance of liberation of nations with its noble ideas, which became the basis for reconstructing the world.

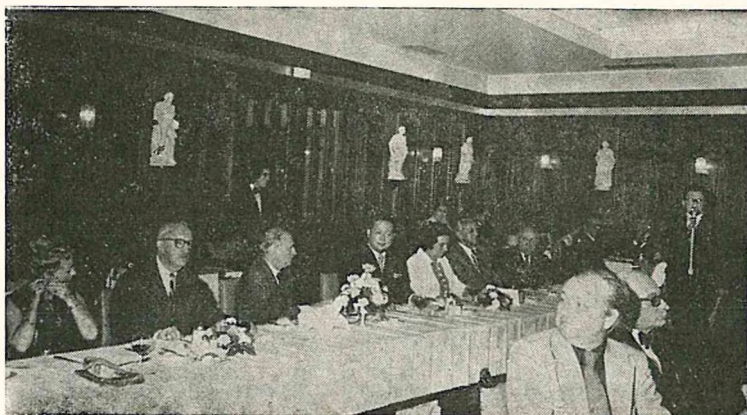
Our liberation revolution is simultaneously a national and social revolution. Social revolution goes hand in hand with the national revolution, as one of the essential components of the anti-Russian and anti-Communist revolution. From the moral point of view we support everywhere and always the idea of national liberty and national independence.

No lesser nonsense are the "suggestions" to abandon the anti-Communist position in order to take advantage of the conflict between Moscow and Peking. Of course, every conflict between

Moscow and other powers or states is to our advantage because it weakens our enemy and assists in the psychomoral mobilization of revolutionary forces in the Russian empire. But this does not mean that freedom and statehood will be brought to us by foreign forces on their bayonets. We still have not forgotten that Nazi-Germany's bayonets had brought us new slavery. Therefore taking advantage of every conflict between Russia and other states, we must remember that we cannot reimburse our conditional "ally" by accommodating ourselves to his domestic, political, social and ideological system, for then we shall become a colony of the new "liberator".

Byelorussia, Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russia are for the time being a forgotten superpower of our age. But its lofty semaphores are not growing dimmer — on the contrary they are glowing even brighter and pointing to the only road to be followed by those who search for a way out of the blind alley of the world political, ideological, social and even religious crisis. It is therefore in the best interest of the free world to support national liberation of the non-Russian nations included in the USSR and the satellites of the USSR. These nations are natural allies of the free world.

The head table at ABN reception.



The Real Revolution of Ukrainian Youth

This evening we are deliberating upon the statement "The real youth revolution is taking place behind the Iron Curtain". The dictionary defines revolution as a complete change, turning upsidedown, great reversal of conditions, fundamental reconstruction, forcible substitution of a new leader or polity for the old. In this definition, I think that it is most important to note the adjective fundamental, fundamental change. This, as I understand, is the difference between today's so-called youth revolution in the West and the upheaval behind the Iron Curtain.

The so-called youth revolution of the West cannot be taken at its literal meaning; it is a searching for an alternative life-style within the framework of the existing society. In some cases it is merely the escapism of a minority of the youth by means of the drug culture, etc. but an escapist is not a revolutionary. The change here has been that many of the traditional values such as religious faith, patriotic feeling, etc. have been disregarded, but not replaced by new values leading therefore to a decline in spiritual values. This is also not a revolution. It is more like the wandering of a child through a toyshop — it finds something to occupy and amuse itself with, but then it gets bored and moves on to another toy, but there is no concrete idea behind trying the new toys; it's just keeping itself from being bored. There is friction with the authorities in some spheres such as drug abuse, but this cannot be compared to the arrests, secret trials and security apparatus that face anyone coming up against the authorities in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. In my opinion, the Western revolution is the superficial change in a minority, not a fundamental and popularly willed change of the whole sys-

tem. However, as I shall attempt to show from my own country — Ukraine, the trends and events in the subjugated countries are indicative of a revolution in its primary stages — in the bud. The emphasis, as always, with the first stages of a revolution, has been placed on the intellectual struggle, through literature, art and the word of mouth, resulting in a deepening and renewal of interest in Ukraine's national problem and greater awareness of the value and richness of her traditions and her culture, the cultural renaissance of Ukraine, as it was phrased by Valentyn Moroz, one of Ukraine's most formidable freedom fighters. This is not to say that physical demonstrations and protests have been ignored as a means for voicing the demands of the Ukrainian people, as can be seen from last year's strikes and riots at Dnipropetrovsk and other cities. Here workers and students who are demanding rights for Ukraine clashed with the KGB who opened fire on them with machine guns, with the result that dozens of people were killed and injured. Some KGB buildings were destroyed and KGB men killed.

Ukraine is a country fighting for its very existence. The fight is an old fight. It is the Ukrainian Cossacks' fight for a free nation; it is a struggle for independence after the 1917 revolution, which was successful until the newly established Ukrainian state was invaded by the Russian Communists in 1919; it is the fight of the Ukrainian nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from 1941 to 1953 after a proclamation of independence on the 30th June 1941 as a political basis for the struggle. It is that same struggle that prompted hundred of thousands of young Ukrainians to sacrifice their lives to rid Ukraine of her Russian oc-

cupier. The struggle has merely entered a new phase with the Ukrainian youth breathing new vigour and life into it.

Because violent means are limited at the moment, when the Western countries refuse even to give moral support to the oppressed nations, but on the contrary, bolster and aid the Russian Communist tyranny with economic aid and conferences such as the Helsinki Security Conference, designed to guarantee and legalize Russia's occupation of, and complete absorption by Russification of language, culture, customs and traditions of other countries such as Ukraine, the struggle at this time is, among other forms and methods, an intellectual one, and I shall primarily be concerned with briefly tracing out the history of Ukraine's Liberation Movement by means of this intellectual struggle.

It is generally agreed that a renewal of Ukraine's Liberation Movement, in which many artistic, scientific and other talents pooled their forces occurred in the early 1960s. Amongst these fighters for the Ukrainian cause was Vasyl Symonenko. Through his revolutionary poetry, which effused a militant pride and love for Ukraine, he inspired and still inspires others to actively join in working against the occupier. Unfortunately, he died at the early age of 29; the death was attributed to cancer. At this time, the KGB launched a concentrated offensive against the Ukrainian intelligentsia with the result that numerous poets, authors, artists, cultural workers and others involved in the renewal of national feeling and awareness, were arrested and received severe sentences in prisons or hard labour camps. The exact number of people arrested at this time is not known and probably never will be known, but it is known that the arrests were very extensive. A book was written at that time called the Chornovil Papers in the West were it was smug-

gled out to in 1968. The book by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a young literary critic and writer, dealt with the case histories of twenty of the arrested and pointed out how the Soviet version of justice was carried out behind closed doors with only a farce of pretence to carry out the proceedings in a fair and legal manner. It also pointed out that under Soviet law, every citizen has the right to freely voice his opinions which was the reason on the whole why the defendants were arrested. The book showed clearly how the arrested were being incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps because they had dared to take a stand against the forced Russification of their language and culture and the destruction of their national identity. In consequence of this book, Chornovil was arrested and sentenced to seven years of hard labour to be followed by five years of exile from Ukraine.

Ivan Dzyuba is another formidable fighter for Ukraine's freedom. He is best known in the West for his work "Internationalism or Russification?" in which he criticizes Russia's present-day imperialist nationalities policy from the position of the Soviet Constitution, quoting Marx and Lenin. This was a very astute strategy as he could not then be dismissed merely as a "bourgeois nationalist". In his book he demonstrates how the increasing Russification and attempts to destroy Ukraine's identity and culture are illegal even by the Soviet Constitution. In March of this year, despite the fact that he suffers from acute tuberculosis, he was sentenced to five years of imprisonment for his fight on behalf of Ukraine.

Alla Horska was a woman artist, a founding member of the early 1960s group who used her talents to execute works of a nationalist character or with Ukrainian themes. Her greatest ability was, however, that of a magnetic and charismatic leadership. She could remove people's fear of the Russian repressive forces. She could spur them, urge them

and encourage them to speak out their thoughts, write down their ideas, paint on canvas what they felt, not what was dictated to them. Because of her personality and her confidence in the truth of the Ukrainian cause many people joined the renewal, the Ukrainian renaissance. To the Russians this was the most dangerous kind of person, a person who could awaken and inspire others. In November of 1970 she was found dead, murdered by the KGB.

Then there are those who did not have any particular literary or artistic talent. They are not scientists or philosophers, but have an infatuation with their countries, a love that gives them no peace unless they can do something to help their country, to perform a deed that they can call their own. They exhibit a supreme form of love, and in an almost mystical offering they give sacrifice to their country where the sacrifice is their own lives. In such a category can be placed people such as Vasyl Makukh, a member of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, who in Kyiv, Ukraine's capital, doused himself in petrol and burned to death with the exclamation: "Long live free Ukraine!"

There are many others, as one can see by reading the literature available, but as my last example I shall talk about Valentyn Moroz. V. Moroz is a history teacher by profession, who was first arrested in 1965 for writing and protesting against the cultural looting of Ukraine by the Communists. He was sentenced to three years hard labour. During his term of imprisonment he produced several major works analyzing and criticizing the Soviet system. He was again arrested in 1970 and sentenced to nine years hard labour and five years exile. His behaviour at his trial was an example of the revolutionary stoicism and defiance of Ukraine's freedom fighters of today. He refused to defend himself, maintaining that the trial was illegal, and except for one

speech, remained silent throughout the whole proceedings. But this one speech contained words that have since been raised as a banner by the fighters for Ukraine's independence and rights. He said when he was asked to repent and probably receive a lighter sentence, that the responsibility had fallen on him to show firmness in the face of oppression and that he was glad to accept the role, to do otherwise would mean to him a loss of self-respect. He said his now famous words "We shall fight for the truth". V. Moroz was well aware that by now, removing him from the public gaze would not help the Russians for there were too many people now ready to take his place and continue his work.

I have only had time to cite a few examples from among the thousands of modern Ukrainian revolutionaries that are known, but for everyone whose name is known there are thousands who remain anonymous. Together they form a human tide of poets, authors, artists, scientists, teachers, workers, farmers who will not see their country's language Russified, or let their Ukrainian culture be repressed and destroyed and stolen to be replaced by the alien Russian one, who refuse to bow down to a doctrine of materialism enforced by the Chekist machine guns or KGB secret trials when they have their own faith in God and have their own spiritual values evolved from Ukraine's history. Their love of Ukraine opposes Russia's striving for an empire. This tide is the antithesis of all Russian Communist desires. No dam of threats, repression and mass murders can stem it. This revolution cannot be stopped, for you cannot arrest, imprison or murder a whole nation. Although they have tried it, the Russians can only hope to delay the deluge that will destroy all their ambitions, by building the dam a little higher, but the cracks in the dam have already appeared and the pressure increases.

Youth Appeal

We, as representatives of the youth of our era, in the name of humanity and peace, appeal to all of you to unite together and fight for the universal cause of freedom — the freedom of speech, the freedom of worship, and the freedom of actions. Our cause is independence of those subjugated nations whose civil rights are openly being crushed by the reactionary Communist Russian regime.

The movements of the Biafrans, the Czechs and Slovaks, the Baltic nations, the Hungarians, the Georgians, the Croats, the people of Bangla-Desh and the Ukrainians — all these movements are in essence alike. The principles of freedom and individual human rights cannot have a double standard, and cannot be compromised for the furtherance of vested interests. We cannot condemn one regime, and condone another, where freedom is being suppressed.

As we must unite in support of any suppressed nation we must unite and condemn with all our might the atrocities being committed in the Soviet Russian empire today.

Freedom of any form is being stifled.

Homicide is punishable with a period of five to ten years imprisonment but people are being imprisoned for fifteen years, condemned as so-called "political prisoners", for their literary works or for merely being in possession of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which even the Soviet Union agreed.

Medical experiments are being made on human "guinea pigs" held in Soviet lunatic asylums under falsified pretexts of insanity while all they wish to do is to follow their own religious beliefs and voice their rights as individuals.

Over five million inmates are imprisoned in the Soviet concentration camps (as stated in the US Senate hearings Feb. 3rd, 1973) equalled only by those of Nazi Germany.

As for individual examples:

Valentyn Moroz, A. Amalrik, Dzyuba, Svitlychnyi, Plushch, Iryna Senyk, Osadchyi, Shukhevych, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets.

This list is but of a few and there are so many, the list is never ending. Each and every one of these tortured individuals suffered only for the crime of exercising his universal rights as a human being.

As we must condemn such actions of suppression, so also we cannot condone the governments of the United States of Amerika and other West capitalist countries, which are jointly responsible for the new wave of "Stalinism" which is sweeping over Ukraine and other Soviet republics and Russia's satellite states, because they are making agreements at the sacrifice of national and human rights.

We, therefore, call upon all students and young people whoever they are and wherever they may be to demand:

- 1) The immediate abolition of chemicals and drugs used for punitive purposes, and the applications of malpractice including psychiatric methods.
- 2) The release of all political and religious prisoners.
- 3) The liquidation of concentration camps.
- 4) The end of Russification.
- 5) The realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union.

We make these demands in the name of freedom, and in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



**Discussion
during ABN
Open
Session.**

David Floyd: Ukraine's Plea for Help

A Ukrainian resistance movement has smuggled to the West an appeal for support against Russian oppression.

The appeal, a single typed sheet in Ukrainian, was posted in Berlin during the Communist-sponsored World Youth Festival and addressed to me at 135, Fleet Street, London.

The appeal names 24 Ukrainian writers, artists, scholars and religious leaders who have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for their opposition to the Soviet system and domination of Ukraine from Moscow.

West Blamed

"The governments of the United States and other capitalist countries

share responsibility for the increased terror against us and the new wave of Stalinism in Ukraine and other Soviet republics because they are doing deals with Moscow without demanding that the Soviet Government observe national and human rights."

The appeal concludes with a demand for the immediate banning of the use of chemical and psychiatric treatment of prisoners and the liberation of all political and religious prisoners. It is signed by the "Ukrainian National Liberation Front."

The Daily Telegraph, Thursday, 16th August, 1973

A Letter from Ukraine

The well known specialist in Communist Affairs, Mr. David Floyd of **The Daily Telegraph**, of London, has recently received an appeal from Ukraine. He wrote about it in an article which appeared in **The Daily Telegraph** on the 16th August, 1973.

Mr. David Floyd was kind enough to hand over this document to the representatives of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain which enabled us to make this English translation in full and which is published below.

The appeal in Ukrainian has no heading and is typewritten. It is a copy, and some words are difficult to read. It reads as follows:

"Our Front is compelled to act illegally, and that is why we mail this appeal without signatures. We appeal to the public opinion of the world to raise its voice in defence of the Ukrainian people, and against Russian despotism. The UN Charter and Declaration of Human Rights, which were also signed by the Governments of the USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, guarantee to each and every nation the right to national independence and individual freedom. However, the Party and Government of both the USSR and Ukrainian SSR completely disregard their own laws. The latter is, actually, the colonial administration of Ukraine receiving direct orders from Moscow. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR did not even obtain the privilege for Ukrainian convicts to serve their sentences on Ukrainian territory, for here they are citizens and here they could obtain better assistance from their families. For attempting the realization of just rights in Ukraine, community leaders were punished, some by death (L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba who had their sentences commuted to 15 years of prison and concentration camps of severe regime); for attempts to free cultural creativity and for opposing Russification, several hundred cultural workers, poets, artists, scientists and scholars (such as V. Moroz, Y. Sverstyuk, V. Chornovil, I. Svitlychnyi, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, V. Stus, Iryna Senyk, Mykhaylo Osadchyi, I. Hel and others) were punished by heavy sentences of up to 15 years of imprisonment in concentration camps and exile; for protesting against unlawful court proceedings and for the defence of the rights of individuals, punishments in the form of unspecified terms within special psychiatric asylums under KGB supervision were passed (L. Plushch, professor of cybernetics, A. Lupynis, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and others); for religious convictions beaten to death were I. Moyseyev, Mykola Khmara and others, or were sentenced to long years of incarceration (priest V. Romanyuk to 10 years, and others); for refusing to denounce his father, Yuriy Shukhevych was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, after he had previously served 20 years; for defending her husband, the microbiologist Nina Strokata-Karavanska was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment; for defending the rights and freedom of their nations were

executed A. Oliynyk, P. Kovalchuk, I. Chayka and others; and tortured to death were M. Soroka, V. Malchuk and others.

For defending the rights of the Ukrainian, Tatar, Jewish and other nations, S. Karavanskyi, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and Ivan Dzyuba were punished with extreme severity.

For defending the discriminated Jewish people, Petro Yakir, and others, were again put behind iron bars.

In order to break the will of resistance, the KGB are using modern chemicals and medical drugs manufactured by their professional staff, or are systematically poisoning foodstuffs (P. Starchyk, I. Dzyuba, V. Moroz, L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba, and others).

Through the application of modern methods of breaking the will power of a human being, the terror of the type of Brezhnev—Andropov surpasses that of Stalin—Beria.

The Governments of the USA, and other capitalist countries are also jointly responsible for the increase of the terroristic measures used against us, for the debauch of a new wave of Stalinism in Ukraine and other Soviet republics, because at exactly the time of massive reprisals by the KGB, they were making agreements without any demands for the realization of national and human rights.

Through these treaties Moscow intends to guarantee its domination over the subjugated nations.

The Helsinki Conference also guaranteed the unhindered torturing, for it did not demand from the USSR to observe the obligations put forward by the UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We warn you that if national rights and freedom of individuals, freedom of creativity and religion are not defended not only by us, who at present are suffering persecution and cruel treatment, but also by the entire cultural world — then a massive and intensive terror will gain the upper hand in the whole world, for Russian chauvinists and Communists will not come to a standstill and shall not be satisfied with what they have conquered.

We call upon workers, writers, artists, scholars students, and young people, women and Churches and all people of good will to demand the immediate abolition of the use of chemical and medical drugs and the application of malpractices including psychiatric methods, and furthermore the release of all political and religious prisoners, the liquidation of concentration camps, the end of Russification, and the **realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.**

July, 1973

THE FRONT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE OF UKRAINE

Dr. Andrija Ilic

The Death of a Great Croatian Leader and Friend of All Oppressed Peoples

The death of Dr. Stjepan HEFER, President of the Croatian Liberation Movement, at the end of July 1973 in Buenos Aires, is a great loss for the Croatian people and for all the oppressed peoples whom he regarded as brothers and allies in our common struggle for freedom and independence of our countries.

He was one of the most prominent Croatian politicians who all his life fought for freedom and independence of Croatia.

When, in 1918, against the will of the Croatian people, the artificial state of Yugoslavia was created, Dr. Hefer as a distinguished Croatian intellectual and lawyer clearly saw that this new state was a prison for the Croatian people in which their name, their history and their very existence would disappear.

Therefore, as a Croatian patriot and a convinced democrat, he vigorously fought for the right of the Croatian people to be free and to live in their own state of Croatia. Through his work and struggle he very soon became well known in the ranks of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party of Stjepan Radić, the leader of the Croatian people.

When, in 1928, in the Belgrade Parliament to the horror of the whole world Stjepan Radić together with other two Croatian MPs was shot dead and two other Croatian MPs were seriously wounded by the Serbian MP Puniša Račić, and shortly afterwards King of Serbia Alexander proclaimed his brutal and cruel dictatorship, Dr. Hefer came forward in defence of the persecuted Croatian people. As a young and very experienced lawyer, he defended many Croatian patriots before the dreaded Serbian courts "for the protection of the Realm".

The world public opinion condemned

the state of affairs in Yugoslavia (which in fact means Great Serbia), and in 1935 Belgrade was forced to call general elections. The Croatian people almost unanimously voted for the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, and Dr. Hefer was elected MP on its list. Because the Belgrade centralist and Great Serbian Government falsified the election results the Croatian MPs boycotted the new Parliament and in 1938 new elections were called and again Dr. Hefer was elected MP. Belgrade again falsified the results and again the Croatian national representatives stayed away from the Belgrade Parliament.

When, in 1941, the war spread to that area of Europe, the Croatian people refused to fight for their prison, which was called Yugoslavia, and proclaimed their own independent state of Croatia. The leader of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, Dr. Vladko Maček, in a public appeal urged the Croatian MPs, the officials and members of the CRPP to put themselves in the service of the newly proclaimed Croatian state. Dr. Stjepan Hefer together with the majority of Croatian MPs joined the Croatian Parliament (the historical Croatian state SABOR) which officially broke all illegal and imposed ties with Serbia. Also, Dr. Hefer became a Croatian state Minister.

After the tragic end of the war, the Croatian army of 250,000 men, unbeaten either by Serbian Tchetniks under Draža Mihajlović or by Serbian Communists under Josip Broz Tito, together with the same number of civilian population retreated to Austria in order to escape atrocities at the hands of Tito's partisans. The Croatian army surrendered there to the British military high command in firm conviction that — according to the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war — they would be

treated as prisoners of war. But they were disarmed and returned to Tito's butchers who in the heart of civilized Europe slaughtered them together with many civilians in the most inhuman manner.

Only a few escaped, among them Dr. Stjepan Hefer, who as a refugee went to Argentina. From there he carried on his fight for freedom and independence of Croatia and in 1959, after the death of the Croatian Head of State, Dr. Ante Pavelić, he became President of the Croatian Liberation Movement.

Very soon he won respect and admiration not only of all members of the worldwide Croatian Liberation Movement but also of all other honest Croatian patriots. He fought for Croatia with his pen, words and deeds. He published a book in Croatian language on the founders of the CRPP "BRAĆA RADIĆ" (Brothers Radić) and a great number of articles in Croatian newspapers and reviews. In English he published "CROATIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND STATEHOOD" and many treatises and Memoranda. In French "LIBERTE ET DROIT D'AUTO-DETERMINATION POUR LA CROATIE" (Freedom and right of self-determination for Croatia). He also published many treatises and articles in German and Spanish. Dr. Stjepan Hefer was a true and sincere friend of all oppressed peoples under the Belgrade and Moscow domination. In particular, he closely collaborated with the Macedonian Bulgarians who suffer the same sort of persecution from Belgrade as the Croats. He greatly admired ABN, especially its President, distinguished Ukrainian national leader and freedom fighter, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, who is a renowned authority in the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism. The late Dr. Hefer was always proud that the Croatian Liberation Movement was an equal member of ABN and everywhere propagated its aims which are also the Croatian aims. Under his leadership the Croatian Liberation Move-

ment also became an equal member of the European Freedom Council and of WACL. He personally attended the ABN-EFC Conference in London in 1968 and the WACL Conference in Mexico in 1972. For the ABN-EFC Conference in Brussels he sent a message in which he exposed the danger of the existence of Yugoslavia, its illegality and its service to Russian imperialism. In it he warned the free world that the Croatian people would never accept this or any other sort of Yugoslavia which means death for the Croatian people and the greatest menace to European and world freedom.

Dr. Stjepan Hefer died at the moment when we needed him most. Slanderous Belgrade propaganda which, unfortunately, has been accepted by most of the Western press and mass media, about alleged "Croatian terrorism", has suffered a decisive blow and defeat. Those who still do not believe this should consult the police files of different Western countries and the book of the Australian journalist Mr. Les Shaw "TRIAL BY SLANDER".

The investigation of the American Watergate Affair which, regardless of allegations against the White House, in my opinion is a platform behind which the American enemies fight against everything the Americans stand for, should be stopped and instead of it an investigation under the title THE WORLDWIDE UDBA (Yugoslav Secret Police) AFFAIR should be initiated. The late Dr. Stjepan Hefer would have been most appropriate Chairman of such an investigation, and also the Chairman of a long overdue investigation and trial against the Yugoslav Communist criminals with Josip Broz Tito as their chief defendant. But, alas, Dr. Stjepan Hefer is dead now. In memory of him we, Croats, shall do our best so that these two investigations and subsequent trials become reality and that the free world recognizes at last the right of the Croatian people to be free in their own state of Croatia.

Communist Germany 20 Years Ago and Today

Two decades ago — on the 15th of June 1953 — began one of the most dramatic yet futile spontaneous revolts against the regime of East Germany. The protests found response among the German workers, students, intellectuals and housewives, until tens of thousands had been filled with the hopes for change — hopes which but a few days later were to be crushed by the brutal tanks of the Russian occupiers, and the help of hometown quislings, the **Volkspolizisten** (Vopos).

It started as an economic protest (as did subsequent revolts in other Communist nations of Europe). The workers who laboured long and unprofitable hours reacted strongly to the new demands for additional work quotas in an economy which required two full work days in order to buy a pound of butter. It started as the natural revolt among those whose work day would be affected by what amounted to a 20 per cent decline in real wages, but it soon went far beyond economic dissatisfactions and gave expression to deep-seated aspirations and hopes for political change. The scenario is dramatic and it is worthwhile to recall the events today, 20 years later, when in the euphoria of "co-existence" and in an era of the **Ostpolitik** of a bridge-building Brandt, one tends to forget the still harsh realities of Communist Europe.

The construction workers along the former **Unter den Linden** started it all on the 15th of June, when filled with economic grievances they called for a strike the following day. And on the following morning East Berlin saw its first demonstrations since the early days of 1945. It started with 200, but by the time the march had reached Leipziger Straße 2,000 had gathered. Their slogan: "We demand a lowering

of the work quotas." But the doors to the headquarters of the only legal party, the SED, remained closed, and the demands of the construction workers fell on deaf ears of the party bosses, Grotewohl and Ulbricht, who claimed to exercise their power from and speak in the name of the German proletariat. The bitterness spread and turned to shouts of derision as the official bulletin was read to the assembled workers which spoke of "the voluntary norm increase". One worker shouted: "This is not a demonstration; this is a revolt of the people." A general strike was scheduled to start the following day the 17th of June. While the East German and East Berlin radio stations only sent out innocuous music, the RIAS of West Berlin and the North German radio station announced: "The workers of East Berlin call the East Berliners to a common demonstration in the morning hours at the Strausberger Platz." On the following, rain-filled morning, they gathered by the tens of thousands. They arrived grim-faced, determined, economic and political hardships motivating them to what they hoped against hope might be an effective way out of their slave existence. They formed groups for their massive march: the construction workers from the Stalinallée, the cable layers from Oberspree, the women from the textile factories, saleswomen, housewives, pupils, students, and even the Vopos who took off their hated uniforms to join in the march. No longer were the demands only for a more tolerable economic life. The banners and standards which rose above the thousands-strong throng read: "We want butter, not a national army." "Down with the SED." "Raze the zone borders." "We want free elections." "We want a reunified Germany." The statue of Ulbricht was torn down at the railway station bearing his

name. The Communist symbols were torn down from official buildings. The East German flag was lowered from the Brandenburger Tor. On these days Berlin was no longer an island. In Jena the workers at Zeiss factories left their job in a sympathy strike. In Magdeburg 23 political prisoners were freed, in Neustadt 600. The street of German-Soviet Friendship was given its old name back. In Zittau the Vopos camps went up in flames. In Görlitz the people of this half Polish half German town joined arms to protest against the barbarity of Communism. In Zodel the Communist leaders were chained to their flags and forced to march in front of the demonstrators. In the former royal city of Dresden, the loudspeakers sounded through the ancient streets: "Brothers! We have occupied the city radio station. We have nothing to lose but our chains! Down with the SED! We demand the resignation of the government and free elections!" In Brandenburg, in Rathenow, in Leipzig, in over 300 cities, towns and villages, workers, farmers, students, men, women and the young joined in protests against the regime which during the preceding eight years had ruled them with the increasingly harsh hand of Communist dictatorship.

Then came the Russian occupiers — the Red Army — to the aid of the puppet regime they had set up with the aid of old "Spitzbart" Ulbricht, and Grotewohl. In Berlin the T-34 tanks rolled over the Alexanderplatz, the Potsdamer Platz into the masses of unarmed German workers. Strengthened by the presence of their "protectors", the Vopos launched an attack against their own people, although some Russian soldiers held their fire, confused because what they saw before them did not resemble the fascists and capitalists they had been told were revolting. The tanks, and other superior weaponry soon quelled the revolt. The stones thrown in desperation against the tanks had no effect except giving vent to

the pent-up frustrations of the enslaved. In the days and weeks that followed the number of arrests again filled the emptied jails: In Magdeburg 822, in Halle 601, in Leipzig 576, and in the Chemnitz area more than a thousand. In West Berlin 60,000 of the divided Berliners protested the crushing of the brothers in the East. But the powers of the free world were held back for fear of a confrontation which might lead to yet another world-war holocaust. And too soon it was all over. Those brief moments of hope, those spontaneous, unorganized protests were crushed. By the force of a foreign military power, with the strength of a dictatorial system, the faint embers of freedom were soon to be quenched, resulting in a wave of arrests, terror, executions, intimidation and economic retaliations. Behind the abortive revolt lay not only broken hopes, but also broken bodies. The first to die was a simple German worker, murdered by a T-34 tank gun. He was the first and where he died his fellow-workers erected a simple wooden cross. But he was only the first of 267 fellow-workers, fellow-demonstrators who lost their lives. 1,067 were wounded and 5,000 were arrested in the wake of the demonstrations. 1,200 were sentenced to a total of 6,321 years in prison with hard labour. 92 were summarily sentenced to death by a military court. Within the military itself and within the party structure, 52 were sentenced to death, 1,756 were arrested, 630 of whom had been sentenced by 1955 to a total of 2,000 years imprisonment. 131 were deported to the Soviet Union. But the revolt had also had some casualties among those who defended the Communist system. 116 Vopos and SED functionaries had been killed, while 645 had been wounded. Among the 1,000 Soviet soldiers who were hastily brought from Poland and the USSR to crush the rebellion, 18 had lost their lives and 126 had been wounded, while eighteen Ukrainians

were executed for refusing to fire on the innocent German workers.

Today, two decades later, the East Berliner and the East German still lives in his prison of hardship and slavery. His life, to be sure, has become economically better, and in the Communist world the East German state has the highest standard of living (although it is still one third less than that of his West German colleague, and a car is still a relative luxury). But the economic betterment had not been accompanied by something he desires even more strongly — a greater sense of freedom. He wants the freedom to read the newspapers and magazines of his choice, to send his children to a school which teaches without Communist ideology and indoctrination. He wants to have the freedom of worship and religion. He wants to exercise the natural freedom to cross the borders to visit with relatives and friends. The walls between his and the free part of Germany are still there — today even more efficiently enforced by mines, traps, watchtowers, armed guards and watch dogs. The wall between the two parts of Berlin, so callously erected twelve years ago, still divides mother and child, brother and sister, friend from friend. 1,345 kilometers of walls and barbed wire separate East Germany from the free world. And along 747 kilometers of this border 2.23 million mines have been placed to see that no one escapes this Communist paradise. To make sure that the 17 million Germans in the East cannot join their 61 million divided brethren in the West there is a body of brutal border police which keeps the East German a prisoner in his own land. 50,000 of them, joined by 80,000 Vopos, 30,000 police, 200,000 in the national army and 350,000 in the party paramilitary groups. What more eloquent evidence can there be that Communism is no voluntary way of life?

Some escape, but they become in-

creasingly fewer in number. Now at a cost of \$ 900,000 per kilometer, booby traps have been installed which release a tripwire sending thousands of small shrapnel into the body of the would-be escapee. Yet they have escaped. 23,000 Vopos alone have fled since 1949, and since the wall of shame went up in 1961, 2,589 officers and border guards have fled from the state whose security they were charged to guard. And in spite of all the inhuman ways invented by evil men to keep men enslaved they come. In 1971 alone 134 fled across the Berlin border and another 698 into West Germany. There are, of course, many who fail. For some those failures mean long-term imprisonment, for others the firing squad. In the first ten years of the wall there were 83 killed in the process of scaling the hated walls or swimming the watery borders between the two Berlins. And in the pursuit of the would-be escapee, 285 bullets from East Berlin guns have found their way into the homes of West Berliners often narrowly failing to cause casualties there as well.

The so-called German Democratic Republic which is, it has been alleged, neither German, nor democratic nor a republic — but a Russian-controlled, Communist dictatorship), is presently engaged in a charm offensive to sell itself to the UN and to the nations of the world. We are told this Communist nation is in process of "liberalization". For West Germans it is easier to pay a visit to the elderly parents still in the East — and they may bring a quarter of a pound more coffee with them. The West German visitor is not subject to humiliating search of luggage and confiscation of capitalist magazines — but the Danish and the Swedish visitors still are. At the annual PR festivities at Rostock, Scandinavian youth groups — even some representing the non-socialist and ostensibly anti-Communist opposition — are seduced into praising this bloody Communist regime. The Swedish Prince Bertil was given a ro-

yal welcome in East Berlin where he expressed hopes for greater exchange of sports teams (a week later four Swedish sportsmen were all but lynched for daring to participate in the South African games).

The left-wing forces of Scandinavia call for diplomatic recognition of East Germany, asking that the Pankow regime be accepted, as Finland has done already. Never mind that this is a nation which allows neither freedom of press, information, religion, assembly, strike, travel nor of political expression — although the suppression of any one of these in Portugal, Spain, Greece, or South Africa would be enough to call for sanctions and support of violent "independence movements". It is not likely that the Swedish Radio and Television, or those of the other Scandinavian countries will recall the brutal suppression of freedom in East Germany 20 years ago. They are too concerned with things much farther away from them geographically. The strident voices which have so often, and so

loudly, spoken up against American involvement in Vietnam, will not be overly concerned with the involvement of Russia's Red Army in a neighbouring country.

20 years ago in East Berlin, 17 years ago in Budapest, 12 years ago at the Berlin wall, 5 years ago in Prague, 3 years ago in Danzig and on so many other less well documented occasions, the hopes for freedom were brutally crushed. But this is the era of "negotiation not confrontation". Because we so desperately wish it, we believe we see that Communism is changing from a deep blood red to a more innocuous pink. But should we not — we who are still privileged to live in a nation relatively free from political terror — recall these tragic days of June 20 years ago and in recalling them realize anew the unchanged barbarity of Communism which is still today, as it has been for the past half a century, the most insidious and formidable danger facing the freedom and the human dignity of mankind?

ABN — the best alternative to ICBM.



**ABN
Mass Rally
at Trafalgar
Square,
London,
August 26,
1973.**

Long-Term Prisoners of Russian Concentration Camps

Oleksa Bilskyi Becomes Blind in the Concentration Camp

In a concentration camp in Potma, there circulates a book about which it is known that it was the first book about Soviet camps after Stalin's death. It appeared sooner than Solzhenitsyn's book "One Day in the Life of I. Denisovich". Its author, a dramatist who was interned in one of the Siberian camps from 1950-1954, met there a young 19-year-old boy from West Ukraine, who became blind in camp as the result of malnutrition. One of the imprisoned doctors performed an operation on him with fantastic success — he managed to restore 20% sight of one eye to the blind boy.

After having read the book, pacing the barrack I passed by a cot which bore the sign: Oleksa Byelskyi (Bilskyi), I would not have noticed this, if on the cot's pillow I had not seen a pair of glasses. The glasses were interesting by the fact that one lense was of ordinary glass, while the other was very thick. I recalled the read story and asked Oleksa, a tall, thin man, aged 50-55:

—Have you been in Siberia, in such and such a camp?

— Yes.

—And was not Col. so and so in charge of the camp?

— Yes.

— Then, you are mentioned in a book, and it is said that you were released in 1958.

He took the book and I read him the episode out loud, for he could not read.

Oleksa recounted that in 1958 the camp in which he was interned was really dissolved and all prisoners were dispatched to a separate settlement. But along the way, all Bandera followers were returned to camp. The book's author, not knowing this, thought that all prisoners had been freed. But Oleksa did not get to freedom and is imprisoned for 23 years now with 2 more years remaining.

soned for 23 years now with 2 more years remaining.

He has no family; he had no time to get married since he was imprisoned as a 19-year-old boy; his parents have died long ago. He, like other Ukrainian nationalists who have not renounced their convictions, will not be permitted to return to Ukraine. He works in a wood-cutting workshop, carrying logs to be sawed; the work is very hard.

Until June 1970 he was in the Lesnoy settlement, in camp No. 19 near the Potma station in Mordovia. In June 1972 he was transported to one of the Perm camps which were recently opened for political prisoners. Mykhaylo Dyak, Lev Horokhivskyi and others went together with him to the Perm camps.

This is the story of Oleksa's life. He had lived outside prisons and concentration camps only some 15-16 years of his life, as a child and adolescent. Two further years, he was linked with the underground struggle against Germans and Russians. The remaining 35 years of his life were spent in prisons and camps, without receiving a single parcel or a letter from anyone. He became blind in his early prison years due to hunger or possibly also beatings. If he lives long enough to be freed, he will come out "to freedom" into a hostile, unknown world, for he surely will not be permitted to go to his native and dear Ukraine.

It is high time for at least one of the hundreds of charitable and humanitarian organizations of the world to take care of Oleksa Bilskyi, at least in his prison years and after his release. (A.)

Let's Defend Maria Palchak

The state of health of the Ukrainian political prisoner **Maria Palchak**, who is languishing in a Russian concentration camp in Potma, has worsened considerably. Kateryna Zarytska, Daria

Husyak and other Ukrainian female prisoners were confined to the same camp.

Maria Palchak is seriously ill with rheumatism which she acquired during her imprisonment in cold prison cells and which is causing her much pain in the cold Mordovian climate. She is still suffering from unhealed wounds which she sustained during a shoot out with the KGB. She is plagued by a severe cough and has fever constantly. All this has resulted in a general weakening of the organism, the so-called dystrophy. In spite of the critical state of health, Maria Palchak must do hard physical labor, since no medical treatment is provided in Russian concentration camps for unsubdued fighters for liberty of the Ukrainian nation. Very often, such critically ill prisoners are taken to the camp infirmary just before their death, not for treatment but to have them die there.

Maria Palchak was born in 1927. As a member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) movement she was arrested, seriously wounded, in a bunker in the Ternopil region in 1961. The sole survivor of the group, she was taken to a hospital where a complicated surgery was performed in order that an investigation could be conducted and she could be prosecuted by the occupational court. Barely alive, extremely enfeebled and with unhealed wounds, the Ukrainian revolutionary was given the death sentence — execution by a firing squad — by the Russian occupational court for her membership in the OUN. Later, "the court of appeals" changed this verdict to 15 years of severe regime in concentration camps. In the same trial in 1961, the Russian court sentenced her brother, Stepan Palchak, to 10 years of imprisonment. He was charged with collaboration with the OUN. Still remaining is their aging mother, who lives in poverty without any means of support. She can no longer work and is therefore unable to help her heroic

children who suffer so much even with small food parcels.

Ivan Ilchuk — Long-term Prisoner of Russian Concentration Camps

Ukrainian prisoner **Ivan Ilchuk**, born in 1925 in Volhynia, is languishing for almost 25 years in a concentration camp in Potma, Mordovia. He was imprisoned by the Russian occupation regime in 1948 for his membership in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Ilchuk fought in the ranks of the UPA between 1942 and 1948, first against the Germans and then against the forced "liberators" of Ukraine, the Russian troops and police apparatus. In spite of his youth, I. Ilchuk became lieutenant in the UPA.

Ilchuk is a profoundly religious person. As a devout Christian, he not only says his daily prayers, but also tries to observe all Sundays and holy days. The Russian camp authorities are aware of his religiousness. They purposely do everything to hurt him and send Ilchuk on Sundays and holy days to do hard labor. Ilchuk protests and refuses to show up for work on feast-days. His refusal to work gives the Russian satraps an additional opportunity to persecute Ilchuk. He is thrown for several days into the camp prison, the so-called kartser. For a prisoner, exhausted by long years of confinement, this causes unbearable pain. It is a dark cell, a bit larger than a coffin, with cold water dripping from its walls. Deprived of half of camp rations, the prisoner barely survives his days of horrible tortures. But this does not discourage the noble and honest Ilchuk, who suffers but continues to pray, remaining true to his ideals, God and Ukraine.

In the course of his many years of imprisonment, the Russian authorities promised to pardon Ilchuk, to release him prior to the completion of his term, provided, of course, that he renounces his national views and condemns his past. Ilchuk constantly asserts that he

has done nothing wrong as far as his nation is concerned and therefore he has nothing for which to repent. On the contrary, he demands his release on the grounds that he was illegally imprisoned by a foreign government.

In the winter of 1972, two years before the expiration of his 25-year term, Ilchuk wrote a petition to the Soviet government in which he urged that the Russians discontinue their occupation of Ukraine, liberate it and reinstitute Ukraine's independence. He did not receive any reply to his letter. But on his nameday in the fall of 1972, an informer brought him a poisoned bottle of liquor as a gift. Nobody drank it. Possibly this gift from the camp authorities was a treacherous reply to his courageous statement.

Ivan Ilchuk was told in advance that after his release he will not be permitted to live in Ukraine.

I. Sokulskyi Subjected to Torture in Vladimir Prison

Ivan Sokulskyi, a young Ukrainian poet born in 1940, was transferred to the Vladimir prison in May 1972. Sokulskyi was taken to Vladimir from a concentration camp in Potma where he was interned since June 1969 following his sentencing to 4 1/2 years of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation".

The young Ukrainian conducted himself bravely and with dignity while in camp and helped his compatriots and other prisoners with whom he shared Russian bondage in misfortune. He spoke Ukrainian at all times, so that even during an additional trial in Potma a special Ukrainian/Russian translator had to appear. The camp authorities forced Volodymyr Tobchiiy to take on the role of translator who, taking this to heart, later became insane.

The main charge against I. Sokulskyi consisted in the fact that he not only did not "re-educate" himself but also incited other prisoners by his Ukrainianism. He was also accused of being

the organizer of a joint hunger strike of Ukrainians and Jews in defense of human rights and respect for human dignity of political prisoners. Sokulskyi was subjected to intensive interrogation by the camp KGB and given solitary confinement. Heavy police methods of interrogation were used. Although they could not prove him guilty, he was nevertheless sentenced to 2 years of severe regime in Vladimir prison. Having thrust Sokulskyi into this prison, which in its strict regime resembles the prisons of the Middle Ages, the Russian satraps are doing everything possible to make his stay in this torture chamber even more painful.

Because Sokulskyi, thanks to his firm and proud Ukrainian character, does not succumb to Russian tortures and continues to protest, the state of his health has grown considerably worse, for it is physically impossible for an individual to endure such tortures.

Ivan Sokulskyi, the young Ukrainian poet, is suffering but not surrendering.

Russians Torture Ukrainian Political Prisoners

In the first week of August 1973 **Vyacheslav Chornovil** was taken from Lviv to the Vladimir prison. Following his conviction, Chornovil demanded the right to serve his term of punishment on the territory of Ukraine. His protests and demands were categorically rejected by the occupational government.

Chornovil's trial was held in early February 1973 and he was sentenced to seven years of severe regime camps and five years exile. After six months of efforts by the KGB organs to make him denounce his past, condemn his writings and speak out against other persecuted Ukrainian patriots, his sentence was changed and instead of deportation to a concentration camp, the unyielding Chornovil was taken to the infamous Vladimir prison where the

greatest "criminals" of the cannibalistic Russian empire are interned.

As far as his family is concerned, his father, Maksym Yosypovych Chornovil, who is seriously ill, and his mother live in the village of Vilkhivets in the Cherkasy region, his brother Andriy, a student of the Kyiv Medical Institute, and his sister Valentyna allegedly live in Kyiv, while his wife and son are in Lviv.

Valentyn Moroz, whose state of health has taken a turn for the worse, is also confined to the Vladimir prison.

Ihor Kalynets, a prominent Ukrainian intellectual, is in a concentration camp in Perm. He is kept in isolation from other convicted Ukrainians.

Mykola Plakhtonyuk, a physician and poet, is confined to a Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric clinic. His living conditions are very harsh. In the same "clinic" the Russians are tormenting a prominent Ukrainian scientist, **Leonid Plushch**. For the first time in 18 months, his wife received permission to visit her husband in August, 1973. But Plyushch is in such a horrible, inhuman state that he failed to recognize her, being under the influence of the drug haloperidol. Approximately at the same time the KGB conducted a search in the Plushch apartment.

Dmytro Verkholyak is persecuted in an inhuman manner: although a sick, disabled worker, he is obliged to do hard work and is not allowed to practice his profession as hospital-assistant; he was forced to sign a declaration of repentance repudiating his ideas which he did not want to do.

Yevhen Pryshlyak — completely disabled — having completed his 15-year sentence in prison and concentration camp long ago is still detained in **Potma**.

News coming from concentration camps tell us that the **Ukrainians'** resistance has not been broken and that they possess courage which should

make us proud of them. In true friendship they are joined with **Lithuanians, Georgians and Turkestanis**.

Danylo Shumuk is confined in the concentration camp of **Potma** in the Mordovian ASSR where among others the following prisoners are detained: **Ivan Ilchuk, Yevhen Pryshlyak, Dmytro Verkholyak, Mykhaylo Dyak, Ivan Tretyakiv, Mykola Bilenkyi**. Last year **Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Jews** organized a common hunger strike in **Potma**.

Growth of National Liberation Activities in the Russian Empire

According to the French paper **Figaro**, large-scale anti-Soviet and anti-Russian disturbances have occurred in **Georgia** on May 28, 1973. Mass demonstrations were transformed into revolutionary activities when **Georgian** fighters attacked with fire bombs strategic points of the occupational forces in various places of Tiflis; in particular, a considerable part of the theatre was destroyed.

Occupational police forces and the Army in the whole republic were placed on military alert. A large number of **Georgian** nationalists were arrested. Nobody was authorized to leave the city without a special permission. Simultaneously, the Government in Moscow announced that vast regions of the Empire were suddenly cordoned off and closed to foreigners. The following cities were completely isolated: **Kyiv, Lviv, Vilnius, Riga, Reval, Kyshyniv** as well as **Astrakhan and Volgograd**.

Western experts on Soviet affairs maintain that there are various explanations for this unexpected isolation of the Baltic countries and Ukraine. The vast manoeuvres — very little being known about them — are supposedly one reason. Some kind of "technical" complications in the communication network are perhaps another. It is in-

teresting that government circles do not give any reasonable explanations for the interdiction to enter the above-mentioned cities and the countries where these cities are situated.

It might be possible that Yevhen Vronsky's (the pilot of a Soviet military airplane) escape on May 27th to the Federal Republic of Germany is connected with the recent events — uprisings in various republics of the USSR. Said pilot escaped to the West for precisely political reasons.

We should like to recall that according to the Swedish press a few months ago a **Ukrainian nationalist** tried to get to Sweden by plane and when he did not succeed in doing so he killed himself with a grenade.

During the last weeks the Bolshevik press in **Ukraine** has been filled with news dealing with measures taken against Ukrainian nationalists in various respects.

Russian Chauvinists Advance, but the Unsubdued Nations Strike Back

As already reported the Bolsheviks have sentenced **Yevhen Sverstyuk**, a Ukrainian intellectual, to 5 years of imprisonment and 5 years of forced labour in a concentration camp. Now we learn that this sentence was prolonged to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of forced labour.

Russian atheists have closed down the famous **Cathedral of Chernihiv**. A small wooden church at the outskirts of the city has been assigned to the community of the faithful by the occupational regime. Even the Bishop of the Russian Church in Chernihiv, Vladimir Sabotan, was dismissed and thus the Diocese has practically ceased to exist.

Russian chauvinists are also attacking **Byelorussia** where the First Secre-

tary of the aggressors' regime ordered all Christian symbols, especially the crosses on all the churches which had already been closed down, to be immediately destroyed. At a time when in Moscow many ancient churches are restored, primarily for tourist excursions and for the establishment of museums therein, anything reminding people of Christianity is being destroyed in **Byelorussia**.

A new wave of chauvinist tyranny is also engulfing the faithful servants of Russia in **Ukraine**. The recent President of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, Yuriy Smolych, who was attacked by Mykola Shamota, another renegade, in the **Communist of Ukraine** has also fallen into disgrace because he tried, although without success, to present Mykola Khvylovyi and WAPLITE (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature) in a more favourable light.

In an atmosphere of mutual bullying and attempting to win the favour of their new employers (Brezhnev's clique trying to rule almightily in the Empire) I. Bedzyk, I. Tsyupa and L. Sanov attacked their "colleague" O. Dmytrenko for apparently taking "narrow unilateral positions" on the basis of which "the writings of several young prose-writers have been considered and evaluated". This is reported from the session of the Kyiv branch of the Writers' Union of Ukraine.

The Daily Telegraph dated May 22, 1973, reported that nationalist moods are ruling in **Ukraine**. Recently two writers have again been sentenced to 7 and 5 years of forced labour, respectively, for participating in activities of a "national cultural movement". There have been considerable national and religious uprisings in **Latvia and Lithuania**. Similar activities are evident in **Tadzhikistan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan**.

On Monday, May 28, the KGB was supposed to release from concentration camp Andrei Amalrik, an intellectual

known as author of the famous essay entitled: "Will the USSR Survive after 1984?" However, his wife informed the press that Amalrik is still detained in Magadan, Siberia.

According to another source, Amalrik has been released but was rearrested 5 days later. He was again charged with having spread "false information" about the Soviet Union for which pursuant to terrorist Soviet "law" he received another 3-year sentence.

A New Form of Punishment

An independent Munich newspaper *Bild* of June 25, 1973, reported that since January of this year 15,000 young opponents of the regime in the USSR were sent off to the punitive detachments of the Red Army. Neither the physical condition nor the state of health of the young people is taken into consideration. They are to serve a total of six years at the Sino-Soviet border. The action is conducted by three people close to Brezhnev. It is not yet known what they are going to do there. Will they only undergo military training and perform military duties, or will they dig ditches and trenches, and work on construction while subjected to strict military discipline, as had been done by Ukrainian Cossacks who worked at construction of canals and fortifications in tsarist times?

Preparing itself for a confrontation with Red China, Russia is pulling more and more military forces to the 7,000 kms. long Chinese border, building fortifications, roads, settlements, factories and so forth. Thousands are needed for these projects.

The first contingent of 15,000 draftees is a considerable number of young patriots who will be subjected to severe discipline and difficult conditions. Their ranks will most likely be supplemented.

We do not know whether several years more will be added or whether

their terms will be doubled or trippled, as it is commonly done with prisoners and those confined to concentration camps. Based on experience, this can be expected.

In the struggle with its opponents, and most of them are to be found among the subjugated peoples, Russia seeks out and invents ever newer (more refined and cruel) forms of punishment. For whom is this punishment intended? Former inmates of prisons and concentration camps relate that 75% of all prisoners are Ukrainian. From this it would follow that in the punitive detachments Ukrainians will predominate as well.

I. Dubenko

Students in Soviet Demo

A group of Ukrainian students who occupied the London office of Intourist today got a frosty Siberian-style welcome from the Russians.

The students were demanding the release of two Ukrainian political prisoners, Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych.

"The officials asked us to leave but when we refused to go they called the police. They refused to read any of our pamphlets or listen to our protest, and gave us the cold shoulder," said 19-year-old law student Orest Baran, from Leeds.

When police arrived the 12 demonstrators left peacefully and continued to picket outside the office with banners. They are demanding that Moroz, Ukrainian historian sentenced to 14 years in prison for dissent, and Shukhevych, sentenced to 10 years prison and 5 years banishment, should be freed.

There were no arrests.

(*Evening Standard*, September 8, 1973)

News and Views

Mass Deportation of Balts Commemorated in New York

On June 24 the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians who reside in Greater New York and the vicinity commemorated their countymen who on June 24, 1941, were deported by Russian authorities to Siberia. It was also an occasion to protest vigorously against Moscow's Red Tsar Leonid Brezhnev's visit and political dealings in the United States.

24th of June was proclaimed by Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, as Commemoration Day of the Mass Deportation to Siberia of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians.

In New York's Flushing Meadows-Corona Park, a Lithuanian Shrine has been erected, which is now popularly called the Baltic Cross. It stands in memory of those Balts who died and suffered under the Soviet Russian regime. There the gathering of the Balts and their American friends took place.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John Balkunas presented the Invocation. Addresses were delivered by Mr. Alexander Vakselis, Nikolaja Grava, Allan Pensa and Petras Azoulas. The main speaker was Mr. Martin J. Knorr, member of New York State Senate and a very close friend of the Balts. Mr. Dorsey Short, the Editor of **Ridgewood Times** had also many encouraging words for the Balts as well as for all Captive Nations.

A Colour Guard from the Lithuanian Chapter of the American Legion and the War Veterans Organizations of Latvians and Estonians also participated.

The event was covered by the press, radio and television.

Protest letters against the Russian occupation of the Baltic States, as well as

their attempts to legalize their aggression at the Helsinki Conference, were sent to the members of US Government and Congress as well as to other personalities.

Elmar Lipping

Amnesty International in Defense of Ihor Kalynets

At its June 4, 1973 meeting in Algonquin College, the Ottawa Section of Amnesty International selected Ihor Kalynets, a Ukrainian poet and prisoner of Russian concentration camps, in order to work for his release and to take care of him.

Among the three prisoners so selected, there is always one from the Soviet Union.

The United Nations Ready to Examine the Case of N. Strokata

In response to the petition of the American Association of Microbiologists signed by 279 members from 11 countries and submitted by 2 Ukrainians on May 17, 1973, the UN Committee of Human Rights informed the Board of the Association that at its next meeting the Committee would examine the case of Nina Strokata-Karavanska who had been sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment by the occupational court in Ukraine for the sole reason that she refused to disavow her husband Svyatoslav Karavanskyi.

This petition, initiated by Dr. Andriy Zvarun and supported by Dr. Y. Roslytskyi from Canada, was adopted by the conference of the Association held on May 5, 1973 in Miami Beach and signed by the following personalities among many others:

J. Stocky (University of New York), **A. Sarachek** (Wichita State University), **J. H. Wallace** (University of Louisville), **D. Frazer** (University of Indiana),

H. Blumenthal (Loyola Medical School), **H. P. Friedman** (University of Missouri), **M. T. Tandler** (Yeshiva University), **W. König** (University of Tübingen), **L. O. Kallings** (National Bacteriological Laboratory of the Health Institute, Tel Aviv), **E. de Mayer** (Radium Institute of Paris), **J. de V. Castro e Melo** (Portugal), **E. Eisenstadt** (Genetics Institute of Cologne), **Dr. J. Kushner** (University of Ottawa).

The Review "Latch"

"Latch" is the periodical review of the Association of Bulgarian Writers and Artist in Exile.

The founding editor of the review is Mrs. Dora Gabenska (5732 Virginia Ave., Apt. 3, Los Angeles, California 90038, USA).

Mrs. Gabenska is ardently opposed to Communism and an eminent fighter for the liberation of Bulgaria from its enslavement by Russian Bolshevist imperialism.

The twofold issue 29/30 of the review comprising 54 pages contains very interesting articles dealing with events of present interest and literature as well as with the struggle conducted by Bulgarian intellectuals in exile against tyranny and red dictatorship now ruling in Bulgaria. Some of these articles are in English. Moreover, the review surveys the literary works of Bulgarian poets and writers in exile. (K. D.)

Mysterious Death of the King of Bulgaria

On October 3, 1918 at the end of World War II King Boris the Third of Bulgaria ascended to the throne. He found himself confronted with military riots incited by the Russian October Revolution and, in particular, with the Communist insurrection of September 1923.

In 1925 Communist terrorists attempted to assassinate him twice. First,

they attacked him by surprise at the Arabakonak Pass but he defended himself with a gun. A few days later they tried it for a second time when the Communist Party destroyed the Cathedral of Sofia by a bomb and 160 persons were killed and more than 500 people were wounded.

Through his intelligent policy and tenacity he succeeded in transforming a ruined and defeated Bulgaria into a modern and advanced country.

In 1940 and 1941 his efforts were finally successful: without striking a blow he attained the reincorporation of southern Dobrudja having been annexed by Rumania in 1913, of Thracia having been annexed by Greece in 1920 and of Macedonia having been annexed by Serbia in 1913 into Bulgaria.

On August 28, 1943 in the middle of the war King Boris died under mysterious circumstances. Did the Communists finally succeed this time in what they had tried so many times before?

(K. D.)

"WOMEN'S LIBERATION" IN CZAR'S Russia, of all places!

Former member of parliament and minister of Lithuania, an activist Social-Democrat, Vladas Požela (Pozhela), in his "Jaunystės Atsiminimai" ("Memories of Youth"), published by American Lithuanian Social-Democratic Society, notes that Tartu university in Estonia, (where he was studying under assumed name — because he was wanted in Lithuania for 1905 revolutionary activities like demanding Lithuania's independence — while even the name of Lithuania was absorbed into "Russa"), during W.W.I. was the first university to open doors for women: the law said, "Persons with high school education are accepted to study at the university"; till then government held that persons are men — Tartu university interpreted that women also are persons.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



LITHUANIA

Resistance and Arrests in Lithuania A Demonstrative Attempt to Commit Suicide

In October 1972, as a sign of protest against the suppression of freedom in Lithuania, poet **Egidius Stepanovicus** cut his veins under the Lenin Monument facing the KGB headquarters at Lenin Square in Vilnius. He was taken to a psychiatric clinic in Vilnius and held there for two months. He was forced to undergo a complete course of medical treatment with increased doses of aminarin. After this he was released in the custody of his family as a mentally ill person, dangerous to his surroundings.

In April 1973 Stepanovicus sent a petition to the imperial organs urging that a referendum be held **on the question of Lithuania's separation from the USSR.**

Members of the Communist Party Favoring Lithuania's Independence

In mid-1972 in Vilnius, two members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania were secretly removed from that committee, imprisoned and deported to an unknown destination. Their names are being withheld. The chief of the special department of railroad KGB, **Vinkentiy Fidskiyi**, revealed while drunk that these two members of the Lithuanian CC of the Party were conspiring with the aim of separating Lithuania from the Soviet Union, but that the KGB had exposed their activity. Upon the question, what happened to the conspirators, V. Fidskiyi replied meaningfully: "Siberia is vast; the whole Lithuania can fit into it."

Signs During a Demonstration in Kaunas

In the course of the 1972 events in Kaunas, demonstrators carried placards. On one of them it was stated: "Jews have won freedom, now it is our turn!" Another sign called on Lithuanian youth to refuse serving in the Red Army.

The KGB is still conducting arrests and interrogations in connection with the 1972 events in Kaunas. In 1973, **23 students** were arrested in Vilnius and Kaunas. They are confined to the Internal Prison of the KGB. In reply to queries, the KGB agents say: "An investigation is in progress."

University Professor Murdered

Philosophy professor **Kazlauskas** (Vilnius), known for his nationalistic remarks, disappeared without a trace. In December 1972 his corps was found in a river in the New Vilnius district. Major Khadayev of the militia began an investigation. But the KGB has taken the matter into its own hands under the direction of its investigators — Major Kovalev and Capt. Vaynivillo.

When Kazlauskas' wife asked about the professor, she was coarsely told to shut up if she does not want to follow her husband.

Major Savchuk of the Kaunas KGB said while talking to one Zionist detained for 15 days: "If you don't stop your anti-Soviet activity, you'll be where Kazlauskas is!"

The investigation in the case of Kazlauskas' death was terminated due to a "failure to find the guilty."

Locked Up in a Special Insane Asylum

A Lithuanian sculptor, a member of the Lithuanian Union of Artists, was imprisoned and confined to a psychiatric clinic. This followed his meeting

with an employee of the US Embassy in Moscow, held 18 months ago, at which the sculptor requested the employee's help to emigrate to the US to join his mother.

In early 1973, drugs which disrupt the nervous system were to be administered to the imprisoned Kudirka. The doctor refused, and the chief physician, Dr. Gutmanas, the chief psychiatrist of Vilnius, was dismissed from work.

A philologist from Vilnius (name not given) derived the Russian word "rabochyi" (worker) from the words "rab" (slave) and "ochi" (eyes) in other words, "a seeing slave".

Based on the estimates of the Lithuanian nationalist movement, the hatred toward the Russians has decreased anti-Semitism in Lithuania by 95%.

NORTH CAUCASUS

Additional news concerning former uprisings in the **Caucasus have arrived:** In June 1971 **Cabardinians** organized an uprising in the city of **Nalchyk**. The crowd tore apart a policeman and threw foul fruit and eggs at the First Secretary of the local Communist Party and at the chiefs of the police and of the local KGB who had come with their bodyguards to calm down the demonstrators. Then the Army intervened and the demonstrators were finally dispersed. Eight people were caught, among them a woman. They were tried behind closed doors. The woman being accused of organizing the demonstration was shot and the other prisoners were sentenced to 10 to 15 years of imprisonment. The disturbances lasted another 6 hours.

At the Jewish Passover 1972 the KGB incited racist pogroms against **Jews and Cabardinians**. They spread rumours that the Jews are using human blood for preparing matzos. Two Jews and eight Cabardinians were hurt.

In December 1972 the director of the kolkhoz Saabuncha in **Dagestan** killed

several cows and distributed the meat among starving workers of the collective farm. The following night he was arrested by KGB officials and taken to KGB headquarters in Derbent.

Two days later 200 collective farm workers armed with shotguns appeared in Derbent and staged a sit-in strike in front of the local militia building. They threatened to organize a rebellion unless the director of the collective farm was set free. The strike lasted two days. A crowd of inhabitants gathered around the strikers and finally the director of the kolkhoz was released.



Arrests at Lviv University

According to the latest reports, in May 1973 the KGB arrested **9 students** of Lviv University from the departments of History, Journalism and Medicine. The arrested were allegedly accused of circulating inscriptions and leaflets inside the university with protests against Russification, discrimination against the Ukrainian language, history and literature.

In this connection, two committees, one from Kyiv under the leadership of Valentyn Malanchuk, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and the other from Moscow were sent to Lviv. Malanchuk, who is responsible for ideological affairs in the CC, demanded that the students be convicted. The Russians did not agree to his, authorizing that the arrested be released but at the same time demanding the expulsion from the university of the said students and their instructors. Thus, **seven professors** were discharged from the university, while others are urged to sign statements of repentance.

The arrested students conducted themselves bravely and those among them who studied history accused the government of the fact that it fails to give them access to historic sources

without which it is impossible to learn the historic truth and that it is high time for students of history to be able to use all the achievements of human thought of the past.

Prior to May, **eleven students** of antique philology were expelled from the Lviv University. The reason for repressions against them was the fact that leaflets were circulated in the university protesting against the ban on the observance of Shevchenko's anniversary, as well as a separate publication entitled "Progress".

Professors and Students Persecuted in Lviv

The Russian occupational government has conducted a large-scale purge among the Ukrainian teachers and students of the Lviv University. The following professors and lecturers were dismissed from work:

Iryna Huzar, born in 1905, Doctor of Philology, assistant professor, author of textbooks for the study of German and lecturer in German grammar since 1940.

Yosyp Kobiv, born in 1910, Candidate of Philology, assistant professor since 1945, chairman of the Latin department, editor of the irregularly appearing collections "The Problems of Classical Philology" and author of numerous works, dismissed from work under the pretext that under German occupation he had been president of a chessmen's club in Lviv.

Oleksander Huts, lecturer in the department of physics; dismissed from work under the pretext of having friendly relations with M. Osadchyi, V. Chornovil and others.

Lyubomyra Popadyuk, lecturer of German, dismissed under the same pretext as O. Huts. Her son, Zoryan, was arrested in 1972.

Teoktyst Pachovskyi, born in 1907, a literary critic, Candidate of Philology, assistant professor, author of numerous works dealing with the history of Ukrainian and Polish literature, dismissed from work under the pretext

that his father was a priest. He was on the staff of Lviv University since 1933.

Hanna Lastovetska, born in 1923, Candidate of Philology, lecturer of Polish in the department of Slavic Languages since 1954, author of numerous works, including those on the history of the Czech language.

Khudash, assistant professor, lecturer of psychology.

Among the students who were arrested and expelled from the university in connection with the appearance of the **samvydav** periodical **Progress** and the dissemination of leaflets protesting the ban on T. Shevchenko's observances at the university are: **Vasyl Hanushchak**, **Volodymyr Udovychenko**, **Bohdan Rokytskyi**, **Volodymyr Yavor-skyi**, **Halyna Yaremych**, **Valya Korniy-chuk** — all students of the Ukrainian language, and **Leonid Filonov**, **Ivan Svarnyk**, **Volodymyr Kozovyk**, **Mariyan Dolnevskyi**, **Ihor Petryna** — students of the departments of history and journalism.

New Victims of Russian Terror

The most recent reports from Ukraine indicate that most likely **Mykola Lukash** and **Hryhoriy Kochur** have been arrested. Lukash was already expelled from the Union of Writers of Ukraine.

Mykola Lukash was born in 1919 in Krolivets, Sumy region. In 1947, he graduated from the Kharkiv Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. Since then he was doing educational work, teaching German, French and English in the higher educational establishments of Kharkiv. He is an excellent translator, translating in 18 languages: English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian, Slovenian, Lusatian, Russian, Byelorussian and Hebrew.

His most outstanding translations include "Faust" by Goethe, "Decameron" by Boccaccio, "Madame Bovary" by Flaubert, and the poems by Hugo,

Heine, Berns, Mickiewicz, Schiller and others.

Hryhoriy Kochur was born in 1908 in the village of Festkivtsi, in the Mensk district of the Chernyhyv region. In 1932 he graduated from the Kyiv Institute of Public Education and was a lecturer. He is known as translator from Czech, Polish, English and French, as well as a literary critic. His major translation is "Hamlet" by Shakespeare.

Causes of Extermination Disguised

Together with arrests, dismissals from work and drafting of the young for long-term military service, the Russians are discharging from positions of responsibility bothersome people, accusing them of various "blunders" in professional work and concealing the true motives behind their liquidation. Official charges for their imprisonment or dismissal from work are invented. They are not of political nature but those which degrade the victim, such as mismanagement, bribery or accusations of criminal acts. In line with the disguised method of police purges, the following were sentenced to death by shooting in Odessa:

— **Bulavko** — head of the executive committee of the Zhovten district of Odessa;

— **Shatylo** — assistant manager of a metallurgical products plant;

— **Ostrovskiy** — manager of the said plant.

"Taking bribes" and "harmful undermining of the economy" were given as official reasons for the execution of these inconvenient people.

In April 1973, **Parkhanskyi**, a manager of an underwear factory, and in May, **Manevych**, an attorney, were dismissed from work. The real reason for depriving these people of their livelihood was that the manager's son has filed documents for emigration to Israel, while Atty. Manevych's daughter had already left Odessa for Israel.

Repressions have caught up with Ukrainian poet **Valentyn Moroz** of

Odessa, a 35-year-old author of several collections of poetry and of the poem "The Oak of Shevchenko". A member of the Communist Party of Ukraine and of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, he held, until December 1972, a position of senior editor in the propaganda department on the editorial board of "Radio Station Odessa". He wrote his material in Ukrainian and at times opposed excessive Russification. For this accounts were squared with him. At a party meeting, V. Moroz was forced to admit his "mistakes". After this, he was not dismissed from work but was demoted to a clerk in the radio station's correspondence department.

News from the Front Line of the Liberation Struggle

In January 1973 blue-yellow flags were hissed and leaflets were distributed when the Declaration of the Restoration of the **Ukrainian Independent State** of January 22, 1918-1919 was commemorated in **Chortkiv**; these events caused general alarm among the occupants.

In **Volhynia** 3 persons died after the visiting assizes.

In June 1972 there was an uprising in **Dniprodzerzhynsk** lasting 7 days.

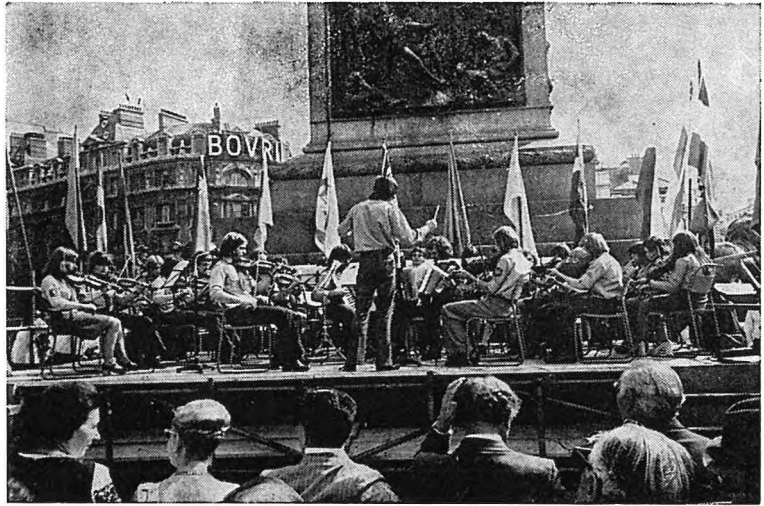
In **Dnipropetrovsk** the Secret Police tried to arouse the population against the Jews by shouting the slogan "Beat the Hebrews!" The revolting population, however, shouted: "Beat the Russians! Long Live Free Ukraine!"

In **Kyiv** 17 persons were arrested when arms were found in the basement of a public building.

*

In June 1971 there were student upheavals in Tyraspol, **Moldavian SSR** lasting 2 days. The students requested that Moldavia be separated from the USSR and annexed to Rumania. The militia dispersed the demonstration. Twenty persons were arrested and sentenced to 1 to 3 years of imprisonment. They were beaten.

The orchestra of the Ukrainian Youth Association playing the ABN anthem during the Mass Rally at Trafalgar Square.



ANTI-COMMUNIST GROUPS MEET IN LONDON

Delegates from Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia and Asia attended a four-day Conference in London, ending tonight, organized by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the European Freedom Council, two anti-Communist organizations.

They approved a "MESSAGE TO NATIONS ENSLAVED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM" pledging the determination of both organizations to "fight with you" until national independence and human rights under the UN Charter were achieved.

A resolution passed by the ABN, formed in Ukraine 30 years ago, promised that the organization would "STRENGTHEN ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE FREE WORLD FOR THE SUPPORT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF NATIONS ENSLAVED WITHIN THE USSR, IN THE SATELLITE STATES AND IN OTHERS GOVERNED BY TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST REGIMES IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRATIC INDEPENDENT STATES".

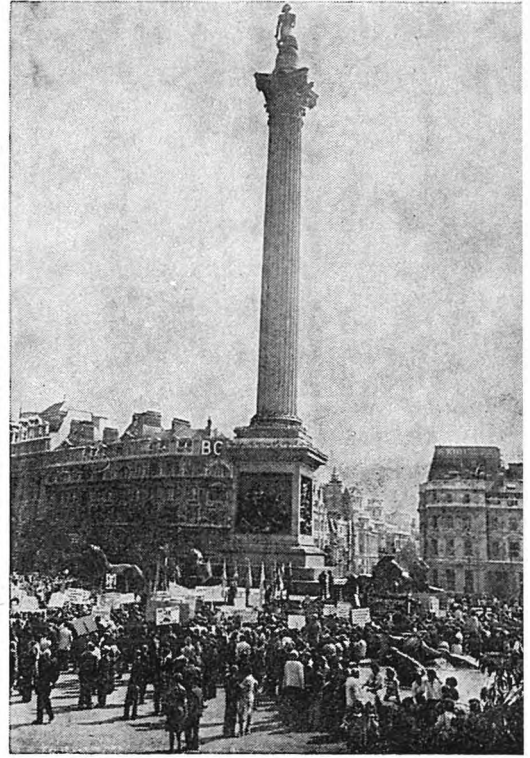
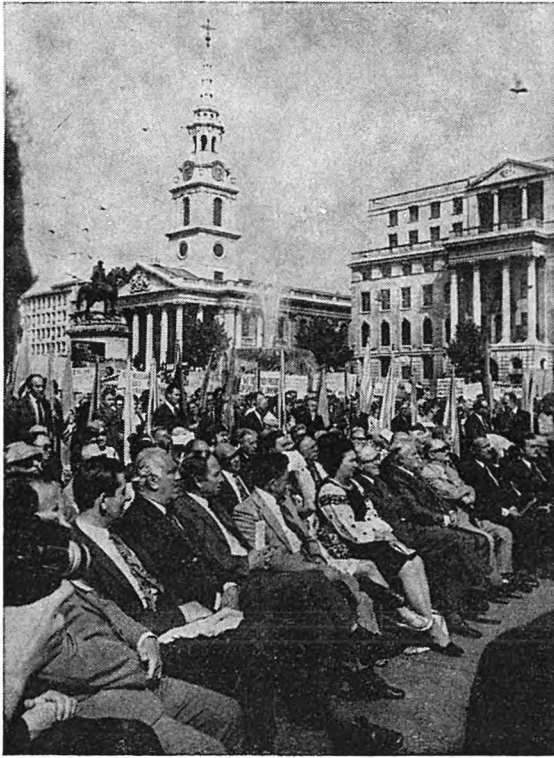
The ABN also promised to support "THE RIGHT OF EACH NATION TO ESTABLISH ITS OWN CULTURAL VALUES, TO PRACTISE ITS RELIGION AND TO REALIZE ITS SOCIAL IDEAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS HISTORICAL TRADITIONS AND BY ITS OWN FREE WILL".

A European Freedom Council resolution called for the "Removal of RUSSIAN OCCUPATION FORCES FROM CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, POLAND, EAST GERMANY, UKRAINE, LITHUANIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA, BYELORUSSIA, TURKESTAN, GEORGIA AND ARMENIA".

Mr. Yaroslav STETSKO, a former Ukrainian prime minister, today was unanimously re-elected president of ABN Central Committee.

More than 4,000 people attended an ABN-organized rally in TRAFALGAR SQUARE yesterday (Sunday), a spokesman for the organization said.

(Universal News Service, August 27, 1973)



ABN Rally at Trafalgar Square.

Photo: P. Lenkivsk

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

30th Anniversary of ABN



November 1943 — November 1973

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THE ABN CALLS FOR A STRUGGLE

- against imperialism, colonialism, Great Russian chauvinist arrogance and tutelage;
- against totalitarianism, despotic dictatorship, Communist enslavement, and the exploitation of the working individual by the despotic class of Communist sharks;
- against the artificial creation of a so-called Soviet nation by imposed intermixing, "merging of nations", and Russification in order to form a single Russian supnation, a Russian "Herrenvolk" (master race);
- against national, religious and racial discrimination and national, cultural and linguistic Russification;
- against the deportation of the youth of the subjugated nations, or even of entire peoples, outside their native countries, and against their de-nationalization;
- against the existence and lawless acts of the secret political police — the KGB — and the terrorist bands of KGB and MVD, which terrorize nations and individuals;
- against militant atheism and the Kremlin's regime Church (so-called Orthodox) headed by "Patriarch" Pimen — the lackey of a godless system and a genocidal empire;
- against the barbaric destruction of national traditions, cultural objects and the millennium-long creativity of the peoples under Russian subjugation;
- against political and economic agreements of the free nations with the totalitarian Russian Communist colonialists and nation-slayers, which only strengthen their grip on subjugated nations and individuals;
- against the guarantees, by various conferences and agreements, of the Russian usurpers' unhindered terroristic punishment of the subjugated peoples' national-liberation movement.

Friends!

Brezhnev, successor to Hitler and Stalin, profiting from agreements with the USA and from the aid and cooperation of Western nations, has renewed the Stalinist terror, sending close to two million fighters for national and human rights to concentration camps, prisons and mental hospitals!

This is a direct warning to the free world! Had we not continued our liberation struggle, no part of Europe would be free today, and the American continent would lie open to the threat of the Communist tyrants. Who helps us, helps himself!

We thus make our appeal:

Freedom-loving nations and men of the world, unite in the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism, for the national state independence of all peoples and the freedom of all individuals!

Let us all rise — particularly at this time — to act to defend the subjugated nations' fighters for national state independence, separation from Russia, and human rights!

Let us rise, especially in defence of the cultural workers who are punished in concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric jails, where the tyrants use inhuman medical and chemical methods to break their will! He who defends his nation's culture, defends the very existence of nations and the culture and liberty of all humanity!

Freedom for nations!

Freedom for individuals!

ANTI - BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)

Dearest Friends,

I wish I were joining you all for participating in your gathering, for celebrating with you the 30th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The spirit which — three decades ago, in the forests of Zhytomyr — presided over the compact binding together of the heroic representatives of people and nations oppressed and enslaved in the USSR, in the Russian prison of nations is inspiring more than ever those who "prefer not to be rather than be slaves".

The only sublime epic of this epoch of our present world is the sacred struggle for liberation that countless men and women of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism are defiantly and undauntedly waging — at a terrific cost of death, torture, and misery for themselves and their kin — for asserting the right of the nations to which they belong to full sovereignty and independence from the yoke of foreign oppression.

History teaches that empires disintegrate and fall, that tyranny and usurpation sooner or later are doomed. Nations, on the other hand, are immortal, and eternal is the spirit of freedom for it cannot be eradicated from the minds and hearts of men, from the supreme aspirations of the peoples.

The freedom fighters for liberation of the subjugated nations consider as their holy duty to follow a poet's inflammatory exhortation:

*"Strike — till the last armed foe expires;
Strike — for your altars and your fires;
Strike — for the green graves of your sires;
God — and your native land!" (Fitz-Greene Halleck, 1790-1867: Marco Bozzaris.)*

Wherever and whenever men "with arm to strike, and soul to dare" are struggling against tyranny, no hope is lost. Their heroic dedication and deeds not only command the admiration of their contemporaries, but anticipate "the thanks of the millions yet to be" for whom it will be possible to live in a world in which freedom for the individuals, the restoration of sovereignty and independence of the nations trampled at present by usurpers and occupants, will constitute the only guarantee of human dignity, of lasting peace and true security.

But woe, today, to those who stay blind, mute, deaf and cynically indifferent before the tragedy of life and death of their brethren enslaved and persecuted.

Because such hedonistic posture, such cowardly lack of solidarity, such agnosticism bordering on insanity could cost them too their individual liberty, and the freedom of their own nations.

Freedom stands indivisible! - God is with the faith's defenders! - Long live the ABN!

Ivan Matteo Lombardo

land, winning an increase in their size (*Izvestia*, May 19). In some state farms of the Kazakh SSR, the workers systematically reduced their time of work (*Selskoe khozyaystvo*, July 17). In the Stalin region the miners forced the management to increase their wages (*Pravda Ukrainy*, March 6). In Dniprodzerzhynsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning with 1956 and up to 1973, there are countless such examples. What is the heart of the matter?

The decisive factor, it must be emphasized, is that various strata within the subjugated nations have joined in the struggle. They are fighting to fully realize their idea of the substance of each sector of life. Such a fulfillment can be achieved only in their own independent states. A precondition of essential changes in every sphere of life is each nation's own government in its own land. Without the sovereign rule of a given nation there is no land and no freedom. Therefore the new slogan is not "land and freedom", but "sovereign rule, land and freedom". This is self-evident to all strata of the subjugated nations. Without a political revolution, that is without the assumption of power by those staging it, i. e. the subjugated nations, there is no fulfillment of the aspirations of any stratum of a people. The essence of the present stage of the liberation struggle is a spontaneous and systematic mobilization of the broad circles within the subjugated nations in order to reach the zenith — the renewal of national statehood, which only then will make an all-round development of a modern nation possible. The slogan, "freedom", alone is insufficient. Freedom is a framework which must be filled with the content. Freedom is a prerequisite, an opportunity to make a choice among diverse values. It is mandatory to clearly define for what values, for what qualities does one stand. The peoples have been deceived for many decades. A struggle for justice,

for lawfulness — this is a revolutionary slogan which mobilizes the moral sentiments in a system of "legalized" lawlessness and disfranchisement. Political self-determination is not a mobilizing slogan, for Lenin even added "including secession" to it, yet he was able to deceive the people. Therefore, the only rallying cry is national independence — complete separation from Russia. There is no other alternative. The disintegration of the empire and the re-establishment of independent national democratic states is the goal which is attractive. A struggle is being waged for sovereign rule, for freedom and justice, for the realization of the nations' own ways of life in their own states. In this aim there is simultaneously concentrated the definition of the contents of every phase of national life, the principles of its organization, for never in the history (e. g. of Western empires) was there a situation where a subjugated nation had to fight not only against military occupation and economic exploitation, but also against a hostile spirituality, sociality, a contradictory way of life, an entirely different system of life and beliefs. Bolshevism, Communism, Sovietism, the Russian way of life, the spiritual, cultural and religious Russification are neither a Lithuanian, nor a Georgian, nor an Estonian, nor a Byelorussian, nor a Turkestanian, nor an Azerbaijani, nor a Ukrainian way of life. A characteristic phenomenon of the contemporary era of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations inside the Russian empire and in the Communist-dominated countries is that hand in hand with the direct forms and methods of struggle, such as demonstrations, strikes, revolts, mass actions and armed clashes, goes the ideological, political, cultural and religious struggle, a struggle of two opposite concepts of life — the Russian, Bolshevik, Communist concept and that of the subjugated nations. It is a clash of total national organisms, of the captor and his captives, who are

not only physically oppressed and economically exploited, but attempts are also being made to deprive them of their national soul. And this is essential in that struggle. The struggle for the souls of nations!

And the greatest achievement of our liberation struggle, a guarantee of our victory is the fact that the struggle for the soul of the subjugated nations was taken up by the YOUNG generation, which at times was born of parents already grown up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation which has never seen the free world, but to the contrary, was reared in an atmosphere hostile to its own nation, in the spirit of the occupant.

The banner of traditionalism of a millennium, the primacy of the spirit, the immortality of the soul, the banner of the nation, of the eternity of a nation was raised by the generation of the sixties and the seventies, was carried by sons and daughters not only of inmates of prisons and concentration camps, but also of average workers, collective farmers and even technocrats.

This is the greatest blow suffered by the Communist ideology and system of life, the Russian system of occupation, in recent decades. This is all the more so, since the realization of one's own national quality, of one's own inherent substance, of one's own values of traditional spirituality, culture, lawfulness, society and statehood of the past, the reawakening of national self-respect, the discovery of one's own millennial tradition of statehood, the treasures of one's own land not only of the present but also the richness of all-round state-political, cultural and sociopolitical creativity of the past. This is the final ideological victory over the enemy's system of ideas.

For this reason, it will be impossible to crush the national aspirations. As a



Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko addressing the Mass Rally at Trafalgar Square.

rule the revolution of soldiers was preceded by the revolution of poets and creators of spiritual values.

The ideological, spiritual, moral and political revolution is a precondition of armed revolution. The creativity of the young generation has a clear national political aim: the national state.

The so-called samvydav (self-publication) from the subjugated countries, widely known in the world, is proof of this. **The Ukrainian Herald**, an uncensored publication of the Ukrainian patriots, besides political statements and documentation, also carries literary works while the **Chronicle of Current Events** limits itself only to an informative content. The **Exodus**, dealing with Jewish affairs, and other periodical and non-periodical publications outside censorship published in Estonia, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan and Latvia reveal a similar purpose as that of the **Ukrainian Herald** and the creativity in Ukraine in general uncontrolled by censorship.

(To be continued)

It is true that we have made a long way since the times when, in 1961, at the Second Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviet-Russians (organized in Rome, by Mme S. LABIN and former minister of Italy I. M. LOMBARDO), one of the main reporters could call for a thorough limitation on the beginning West-East trade because of its dangers . . . without being accused of mental deficiency. Since then the USSR, despite the incident of Prague in 1968, has succeeded in imposing a new image of itself: . . . "Friendly and Businesslike". During the same time KHRUSHCHEV . . . KOSYGIN . . . KIRILLIN . . . MIKOYAN . . . GVICHIANI . . . and BREZHNEV have showed to the world a new Soviet mask: of the "Commercial State traveller", a man half-serious and half hoaxer . . .

Since 1972 BREZHNEV has multiplied his proposals for a cooperative coexistence because of the anticipated political profits, but also undoubtedly because of the economic failure of the Soviet system and of the COMECON. The French political review *L'Express* (No 1146) gives us some particularly revealing figures on the dead end of the Soviet economy, figures coming, by the way, from the well-informed review *Politika*. The economic backwardness, according to these figures, is obvious not only in the corn or wheat production, and in the agricultural field, but more and more in the very important fields of the modern industrial equipment and in all the fields of what we call "know-how", that is to say: Management, Merchandising, Marketing, and the Computer Industry.

Also very obvious is the lack of capital for long or medium term investments. As the representatives of the Captive Nations' vital interests, we have to make clear, and to underline, the Soviet-Russian determination to take advantage of and to make a profit on Western capital (which should go to the developing countries of the

third world first of all) and their determination to use Western cooperation in order to solve if they can their crisis without modifying their economic priorities and without reducing their armament and war industry budget. (For example, a few days ago the Western world was informed of the acquisition by the USSR of a MLRV force while the US-USSR trade agreements and the French-Soviet long term cooperation agreement provide the Soviet economy with goods, industrial equipment, capital, and technical support.)

At the same time, in Vienna or Helsinki Moscow brandishes a new formula: "Don't make war, make trade", but the "walls" and the "curtains" do remain (while some young West Germans were speaking at the international meeting in East Berlin on the theme "Free Flow of Ideas" two families were crossing the Berlin wall and risking their life. And the Soviet-Russian representatives regularly repeat that a free flow of ideas and goods does not mean a free flow of **all** ideas . . . They think of coexistence of two distinct and separate worlds, as in the times of LENIN ("In this world today, there are two worlds", V. I. Lenin).

While nobody in the high political circles really believes the Soviet declarations, many Western newspapers like to underline that MOSCOW provides us with "real proofs" of its good will and that all the conflicts in which Russia was, directly or indirectly, taking part (Biafra, Yemen, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Laos . . .) belong to the past; that the espionage within the Western states is disappearing (the expulsion of the 105 diplomats from Great Britain is already forgotten) . . .

Revealing of the new tendency was the fact that the Military Attache of the Soviet Embassy in Paris was caught while trying to steal a laser device at the aeronautical exhibition at the Bourget Airport . . . Of course the industrial spying is psychologically more reassuring for the public opinion, than is espionage

in the political, military, or atomic fields.

Despite all the endeavours of the Eastern bloc, the realizations appear more as propaganda achievements than as a real progress. Of course in five years the volume of the East-West trade remains 2 or 4% of the total foreign trade of each of the Western countries even when these countries do compete in order to become the privileged partner of the East and even when they offer long term loans in order to go beyond the old barter relations.

Mr. Raymond ARON reported recently in the French newspaper **Le Figaro** (July 25) that the USSR prefers to have bilateral relations and looks with suspicion at any attempt at a multilateralization of the commercial relations. He recalls that in general the exports to the USSR are made at lower prices than the international trade prices which are applied to the trade with developing countries. Mr. ARON expresses his doubts and fears that the developments of the US diplomacy could favour the evolution toward a Soviet protectorate in Western Europe.

Samuel PISAR who had analyzed in his book "The Weapons of Peace" the prospects of East-West trade and who is considered as the supporter of the US policy in this field, sees this trade as a solution and as a remedy to the political problems, and believes in what he declared to the French economist R. PRIOURET: "when the goods begin to flow, the ideas flow too. This process is unavoidable". Mr. PISAR who is a Polish Jew, and a refugee, should remember that the economy of the Hitlerite state has definitely proved the contrary. And if we listen to the inner voices of the USSR, — V. MAXIMOV (expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers) writes in an open letter to the Nobel Prize recipient H. BOLL, that the inner opposition to the Russians will be the loser in the East-West negotiations: "God only knows, how much we shall

have to pay for the devilish games between the simple-minded of the modern diplomacy" . . .

Especially we remember "Ukraine Plea for Help", an appeal from the Ukrainian resistance movement, published in **The Daily Telegraph**, August 16, 1973. (Full text reprinted in ABN Correspondence No 5, 1973, pp.)Editor)

But despite all these voices, the Western countries are engaged in competition and rivalry, and they all want to be the most favoured . . . , to be the first on the way to "detente". Thus, on the 10th of July, Mr. V. GISCARD d'ESTAING signed in Moscow an agreement on economic and industrial cooperation, and on the 26th of July, M. JOBERT and M. KIRILLIN, signed together the program for the "deepening" of cooperation between the USSR and France in the fields of Science and Technology. Meanwhile, Mr. Edgar FAURE, following a two-hour-long talk with BREZHNEV, expressed his faith in Mr. BREZHNEV's good will and declared that "to think of the danger of the Russian tanks breaking over Europe was ridiculous" . . . Mr. FAURE and Mr. PISAR should not forget that despite his peaceful proposals BREZHNEV goes on with the strengthening of the USSR military forces in Europe (more than three fourth of which are on the European side, and only a quarter on the Asian and Chinese borders) and in the Mediterranean. To the 5000 tanks that were in Central Europe in 1972, another 1500 tanks have been added in 1973. There is a significant increase in quantity, and modernization of the Artillery and the Air Force (with a 50% renovation of the tactical aircraft). The naval forces have reached the level of 231 battleships and 350 submarines (of which 40 are missile launching) as we are told by **Paris-MATCH** review of August 11th. And according to **Jane's Fighting Ships** (July 25, 1973) the Soviet Navy has two new atomic submarines, one "miracle" cruiser of 10,000 tons, "Kara", and the

45,000 tons aircraft-carrier "Kiev", "which gives a new dimension to the Soviet naval power" adds the above-mentioned book.

Thus, Moscow looks for new economic and financial means wherever it can find them, that is to say in the Western world. But 40% of the real Soviet budget, refloated this way, are devoted to insuring the predominance of the Russian military forces.

Some politicians would say that there is no immediate danger, because China will be the first target. Others would say that such a power is only meant to be used at the given time as a counterpart in the negotiations for the mutual balanced forces reduction (MBFR) in Europe. But we know that such a reduction could not seriously endanger the Soviet military superiority in this area. (For instance, this is why President POMPIDOU refused to have this matter discussed at Helsinki . . .). Probably one will talk about this subject in November, at Vienna, but nobody could believe that it may lead to the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, nor even from East Germany.

The detente as it is seen by the European and US governments, has a counterpart which is: 1) an increase of the military force of the Russian Empire; 2) the strengthening of the pressure upon the intelligentsia and the inner opposition, and revolutionary national liberation movements of the subjugated nations in the entire USSR.

Thus, while in international relations 1972/73 was the period of Helsinki, and of BREZHNEV's trips around the world, a "good time" for detente — in the Soviet Union it was the worst period for the intelligentsia and especially for the non-Russian nations. In GEORGIA, in UKRAINE, in AZERBAIJAN, economic deficiencies were the pretext for the strong national repressions, for the nomination of "stronger" men coming from KGB ranks. At the POLITBURO the Russification goes on with the ex-

pulsion of Mr. MZHAVANADZE (Georgia), and Mr. SHELEST (Ukraine), together with the growing importance of the KGB men, the Russians: ANDROPOV and SHELEPIN.

We have to say and to repeat to the Western governments that their Eastern policy — is a policy of trade at any price, at any cost:

- The Western taxpayers are paying for the long term loans and the low prices, and for a trade which benefits, and will for many years benefit essentially the Russian aggressors.
- This policy dangerously delays the development of the Third World.
- This policy involves a certain support for the USSR against CHINA . . . , and, as the experienced French General BEAUFRE says (*Le Figaro*, August 21): "leads to a political neutralization of the US, and gives a predominance to Russia in European Affairs".
- Anyway this policy makes more and more difficult the construction of a politically united Europe.
- It appears clearly that this policy will not bring a progressive liberalization in Eastern Europe and in the nations subjugated in the USSR, but on the contrary that each step forward, toward outside detente, is followed in the inner policy of the Socialist Bloc, by two steps backward.
- This policy "at any price" is developed at the expense of the Captive Nations; it means a denial of the right to Liberty, Justice and National Independence for the 250 million people of 19 subjugated colonized nations, and same for the 120 millions of genuine Russians.

Up to now, we have already had the iniquitous "Article 2" of the UN Charter which gave Moscow free hands and unmatched power to oppress its 14 non-Russian colonies.

Since the 1968 PRAGUE Affair, Moscow's imperial "rights" over the So-

cialist Bloc were less and less seriously challenged by the Western powers. But the new trends of cooperation, which lead the West to Helsinki and Vienna, almost grant a diplomatic recognition of this special super-right.

This is a way toward a definite abandonment of all moral values of the civilized world, in order to obtain the possibility of trade with the Socialist Bloc.

The Western world is going to feed the jailer and the murderer, and support its attempt to repress more and more our unfortunate peoples. But we have to repeat and to recall to the West that this game, too, may be dangerous and that what today is our jail may tomorrow be the grave of Europe. May I, to end my report, quote the words of the Russian scientist Andrei SAKHAROV about the present state of detente, and especially those from the

Ukrainian underground appeal for support against Russian oppression:

"Detente without democratization, detente for which the West should accept in fact our rules of the game, would be a dangerous detente. It would not settle any of the international problems and would only mean a capitulation in the face of our strength: be it real or overrated."

"The government of the United States and other capitalist countries share responsibility for the increased terror against us and the new wave of Stalinism in the Ukraine and other Soviet republics, because they are doing deals with Moscow without demanding that the Soviet government observe national and human rights." (**The Daily Telegraph**, August 16, 1973).

Messages to the ABN Conference

Dear Mr. Stetsko,

I very much appreciate receiving the invitation to speak at the ABN Conference on the 25th and 26th of August but other engagements prevent me from doing so, unfortunately. I would very much like to have been able to be present but it is just not possible.

As I am in full agreement with the action being taken to bring to the notice of the free world the fact that there are so many innocent persons who find themselves today in Russian prisons and concentration camps because they dared to believe that they could speak freely, but in no way seditiously, which is of the essence of the UN Charter and indeed, of the Soviet Constitution, I would like to have been able to add my views to your cause.

With all good wishes for a successful Conference and again expressing my regret at being unable to accept the invitation which you extended to me, I am

Yours sincerely,

The Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, P. C., Q. C., M. P.

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Dear Mr. Chopiowskyj,

I sincerely regret my inability to serve as your keynote speaker as the ABN marks its 30th anniversary in London, England. I hope I can prevail upon you to convey to the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko my best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely

Barry Goldwater

Ole Bjorn Kraft Elected Honorary President of EFC

Mr. President,

This is the first time in the post-World War II period that an organization has been founded — jointly initiated by representatives of the free and subjugated nations — in which the principle of equal rights is binding and where the interests of free nations and the nations oppressed in the Russian prison of nations are joined into one.

Without the liberation of the subjugated nations and the reestablishment of their independent states there is no security and lasting peace in the free part of Europe and the world.

You, Mr. President, are one of the champions of equality of rights for nations and their liberation from the Russian colonial yoke and Communist slavery. As the first president of the European Freedom Council, you have headed and united the free and the enslaved in a harmonious action and struggle in defence of freedom and in efforts to extend it to where it is trampled underfoot by tyrants and colonialist aggressors.

At one time you stood up courageously against the Nazi tyranny, defending the rights of your nation, having suffered severe Nazi persecution as a result. But as champion of truth and justice, you, as perhaps the first Western statesman, had the courage to extend a hand in friendship to us and to rise in defence of German anti-Nazi and anti-Communist patriots, unjustly accused by the Russians and their fellow-travellers.

The love of truth is your way of life. This love for truth and your desire to see it triumph also in the world held captive by the Russian tyrants has motivated you to join ranks with us in the struggle for its realization.

**Honorary
President of EFC
Ole Bjorn Kraft
(left) accepting a
citation from ABN
President Yaroslav
Stetsko (right)
during the
ABN/EFC
Conference,
London,
August 25, 1973.**



In your homeland you have reached the heights of great responsibility for its destiny, as well as in such European institutions as NATO and others. You are one of the few Europeans who think in terms of Europe as a whole, both enslaved and free, being aware of the fact that the remainder of the still free Europe is doomed to conquest by the tyrants, if the free nations fail to support the struggle of the subjugated nations for their liberation.

You will enter history as the symbol of unity of the whole of Europe, of the free and subjugated nations.

But, Mr. President, your political horizon extended to the entire freedom-loving world. You were a spokesman of the free and oppressed nations also on the world forum — WACL. You favoured liberation from the Communist and Russian yoke of all nations of the world. And I am obliged to communicate to you the gratitude not only of Estonia, but of distant Turkestan, not only of Bulgaria but also of Georgia, not only of Croatia but also of North Caucasus, not only of Slovakia but also of Azerbaijan, of all the subjugated nations — Czechia, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia as well as of my native Ukraine.

Minister Oberländer, as a living witness of your fearlessness when it is necessary to stand up for the truth, will speak on behalf of the free nations of Europe.

Your name is widely known among the peoples of our subjugated homelands and is living proof of the spirit of Europe's times of grandeur, which in its free part is still alive. For us you personify the spirit of the Occident with its heroism and dedication. Even your presence here is proof of your great generosity, since in spite of a difficult family situation you still agreed to preside over and speak at our conference. We have great respect for your wife, who although seriously ill, insisted that you be among us today, and for this we are eternally grateful. It will remain in our memory as an example of the grandeur of the human soul and as a moral support for those who fight and suffer.

Although we are bidding you farewell today, your deeds and the spirit you breathed in to our organization will remain. The truly great are always present among their fellow comrades-in-arms.

You will be remembered not only in the history of your heroic Danish nation, but that of our peoples as well, as a champion of the struggle for their freedom and independence.

The ABN Conference has elected you today by a vote of acclamation the Honorary Member of the ABN Executive Board and requests that you accept this humble token of respect.

At the same time I believe that I shall be the spokesman for the general will in proposing to elect you Honorary President of the European Freedom Council.

The Threat of War?

The liberation of nations from Russian imperialism is a very complex problem, no less complicated than the international situation itself. For example, Western willingness to cooperate both with the USSR and Red China is an outward expression of the necessity to delay the outbreak of a world war. This, after all, was clearly stated by President Nixon upon his return from his trip to Moscow.

A tendency prevails to pass over the existing danger in silence. This can be noticed from the daily press which keeps silent about many facts which are reported in more specialized periodicals.

For instance, after his recent visit to Washington, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt declared that his meetings with Nixon could not be released for publication. Besides this, he admitted that Russia's Communist satellites are heavily arming themselves. One of the prominent US authorities stated that the fate of Europe actually is the fate of the USA, although in the meantime much is being said about differences of opinion between the USA and Europe.

Cooperation between the West and the USSR in the sphere of economics and the conferences on European security allegedly point to a new Yalta, when the opposite is true: the global infiltration of Russian imperialism is growing steadily, and with it, a threat of a conflict, i. e. of World War III. This conflict is brewing in the Persian Gulf area as well as in Europe, which the USSR has every intention of "Finlandizing", i. e. conquering without an armed conflict. The direction taken by Soviet Russian expansion has forced the USA to end the war in Vietnam at all costs, to conceal its failure in the Far East and to focus its full attention on the aforementioned regions. Nixon

clearly stated that the year 1973 is "the year of Europe".

Propagandistic articles alleging that the "cold war" has come to an end do not depict reality. From Moscow it was announced that talks with capitalist states are only directed toward the economic sphere and in no instances touch upon political and ideological issues. But in the case of economy, too, events do not correspond to reality. So far Germany records only a 2% increase in its exports. American sales amount to about 1 billion dollars, which has no economic significance at all. The capitalists will not let themselves be deceived by Soviet cunning: America has much to sell to the USSR but the situation is not reciprocal since so far raw materials satisfy production needs and Soviet products do not measure up to the quality and standards of the West.

The prospects of natural gas in Siberia do not create much enthusiasm. The USSR does not want to supply any concrete data on the quantity and quality of natural gas under the ever frozen terrain, while Western exports and capitalists have no intention of investing funds in uncertain schemes.

At the same time, infiltration by Communism is on the increase, and arms production has been accelerated and increased. In the satellite states garrisons of Russian troops have been reinforced and stockpiles of the most modern weaponry have been increased. The same is true of the USSR's Western borders. I cannot cite statistics and figures for this is a matter of secondary importance as far as the subject under discussion is concerned. But from the general picture of military efforts and movements of Soviet armed forces, a strategic plan against Europe can be ascertained:

1) To encircle Europe from the North, drawing Scandinavia into its orbit, isolating Scandinavia and Mid-Eastern Europe from the Atlantic Ocean by its navy and submarines, i. e. from the USA.

2) To surround Europe from the South along the Mediterranean Sea, infiltrating Greece, drawing Yugoslavia into its military system (most likely after Tito's death), cutting Europe off from oil deliveries, of which this continent imports almost 100% from the Middle East.

The situation in the Far East is no less complicated. The Japanese general staff has worked out a strategy in case of war. This can be expected from two powers, the USSR and Red China, which have an appetite for almost defenseless Japan.

According to the opinion of experts, in the present state Japan could not withstand an invasion of conventional Soviet armies for long. In case of conflict with Red China, Japan would be helpless in the face of mass Chinese infiltration and psychological warfare.

The American umbrella over Europe and Japan can be of significance today, but what would happen in the event of an armed conflict? Neither West European states, nor the Japanese can be 100% sure of America's joining the war — this time a nuclear one — and even many experts feel that the USA will not risk nuclear aid in order to have Soviet atomic bombs appear in the span of several hours over American cities with millions of inhabitants.

Let us take a brief look at the difficulties faced by the West, and then at those of Russian imperialism.

The situation in Europe and its future depend on its military might, i. e. on the strength of NATO. This subject has been and is discussed so broadly that it is needless to pause over it. NATO is weak in comparison with its aggressive Eastern neighbour. The USSR main-

tains much more numerous troops in the satellite states and along its Western borders. Moreover, it is ready to use nuclear arms at any time. Besides, Europe has been undermined by Communism and weakened by the psychological war with symptoms of indifference, anti-militarism and a readiness to capitulate to the enemy.

It might appear on the surface that there are no traces of a pending storm. Coexistence, with its naive hopes, continues to grow, but the chief of the armed forces of the USSR declared in May this year that a threat of a large-scale war does exist and urged that precautions be made for it. But suffice it to mention that Moscow has stationed 75% of its troops in Ukraine and the Baltic states, keeping the rest along the Chinese border.

From competent press sources and Soviet publications it becomes apparent that Moscow intends "to put in order" the political state of affairs in Europe in the direction of domination of Soviet Russian policies until the situation has been reached where Europe will become a domestic affair of the USSR, at the same time fully isolating itself from the USA.

In the Middle East the situation is unclear. The Israeli-Arab question seems to be losing actuality for the time being, in view of the consolidation of Soviet influence among oil-producing states. After the withdrawal of the British from the Persian Gulf area a quiet struggle is being waged between the USSR and the USA for influence in the oil regions. Recently the situation has become more tense due to the appearance of guerrillas who attempt to ignite "national liberation wars" and the resistance of America's allies. Both sides have adequate supplies of weapons and enough military advisers, and as of late new guerrillas have appeared who are under Maoist influence.

The Soviet propaganda in the West reasures that should "peoples democratic" republics be created in the vac-

uum left by the withdrawal of the British there will not be any changes anyway: the USSR will deliver oil to Europe, Japan and the USA, since it must sell it. What has not been said is that half of the oil reserves on our planet put in Russia's hands would mean the free world's total dependence upon Russian imperialism.

In South America, or more precisely in Latin America, there is a chronic state of unrest and in parts, chaos. This is exploited by Communism by organizing psychological war, guerrilla activities and disturbances. The background of this state of affairs is an enormous economic difference between the oligarchy, which is isolated and few in numbers, and the masses of the population. This population, particularly the rural population, has no political interests, does not understand them, and for this reason finds Communist doctrines incomprehensible and remote.

This situation forced Moscow to transfer its propaganda to the students, even the sons of the oligarchy, to army officers, officials and intelligentsia in general. This was a new phenomenon, since Lenin's doctrine rested on the working class, Mao counted on the rural population, while in Latin America it was necessary to work out new tactics. The test with Cuba was successful because Castro was backed by the young intelligentsia because of his personality and managed to win over a section of the population horribly exploited by the government and the dictator, while the army consisted of mercenaries who were not very enthusiastic about dying in battle with insurgents.

Having seized power, Castro was forced to extend Communist revolutions to other states because he realized that he could not hold out by himself in tiny Cuba. Castro, Che Guevara and other leaders of the Communist revolution accepted the theory of the French theoretician of revolution, Debrey, who argued that the Latin American revolution must be prepared

by a small group of leaders. Hence, a sort of a nucleus must be created and this is essential for the success of the revolution. Members of the nucleus are to have their seat in forests and guerrilla centres.

This theory did not justify itself but we shall cover this matter later on. The problem still remains, however, that the population growth in Latin America will produce unemployment and a still lower standard of living and, if government factors, or national or international capital do not provide for the expansion of industry, a powerful social revolution must be expected in a dozen or so years. With this end in mind, the USSR is preparing appropriate attitudes and a psychological foundation, at a time when the West does absolutely nothing. Moscow is counting on a Communist revolution and with it on a total encirclement of the USA and the liquidation of the centre of the capitalist system.

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For the last several years the USA has been undermined by Communist agents. To this point not only the racial disturbances, organized systematically and meticulously but also gross acts of sabotage, attempted bombings, arson, kidnappings, etc. — all coordinated not only in various cities of the USA but also in Europe and other continents. The late FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover warned some years ago against "foreign influence" and compiled a report on urban guerrilla warfare in the USA. Active in this field were not only Negro organizations, in particular the Black Panthers but also White, the Weathermen and a student organization, the "Student Democratic Union". All of them carried out directives aimed against the "establishment".

Recently, during the US Senate hearings on the Watergate Affair it was revealed that many secret documents were taken out of the White House

and were passed along to North Vietnam, or into the enemy's hands. And thus the enemy knew immediately about secret meetings concerning the termination of the bombing of North Vietnam or its resumption. Secret documents, too, dealing with the Vietnam war, which disappeared from the Pentagon, mysteriously found their way to the Soviet Embassy. Also secret deliberations and decisions on the limitation of offensive arms, prepared for use during negotiations with Brezhnev, got beyond authorized personnel.

All this points to the fact that economic affairs are one thing and infiltration and cold war are something else again.

In this connection it is generally known that many states train military units for special assignments, i. e. they train them for guerrilla warfare and for combatting guerrilla detachments and counteracting psychological aggression.

Red China generally counts only on its own guerrillas as a bulwark against armed aggression of the USSR. Latin America, too, trains its troops in anti-guerrilla tactics. With respect to that continent, it has been and is a training ground for the study of guerrilla tactics adopted to the present technological level of military events.

The experience of numerous Red bands in Latin American countries revealed that it is impossible to count on the support of the population which is mostly illiterate and exists on a very low intellectual level. The defeat of Che Guevara — as it follows from his diary — consisted in the fact that his small detachment could not find supporters of the Communist movement, although from the start it was forced to masquerade as a national and social movement. When his partisans agitated among the population to divide large estates and livestock (cows and horses) among themselves, the population in-

dignantly rejected this proposition saying: we are no thieves!

This was a total blow to the Red experimenters. Also the tactic of cooperation with the workers proved to be a failure: the workers were not interested in revolution but in labour unions.

Government troops developed a special tactic: to discover by the use of helicopters, the place where the guerrillas were hiding, to surround them and wait. Without engaging in successful battles, the guerrillas had no ammunition, used outdated weapons and even if they wanted to fight their way out they could not hold out against soldiers with modern weapons. Hiding in unpopulated forests, they soon began to suffer from hunger and were forced to surrender without a fight.

Urban guerrilla warfare became the next tactic. It was possible to score some successes. Steps were taken in two directions: in underdeveloped countries, i. e. in several states of Latin America and in those with highly developed industry (USA) or small countries with a densely populated capital (Uruguay).

Members of armed groups were predominantly students, doctors, lawyers, sons of millionaires, generally the educated element, brainwashed by propaganda. At the beginning neither weapons nor supplies were lacking, for money was supplied by the guerrillas themselves, or came from Moscow via Cuba. There began acts of sabotage, arson, attacks on military stations, armed clashes with police in city streets, kidnappings of prominent individuals for ransom, burning or destroying through bombing of large companies, and so forth. Often, partisan groups were led by officers from government troops, who received their guerrilla war training in the USA; there were also officers and soldiers. Students participated in the actions on Saturday and Sunday, attending university classes on week days.

Conferences to Bury Free Europe

In December 1922, the Bolsheviks decided to rebaptize the Russian Empire into the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**. In fact, for fifty years there has been **no Union**, but a bloody terror against the peoples; **no Socialism**, but a totalitarian dictatorship; **no Soviets**, but an omnipotent secret police; and **no Republics**, the national republics, which had believed in Lenin's promise of independence, having been crushed by Lenin's soldiers.

Thus, in December 1922, the Bolsheviks crowned their method of using words to designate the exact opposite of what they meant, a method which they had already illustrated by calling the mere **coup** of October 1917, "revolution". I often wondered whether the systematic hiding of the Communists behind **fake labels** meant for them a weakness or a strength. Morally, it is a weakness, because it reveals their bad conscience. But, strategically, it is rewarding because the Western world, unused to the absolute lie, is constantly mystified by the Communist deceit.

The most cynical and tragic example of the use of false labels had occurred in **Vietnam**. It was obvious that the Communist forces from Hanoi had assailed a free and peaceful country to subjugate it. This was especially blatant since the invasion of the South by the regular army of the North. Yet, those **invaders** were called **liberators**, while the Americans who defended the country against its aggressors were called invaders. It was obvious that the Vietnamese people, by fleeing in mass from the regions occupied by the Reds, to seek protection in those governed by President Thieu, had hated Communism and considered Thieu's administration as the legitimate one. Yet, President

Thieu was called an **oppressor** and an American puppet, while the Communist puppets and butchers were called **emancipators**.

The Communist cheat is not smaller in Europe. During the **Summit Conference** held in Paris in 1972, the floods of misleading words were as intense as those covering the sell-out of Vietnam; their purpose being the sell-out of Europe. It was said that Europe had to build an **autonomous civilization** and an **independent personality**. This seems very nice. But in practice these slogans are spread to split Free Europe from Free America. In fact, all the values of the European civilization are identical to those of the American civilization: human dignity, respect for the law, social progress, freedom of conscience. Speaking of a **European autonomy** in this field is only a hypocritical way of implying that America embodies some inferior kind of society, which is a gross distortion spread in Europe to stir up anti-American feelings, which is the best trump card of Communism.

The **independent personality** of Europe is also a hypocritical way of saying that Europe **should not** be at America's side in the face of Communism, but must build instead a so-called "third force" between both camps, which is pure desertion of a European defence. The Communist menace is of such a size that we hardly have enough of the unified forces of Europe and America to face it. What would the Europeans have said, when confronted by the Nazi aggressors, if Washington had told them: "My friends, you are too systematically opposed to the Nazis; I shall keep aloof from you and build a **third force** between freedom and tyranny".

Bul no third force can exist between freedom and tyranny, just as between life and death.

The **third force slogan** tends to hide the reality of the Communist danger, and thus dissolve the solidarity of the Europeans and the Americans before a common enemy. Here, the Kremlin adopts the old strategy of the wolf which tries to convince Little Red Riding Hood that there is no wolf to eat her. For the time being between the Russian wolf and our villages, there is still an enormous obstacle embodied in the American troops. Since the end of the last World War, the Kremlin's obsession has been to obtain the withdrawal of these troops, which would leave Europe at the Soviet-Russian mercy. But the Kremlin is too weak to break this American fortress by an open attack. So it resorts to its old method of cheating to fool its future prey.

Another conference is organizing — so its title says — **"the simultaneous and balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe"**. This sounds like a treaty of fair play. But, don't forget the usual misuse of words by the Communists. Presently, the Soviet forces are six times stronger than the European ones. The Kremlin pretends that there will be a **balance** if **their** forces redeploy behind a paper line of 400 miles from the heart of Europe, while all the American forces will cross the Atlantic Ocean to return to their homes, 4,000 miles from our shores. What the Soviet-Russians understand by their "peace offensive" is that the towns of Europe become wide open to the crushing superiority of their ground troops. But that day, believe me, not one Prime Minister in Europe would take a decision without looking over his shoulder to see whether it pleases Moscow.

Alas, that sinister farce finds a lot of advocates in our ranks. They explain that the three hundred divisions of the **gentle Brezhnev** are there only because

of the twelve divisions of the **ferocious Nixon**; while, obviously, the twelve divisions of the gentle Nixon are there only because of the three hundred divisions of the ferocious Brezhnev.

Moscow can also count on the new **isolationists** in America who are now **on the left**, and who work hard to make the American people disgusted with the heavy financial load of maintaining troops in Europe, while their leftist counterparts in Europe work hard to make the Europeans disgusted with the American shield.

But offering our flesh to the Communist dagger is still not enough. Communism requests that we open our purse to it. That is the purpose of the Helsinki Conference about **"Security and Cooperation in Europe"**. Again, nice names to hide ugly facts. By "cooperation" you have to understand that resources, food, talents, money and technology of wealthy Europe will, hereafter, fertilize the impotent and moribund economy of the Communist regimes. Without the slightest reciprocity in favour of the free world to give some meaning to the "co" prefix, in the word "cooperation".

As a matter of fact, for fifty years the Soviet-Russians have never ceased to pump into their miserable economy, be it by the good will of blind capitalists, be it by the direct plundering of the Captive Nations, goods, machinery and technological services worth billions of dollars without which the Communist system would have collapsed a long time ago in a shameful failure. The collusion between the incapable Communists and the unconscious capitalists is age old. The only novelty is that from now on, this permanent rescue of the executioner by its victims will be called **cooperation**. In other words, the lean Russian bear has led the fat European sheep to fill his lair, and in addition, **to bless this lair**. This is indeed the true meaning of the other panel of that conference, the one call-

ed "security". This concretely means that Europe, which is the threatened area, shall guarantee the security of the USSR, which is the threatening power. How? By consecrating solemnly the borders which Soviet Russia has conquered by blood and deceit, and by recognizing openly the legitimacy of the dictatorships which have never been legitimated by the consent of the conquered peoples, and by admitting that in all the extent of these territories, whatever the aspirations of the peoples living there may be, the lords of the Kremlin have the right to impose their inhuman order by tanks and lies.

Finally, **the security of those makers of world insecurity** shall be guaranteed by denying to all the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain — in the satellite states and in the Soviet Union — the right of self-determination and national independence. A right, mind you, which is proclaimed supreme in the United Nations Charter.

For the democrats, a genuine European security should guarantee **the free movement of people, ideas and information across all frontiers**. The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* has labelled such a humanitarian claim as an "intrigue to poison the atmosphere of the Conference and an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Socialist countries". So the Europeans will not be authorized to spread their ideas behind the Iron Curtain. The director of the Soviet news agency TASS made a clear statement to this end: "We are by no means going to interpret the **peaceful coexistence** principle as a loophole for the infiltration of hostile propaganda and for ideological subversion of our country". But the Soviet-Russians will go on spreading their hostile propaganda and subversive warfare in our European countries. Consequently, by **coexistence** the Soviet-Russians understand that **they** exist both in their home and in ours, while we can hardly exist in ours.

We now see in their true light the **Kremlin's aims** in the European theatre. They can be summarized as follows:

1) The irrevocable acceptance by the West of the Soviet-Russian hegemony in Eastern Europe too.

2) The destruction of the American shield in Europe and the general breaking of relations between Europe and America.

3) The channelling to the Communist lands of the advanced economy and technology of the West.

4) The sabotage of the European Common Market in order to prevent the economic and military strengthening of a unified Europe.

5) The institutionalization of the dissymetry which opens our media of communications to Communist propaganda and closes the Communist universe to the ideas of freedom.

To sum up, the **security plans** of Helsinki mean death of a **unified free Europe**.

That Europe can accept such aims is a mark of abdication, the parallel of which is unknown in history. Consecrating the totalitarian power of the Communist lords in the area of their colonialism, implies not only betrayal of all political principles, but also the cruel insensibility to the blood, sweat and tears shed by the subjugated peoples. For under the Communist yoke, there are tens of millions of our brethren — who should be **the bretheren of all free men** — who suffer every day from physical and moral terror, from an economy of starvation, from a black censorship, from religious persecution, from national oppression. When our civilized countries sprinkle on that terror the blessed waters of their diplomatic agreements, they will commit the crime called in our civilized codes: **"Refusal of assistance to persons in danger."**

Our Best Allies

Those who want to honour this duty of assistance to peoples under tyranny, must relay outside, in a loud voice, the mute but unflinching NIET that the Soviet-Russian masters never ceased to read on the muzzled lips of their subjects. Here lies the crucial truth, alas forgotten by the Western diplomats; the faith in Communism exists only in the non-Communist countries, but wherever Communism rules, **it is hated by its people.**

Yet the most tragic feature in all those diplomatic games is that the West forgets the most significant element: that the East lives under a black tyranny. This fact, as heavy as ten Himalayas, is completely silenced in all the international conferences. While the Communists in their speeches never forget to denounce the deficiencies of capitalism, the Western leaders in none of their speeches dare mention the crimes of Communism. And this at a time when those crimes are swelling up to a Stalinist level, when the best intellectuals are sent to lunatic asylums, when concentration camps are again filled with innocent victims, when the oppressed nations within the Russian empire suffer from a major wave of terror.

When, oh when, will the Western leaders stop descending the ladder of complacency towards the Communist rulers? When, oh when, will they cease flattering the tyrants and begin to assist the tyrannized? To back up these victims would be in agreement **both with a political morality and an intelligent strategy**, because the best bargaining value of the democratic leaders lies in the revolt of the subjugated peoples against their Communist masters. For one ally that these Communist lords recruit at great cost in our free world we have hundreds of friends behind the Iron Curtain volunteering to defend our cause. What blindness

it is for the West not to cultivate the anxiety of the Communist masters about this volcano never extinct on their inner front.

I should like to emphasize that we on whom many liberals try to cast discredit by calling us "systematic anti-Communists", ought to claim that label with **pride**, for we bear it in excellent company. Indeed the most systematic anti-Communists of the world are the peoples of the Communist countries, and we may be proud of ourselves for having been wholeheartedly in tune with them. Yes, the free world owes its survival today to the irreconcilable hatred that the masses of Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, China, Vietnam, have never ceased to show to their Communist rulers, be it by silent refusal, be it by open revolt. It is **they who will** one day bring our deliverance together with their own.

That is why the final aims of our policy must be to destroy dictatorship in Moscow and Peking. For as long as Communist dictatorship stands, no man anywhere on earth will be able to face the future with confidence. And the best way for achieving his aim without a World War is to have that dictatorship overthrown **from within**, by its rebellious subjects in the course of national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations for the reestablishment of their independent states and human rights.

But this policy obliges us to help with all our heart and might the resistance of those captive peoples, because they are altogether, **the most effective, the most valuable and the most exposed allies** of the free world. And their sublime sacrifice not only obliges us to denounce their tyrants, but also shows us what can weld our union. It is the fire that glows in the forge of all our civilizations, and the name of that fire is **FREEDOM.**

Donald A. Martin (Great Britain)

Economic Realities and the Task Ahead

Impose a heavy progressive or graduated income tax, abolish all right of inheritance — through such things as death or probate duties, — centralize credit in the hands of the state — through such instruments as the Bank of England or the Federal Reserve Bank of the USA, — centralize the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state, through such instruments as the British Post Office and Telecommunications Service, British Rail and Road Services.

You may well ask why on earth start an address with such policy statements? We came here to hear about the evils and dangers of Communism, not a party political speech which could well be explaining the policies of your own British Government or many other governments of the free world.

I think many of us would agree that these are policies that we see being implemented throughout the free world. What we do not hear however is that the four policy statements that I made have in fact been obtained almost word perfect, from Karl Marx's ten famous points for communizing a state, as set out in the Manifesto of the Communist Party.

The reality of this situation cannot be denied — it is all around us for us to see.

It is these very policies together with others fostered by the Communists and their supporters and dupes in the free world, that are leading us on a course of destruction.

What are the forces and policies — and where do these policies come from — that are driving us towards the Communist state in the free world, whilst at the same time we fail to come to **the assistance of our greatest allies — the peoples subjugated** by Russian imperialism and Communism.

On Saturday the European Freedom Council adopted a resolution that all anti-Communist movements should cooperate to appoint a special committee to investigate the charge that Communism is, in fact, to use the words of Great Britain's wartime Prime Minister, Winston Churchill in 1920, part of a "world wide conspiracy", and that it was initially financed by international finance groups in the West which have since



maintained the necessary financial support in order that, as Dr. Anthony C. Sutton, Fellow of the famous Hoover Institute on War, Peace and Revolution at Stanford University USA shows in his research, that Western technology and industry has been used to hold the Communist Russian Empire together and could, if necessary, be used to make the Communist Empire collapse from within.

The European Freedom Council therefore adopted the suggestion that all the relevant evidence should be brought together in a comprehensive report, published by the anti-Communist movements, and then widely distributed as a major part of an international campaign to insist that non-Communist governments take every possible step to prevent any further economic assistance to the Communist Empire until such time as the Communist leaders, by their acts, show that they are prepared to release their captives.

Whilst congratulating the members of the European Freedom Council for adopting such a resolution, we may find that it would be just as well to see if any of the evidence obtained also shows that organizations benefitting from the trade to help to hold the Communist Empire together, also benefit from the centralizing policies in the free world.

At his stage someone says — what on earth is the point of this exercise, the Communists are supposed to be against the monopoly groups in the free world. This — on the surface — appears to be the truth. But we must not forget the operation of Communist dialectics or semantics.

The Communists are in favour of peace — but the only peace acceptable to a Communist is peace under Communist dictatorship. Hardly the same as the Western Christian idea of peace. The other peace that Communists are of course in favour of is a piece of Ukraine, a piece of Poland, a piece of Germany or a piece of any other country in the world. So it is with monopoly. The Communists are against what they call Capitalist monopoly, but if you call it State monopoly, they are in favour.

So we see that it is not the label but the reality behind the label that is important.

At this stage we may find ourselves in agreement but once again we come back to the point, how do we achieve our objective of reversing these policies and obtaining the freedom and independence of the subjugated nations.

Speech after speech at the ABN and EFC conferences has been made, making the point that we don't seem to be getting much assistance from governments and we have rightly turned our appeal to the man in the street in the Western world, so that he in turn may influence people in influential positions and ultimately change government policy.

However, if our appeal is going to be effective, we must first face the reality that **the only person who is going to assist in such a task — is a free man.**

Surely, you may say to me, you are not going to suggest that the people of Britain are not free people. But what do we mean by a free people? Do we mean freedom of thought and spirit? Yes, this is part of what is required. But all the people of the subjugated nations have this freedom, it is this freedom that keeps them going in the struggle against the tyranny of godless Communism.

It is true, that in the free world we have to a large extent also freedom of speech and action, that is denied to the subjugated peoples. But if we are going to have support from the people of the Western world, they must have the **means** to be able to exercise that freedom.

All with the knowledge of the Communist takeover of Eastern Europe and the nations in the Soviet Union, know that one of the major instruments for imposing Communist control and subjugation on the captive peoples, was economic policy. The sort of policy that constantly devalued money and destroyed the people's savings.

It has often been observed that economic independence is the basis of real freedom of the individual. Individual freedom for the individual, enabling him to spiritualize it through self-development, is a basic feature of Christian doctrine. Unless able to exercise free will, and be personally responsible for the choices made, the individual cannot rise above the animal level. The Christian God is one of love whose abundant universe offers the life more abundantly. But the life more abundant is only possible through the discovery of the truths governing natural laws and their correct application in the production or economic sphere.

It is quite clear that we are not applying, or for that matter -- in government circles — not even looking for those truths that govern natural laws. It is for this reason that we move from one economic and moral crisis to the next. The Communists merely explain this as the decadence of the West and further proof that we are incapable of solving our problems without having to rely on their trade and moving further along the road of Marxist economic policy. The further we in the West move along this road, relying more and more on governments to help us economically, the more we lose our freedom of action.

If this process is allowed to continue unchecked, there will be no really free Western Christian men to appeal to for help. At the best we could say that we are at least some of the best informed people on the dangers and evils of Communism ever to be shunted into a concentration camp.

What therefore do we do to save ourselves and our captive nation allies? First we must face the realities that I have spoken about. The EFC has taken a bold step in the right direction. Armed with this sort of information and the members of the ABN as living proof of the evils of Communism, we must do battle in the war of words, ideas and philosophies.

If we are going to fight this war and win, there are other realities that we must face. Firstly, if this were a military war, we would have no difficulty in accepting discipline and the necessity to arm and train ourselves.

We must accept the hardest discipline of all — self-discipline. We must be prepared to set up training schools and seminars not only to understand fully the forces and policies — both political and economic — that we are against; but also to understand those things that we are for. If we do not understand clearly what we are for, then there is the greatest danger that we could become that which we are against.

We must not only arm ourselves with knowledge and tactics, but more important we must train ourselves in the application of these tactics. We must learn lessons from our tactical successes and failures.

As an army dedicated to the Christian ideals of truth and freedom, we must enrol the support of our friends and convert our enemies. We must get away from the easy task of telling one another how terrible everything is and get out amongst the community. This requires that everyone of us should accept the personal responsibility to involve others outside our ranks.

The road should be clear to all of us, but let us remember that it is hard, long and narrow. Let us be charitable to those who may fall by the wayside or into traps laid by our enemies. This requires the maximum of cooperation, and toleration combined with determination and dedication. It does not require organizational unity — but unity of purpose, for we are many armies on different roads which should all be heading to the same destination of truth and freedom.

As we conclude this final function of the ABN and EFC conferences let us dedicate ourselves to the task ahead. Let the following words by Edward Everitt Hale stir our hearts as the spirit necessary for victory:

"I am only one,
but I am one;
I cannot do everything
But I can do something.

And what I can do;
And what I ought to do,
By the Grace of God
I will do."

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

The chauvinism of the Russians and the nationalism of the non-Russian peoples are regarded as factors determining political, cultural and intellectual life in the Soviet Union. Both tendencies have their own distinct goals. Consequently, the chauvinism of the Russians is directly opposed to the nationalism of the non-Russians.

The Russian chauvinism is one of the oldest phenomena of Russian thought and political actions within the Russian empire. It involves the feeling implied in exerting power over foreign peoples and an instinctive political tendency, being elevated to an almost national characteristic of the Russians, which decisively influences the nature of the Russian empire. The chauvinism of Russia is responsible for the creation of the Russian empire in the old Tsarist form and has also contributed to a reshaping of the old Russian empire in the Communist-Soviet form. The present Russian empire would not exist without Russian national chauvinism.

The nationalism of the subjugated peoples came into existence after the chauvinistic Russians had tried to decisively influence the life of the peoples conquered and subjugated by Russia. The non-Russian peoples tried to defend themselves against the supremacy of Russian chauvinism by means of nationalism. Nationalism in the Soviet Union of today is just the collective term for the attempts of the subjugated peoples to maintain their national existence, and the expression of their national liberation movements. This nationalism is practically identical, as far as the term is concerned, with the West European nationalism of the 19th and 20th centuries. How-

ever, it can by no means be compared to the past West European nationalism as far as its intentions are concerned. The West European nationalisms were more or less founded on the state machinery, often causing military and political disputes in order to strengthen the power of the nation concerned, whereas the nationalism of the oppressed has always been a means of defence against foreign rule. Nationalism constituted a means for the non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union of cultivating their national consciousness and of fighting against Russian chauvinism consistently. The peoples suppressed by Russia were in the position, through their nationalism, to preserve their national properties (e.g. geographic homogeneousness, linguistic peculiarities, religious life, cultural and intellectual heritage connected with history) and to express their political will.

As is well known, the Soviet Union comprises various peoples having diverse cultures, religions and other characteristics. Russians who are represented as the moulders of the empire and as a dominant nation were in the minority vis-à-vis the non-Russians in 1920. According to official Soviet Russian sources the Tsarist empire consisted of about 45 percent Russians and of 55 percent non-Russians. This population structure has been transformed by the effect exerted by Russian chauvinism and by the Soviet regime as such. After the census of January 1970 the USSR government announced that the populations of the Soviet Union comprised 241,720,000 inhabitants, 129,015,000 thereof being Russians and 112,705,000 non-Russians. It can be deduced that in

the course of about 50 years the Russian regime succeeded in transforming the population structure of the Soviet Union in favour of the Russian population. At present, the Soviet Russian empire, according to Soviet sources, comprises somewhat more than 50 percent of Russians (ca. 53 percent) and somewhat less than 50 percent of non-Russians (ca. 47 percent).

The non-Russian population of the Soviet Union being essentially the carrier of nationalism and opposing Russian chauvinism, is striving to secure its growth in order to be able to hold its ground against the Russians. Among the non-Russian nations the Ukrainians (according to the 1970 census 40,753,000) play a particular role in the struggle against Russian chauvinism owing to the number of their population and their national traditions. The national consciousness of Byelorussians (9,052,000 in 1970) and Moldavians (2,698,000 in 1970) is also generally known in the Soviet Union. They are followed by the Turkish and Islamic peoples and smaller ethnic groups being closely related to them in cultural respect. This cultural sphere includes 39,723,900 inhabitants. It is known that Turkish and Islamic peoples, due to their national, religious, cultural, linguistic and geographic peculiarities, have remained one of the most obstinate opponents of Russian chauvinism. Within the group of Turkish and Islamic peoples the Uzbeks play an important role because of their numerical superiority (9,195,000 inhabitants in 1970). They are followed by Tartars (5,931,000), Kazakhs (5,299,000), Azerbaijanians (4,380,000), Chuvash (1,694,000), Turkmen (1,525,000), Kirghiz (1,452,000) and Tadzhiks (2,136,000).

Other important bastions of nationalism in the Soviet Union are the Caucasian peoples such as Armenians (3,559,000 in 1970) Georgians, (3,245,000) and Nord Caucasians (e. g. Avars, Kalmyks, Kabardians, Karachanians, Balkars, Chechens, Ossets, Lezgins, etc.)

comprising 2,642,000 inhabitants who are known as nationally conscious opponents of Russian chauvinism in the past and at present.

The Baltic peoples (Lithuanians 2,665,000, Latvians 1,430,000 and Estonians 1,007,000) having lost their national independence as a result of Soviet Russian aggression in 1940 also constitute one of the pillars of non-Russian nationalism. Many states have not yet acknowledged (*de jure*) the annexation of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union.

As regards opposition to the regime and to Russian chauvinism, the importance of the Jews (2,151,000 in 1970) and the Germans (1,846,000) should not be underestimated. These two national groups are not concentrated over any definite territory. The Germans were deported from their settlement areas on the Volga. A considerable part of them (over 1,000,000) are now living in Turkestan, especially in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan. The Jews are also scattered over all areas of the USSR. These ethnic groups, disposing of no area, are mainly striving to oppose Russification, to cultivate their particularities and to achieve a more liberal way of life. It is known that these two national groups have produced many opponents of the regime. The Jewish opposition to the Soviet regime, presently being supported especially by the international Jewry, is well known.

Apart from the above-mentioned nations there are numerous other peoples disposing of their own territory, e. g. Finns, Karelians, Komis, Maris, Yakuts, Hakasi, Udmurts, Buryats and other Siberian ethnic groups.

These peoples also have their own concepts as to how to cultivate their national peculiarities and they have proved their vitality although numerically they are not significant, compared to the other national groups.

It is generally known that nationalism constituted one of the most dan-

gerous phenomena directed against Russian rule in the subjugated countries within the Tsarist empire. The unsolved national question is still pending in the Soviet Russian empire. The Communist leadership has recognized the importance of the national movements in the former Tsarist empire. It realized that the artificial empire built up and ruled by force and comprising a non-Russian majority could easily disintegrate on the national basis. The non-Russian nations (Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Don-Cossackia, Tatar-Bashkiria and others, indeed succeeded in reconstituting their national independence after the revolution. The Communist Russian leaders then had to try to reincorporate the independent national states into the Soviet Russian empire as the Communist leadership would have lost its credibility vis-à-vis Russian chauvinism. On the issue of reincorporation of the nations, which regained their independence for a short time, into the Soviet empire, the Communists claiming to be internationalists and promoters of freedom were cooperating with the Russian chauvinists who also wanted to prevent, at any cost, the disintegration of the Russian empire. Two Russian political trends — Communism and chauvinism — thus combined into a uniform political tendency which was in the position to abolish, one by one, the nationally independent states which had replaced the Russian empire. Already in 1921 the Russian empire was completely reconstituted except for some states (e. g. the existence of national states was tolerated in the Baltic region, Finland and Poland). The slogans concerning the peoples' right to self-determination, the declaration of the rights of the peoples of the Russian empire and the appeals to the peoples referring to the organization of life on the basis of their national needs were only sweet tranquillizers deceiving the

non-Russian nations. By no means, did the Russian leaders intend to tolerate the existence of national states.

As a substitute for the national independent states the Soviet Russian leadership first sought to establish Soviet Communist states on the respective national territories. Then in 1922 it proclaimed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics without guaranteeing the rights of the non-Russian nations. Lenin very much feared the reaction of the non-Russians to Russian supremacy in such a "Union" and wrote among other things on December 30, 1922:

"... whether we have taken sufficient precautions to really protect the non-Russians against the genuine Russian derzhemorda (hold the tongue, or be hanged) I think, we should not have taken such precautions although we could and should have taken them."

The Soviet leaders created so-called Soviet socialist republics, autonomous regions and even districts based on the peoples and their respective territories. At least they did not deny the existence of numerous peoples in the Soviet Union. For the Russian nation they created the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) including many non-Russian peoples. This Russian Soviet Republic presently comprises 16 so-called autonomous republics, 5 autonomous regions and 10 national districts. The Russians themselves do not have any autonomous republic nor does the constitution or any other law provide a definite area for the Russians. Although the above-stated so-called "national" autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national districts are named after the non-Russian peoples within the RSFSR, their population practically consists of a Russian majority.

The so-called Soviet socialist republics have so far been represented as sovereign republics by the Soviet leadership; they were created for countries

such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Moldavia. The 15 Union republics are entitled, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, to freely secede from the USSR. However, there is no regulation stating where, when and under what conditions the national Soviet republics can express their intention to secede from the USSR. If the right of secession were to be asserted before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR the Russian majority would refuse it categorically. If the Supreme Soviets (Soviet Parliaments) of the individual Soviet republics tried to make use of the right of secession, such an attempt might be declared void by the USSR Government since, in accordance with the USSR Constitution (Article 20) it may repeal any law of the so-called sovereign Soviet republics. There is no constitutional court in the Soviet Union to which the national leaders might appeal. Therefore, the right of the individual republics to freely secede from the Union is only a fictitious right. Lenin himself admitted that the Soviet Government was governing on the basis of the Tsarist administrative apparatus. He also declared that "the freedom of secession from the Union" was worthless stating:

"Under these circumstances (means the failure to discard the Tsarist administrative apparatus) it is quite natural that the freedom to secede from the Union, which we are using as a justification, will prove to be a worthless scrap of paper not suited at all for the protection of the non-Russian inhabitants of Russia against the invasion of the true Russian i. e. the Great Russian chauvinist basically being a scoundrel and a brute, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat. There is no doubt, the decreasing percentage of Soviet and Sovietized workers will

be drowned in this chauvinistic Russian sea just as a fly in milk."

Lenin proved to be right although he did not acknowledge the peoples' rights even if constantly stressing the peoples' right to self-determination.

The Soviet leaders do not even think of granting national autonomy to the individual Union republics. The Constitution of the Soviet Union even pretends to guarantee the right of representation abroad for some of the Union republics. So far the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics have been admitted as members of the United Nations. However, it has become evident that the membership of the Soviet republics in the United Nations was only a formal gesture and that the representatives of these republics in the United Nations were used as an instrument for Soviet propaganda. None of the remaining republics are, at least formally, represented abroad or have any foreign representatives within their borders.

If the Soviet leadership tolerates the existence of the Soviet republics on the basis of national areas under the present conditions it does so only because the non-Russian peoples have an intense nationalistic feeling directed against Russian chauvinism. The Soviet leaders constantly claim that they intend to fight chauvinism and nationalism at the same time. If one closely observes the evolution of the Soviet empire from within one realizes that challenging Russian chauvinism was just one of the Soviet leaders' modes of proceeding against nationalism, regularly and intensively, using even terrorist measures. However, the Soviet Russian leaders were striving to check the unrestrained Russian chauvinist activity in order to prevent the radicalization of the subjugated peoples' nationalism. But, this tactical drag did not imply that the Communist leaders were dispensing of Russian chauvinism. On

the contrary, Communism became an ideological form of Russian chauvinism and imperialism. Russian instincts under the Communist ideology. Again and again we have tried to draw the international public's attention to the fact that the present regime in the Soviet Union is based on the political and ideological elements of Russian chauvinism and on Russian imperialism which has been cultivated for centuries and is acting in all directions, as well as on Marxist teaching which has been transformed in accordance with Russia's striving for power.

The nationalism of the non-Russian peoples is also playing a part within the regime although these nations cannot be regarded as pillars of the regime as they have rather tried to weaken the regime from within and to prevent its strengthening in order to find an outlet for their attempts at national liberation. So far the Soviet regime has not succeeded in abolishing the existence of nations within the sphere of power of the Soviet Union nor will it be able to achieve this goal in the near future.

(To be continued)

Dear Friends of A. B. N.,

We thank the President and Members of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations for the invitation to the reception commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the ABN and regret very much our inability to attend.


At a time when the pressures for 'detente' between East and West are being exerted by the power giants, as well as by the weak in both camps, there is a temptation to achieve temporary successes by alliances with organizations and individuals who say that while they accept some of the principles on which the Anti-Bolshevik movement is based, they are not prepared to accept the whole of these principles and ask for compromise as a basis for their cooperation. Such compromise can only lead to disaster in our view. It is the steadfastness of ABN over the past 30 years which has placed it at the head of the Anti-Bolshevik movement. The maintenance of this steadfastness to the principles laid down 30 years ago are a prerequisite to success in the future.

There can be no substitute for the realization of national independence for the subjugated nations and the total destruction of the Communist empires. These are the first essential steps towards real security in Europe and elsewhere. And in achieving these essential goals, ABN will play a major role. Of this we have no doubt.

May the celebration of this Anniversary strengthen the determination of all friends of ABN to rededicate themselves to the struggle initiated by the founders; and may the aims and principles laid down by the founders inspire us all to make whatever contribution we can toward their achievement.

Most sincerely yours,

John Graham



**The compliments of the season and sincere wishes
for the coming year to all our friends and readers of
ABN - Correspondence.**

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

For the Realization of Human and National Rights in the USSR

Efforts to realize human and national rights in the USSR date back a long time, but the present phase of these activities really started during the Second World War. In the liason bulletin, published through the initiative of the Ukrainian nationalists on the eve of the Soviet-German war, we can read among other things this passage: "Struggles, revolutions, wars of our era, show that the individual is not satisfied with material gains, that he struggles until he obtains the essential needs — namely free expressoin of his creative force in his national environment. The individual aspires to a total fulfilment. This signifies that he is not satisfied to be merely freed from something, but that he aspires to be that which he wants to be . . . always totally himself — totally free. Therefore this freedom can only be assured to him by his own people . . ."

In other words, the author expresses his convictions that a man cannot be free unless the people of which he is a part is free and independent, unless his people, in the ethnic, not the social sense, enjoys national independence.

We, therefore, come to two aspects of man's quest for liberty, one of which is related to the individual as such, and the other to the community within which he lives. There can be no free individual in a community which is not free. Man cannot be free if his nation is occupied, enslaved, dominated by foreign powers.

This first precept is well understood by the politicians, writers and political philosophers of an oppressed nation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Ukrainian nationalists adopted at their congress in April 1941, the motto:

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals! — which became a motto of the international movement for the liberation of the peoples oppressed by Soviet Russia.

After the war, in December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This, no doubt, is a progressive step in relationship to the past. But what is lacking on our planet today is not only a declaration of human rights, but a declaration of the rights of nations of the world.

The first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that "all human beings are born free and equal in their dignity and in their rights". We would certainly avoid a great deal of human tragedies if the civilized world were to accept equally the principle according to which "each nation is born equal and free in its dignity and its rights". Another article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "every individual has a right to life, to liberty and to personal security". How many human lives and sufferings would have been avoided if there existed, and was justly applauded, a declaration stating that each nation has a right to life, national independence and its own economic, cultural and political development, which would be independent and particular to the nation itself. It is not the particularity of a given people; nor the multitude of national states which would be susceptible in endangering humanity, in impoverishing or hindering its evolution. The impoverishment and obstacles result rather from the standardization and uniformity particular to state structures which we define as multinational and

which are nothing but empires as is the case of the Soviet Union where, besides the culture of the dominating nation, no other culture has the right to flourish in freedom. Moreover, the entire policy of the government is formulated with the aim of liquidation of the non-Russian peoples and nations. Such a policy is at the root of all discriminations, prejudices and persecutions

Just as a human being, a people -- in the sense of a nation, also aspire to have the right to be themselves, to be able to develop freely in its national independent state. It is here that we find the reason for the existence in the Soviet Union of a two-fold opposition, the opposition by individuals as human entities, and the opposition of individuals of an oppressed nation. For Westerners this reality is difficult to grasp not only because Russian propaganda secures it, but equally because one only understands most easily the situations one has experienced. But Western nations which are more or less the masters of the political destinies of the world, had never experienced a state comparable to Russian occupation. Moreover, in the West, the notion of "nation" is confused almost entirely with that of "state". Thus, as soon as one speaks of the Soviet state, one thinks that it is without a doubt inhabited by a single nation -- obviously the Russian nation.

As a result of the particular circumstances and this notion, the Western media speaks a great deal, and most frequently about Russian dissidents (Sinyavsky, Galanskov, Bukovsky, Medvedyev, Sakharov), rather than about non-Russian freedom fighters.

Among those who expertly follow developments in the USSR, a great majority would not be able to name a single non-Russian freedom fighter. In reality, this situation corresponds neither to the numerical importance of Russian dissidents nor to the force of repressions exercised against them. On

the contrary, there is an exceptional disproportion in this particular field. Even foreign observers, such as Leonid Vladimirov, George Bortoli, Sasha Simon, who are not favourably disposed to the cause of the non-Russian nations, admit that the dissident Russian circles are extremely limited in number and that most of Russian intellectuals and people stand behind state power. The majority of Western anti-Communists are incapable of noting this fact. The situation is quite different in the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union. Let us cite, for example, Ukraine -- the largest non-Russian republic in the USSR. In a recent issue of the French weekly *Le Point* (4th June, 1973), we find an article on this particular subject. A professor from Kyiv explained to a French journalist that "at present, the Ukrainians number 55 million. If there was a way to look into their hearts and minds we would probably discover that a quarter of the Ukrainian population are committed dissidents..." A quarter of this population of over 50 million is not to be treated lightly.

It is a fact that in order to suppress the publications of the underground Russian journal -- **Chronicle of Current Events** and the Russian samizdat the authorities simply arrested a few individuals. However, in order to stop the publication and distribution of the Ukrainian samizdat, namely the **Ukrainian Herald**, and suppress Ukrainian underground publications, the Russian regime was forced to arrest over 300 individuals. We know the names of more than fifty persons who were arrested since January 1972. Most of them were tried and sentenced to long years of imprisonment. The fate of the others is unknown.

There is a marked difference between the terms of the sentences passed upon dissidents in Russia and those in Ukraine. With the exception of Sinyavsky, Galanskov and Bukovsky, who were all condemned to seven

years imprisonment, Russian dissidents, persecuted and tried under the same terms of accusation as the Ukrainian dissidents (for anti-Soviet activities, for the propagation of information defaming the regime, etc.), generally obtain sentences of 3 to 5 years, whereas, the sentences passed against Ukrainians vary from 3 to 15 years, and in the recent past there were a number of death sentences and two executions resulting from the discovery of underground organizations.

Let us cite a few examples. Valentyn Moroz who has already served 4 years in Soviet concentration camps has been sentenced again in December 1970 to 6 years imprisonment, 3 years in a concentration camp, and five years in exile — in all 14 years; Ivan Dzyuba was sentenced last March to 5 years of imprisonment and to 5 years of exile; Vyacheslav Chornovil was sentenced last February to 7 years in concentration camps and five years of exile; Yuriy Shukhevych who has already served 20 years of concentration camps has been sentenced to additional 10 years of concentration camps and 5 years of exile; Ivan Hel, 10 years of imprisonment, 5 years exile; Danylo Shumuk, who already served 27 years of imprisonment in Stalinist and Nazi concentration camps, was condemned to an additional 10 years of hard labour and 5 years of exile, etc, etc, . . . In reality the arrests in Ukraine have taken on the form of a true "pogrom" of Ukrainian intellectuals.

Ukrainians are certainly not the only ones to be subjected to persecution by the Russian repressive regime. The intellectuals and "dissidents" of the Baltic States, for example, are equally severely persecuted. Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian seaman who attempted to seek freedom and was handed over to the Russians by the captain of an American navy cruiser, has been condemned to 10 years. Another Lithuanian, A. Yastrauskas, has been condemned to 12 years.

The above list describes political prisoners, but in the USSR there are countless numbers of prisoners condemned for their religious convictions.

According to the latest report of Professor Peter Reddaway submitted to the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR, there are at present approximately 1,200,000 inmates in Russian concentration camps. This is only a partial estimate which is no doubt less than the actual. The actual number of those imprisoned for their religious beliefs is probably double this figure. But we will never know exactly, because we lack official statistics on this subject which are withheld from the public as a state secret. Nor do we have figures on the number of people incarcerated in mental asylums for political and religious reasons.

As a result of numerous testimonies we are now familiar with the conditions of imprisonment in the prisons and labor camps as well as in mental asylums. These conditions are abominable, degrading and inhuman. In the camps human dignity is totally desecrated and all the human rights are trampled upon. The prisoners are exhausted to the limit of human endurance by forced labor and undernourishment.

Very often, a process of physical and mental weakening is induced by means of toxic medication secretly added to their food. In the various labor camps, prisons and psychiatric asylums, the Russian state power pursues the same ultimate aim: to break all resistance and will power of the human being, to make of him a docile animal whose ability to reason will be completely subjected to state power.

Very often inmates die suddenly under mysterious circumstances. Therefore it is easy to conclude that they had been eliminated by special sections of the Soviet secret police. It is in this manner that the Ukrainian prisoner Mykhaylo Soroka, the priest Boris Ta-

lantov and the Lithuanian prisoner Jan Kapucins met their death. Furthermore, we are informed of the disappearance of certain Ukrainian intellectual in Ukraine who have not been officially arrested or condemned. But no trace of them has been left. In the hard labor camps, there are prisoners who are incarcerated for twenty and even thirty years. Their state of health has completely deteriorated and some of them have even lost their sight. They are waiting in vain for their liberty.

What can we do to lend a helping hand to these people whose only "crime" is that they have dared to fight for the rights of Man and Nation? I am not here to offer some ideal solution, for such does not exist, but it is a fact,

that in our era, any state, including the Soviet Union, is more or less sensitive to the reaction of world opinion. It is therefore necessary to sensitize and mobilize public opinion in every country of the Western world expressly for this cause, be it only for humanitarian reasons.

This entails a systematic diffusion of information at all levels. Each and every one of us can and must do it! We must speak out at conferences; we must write in the press; we must inform all agencies, all national and international organizations, and this we must do not only in the name of human solidarity, but also because **their struggle** for human rights and the rights of their peoples is **equally ours**.

Adelaida Lemberg (Estonia)

Restoration of Freedom Will Guarantee Security

Dear friends of freedom!

I have the pleasure of greeting you from the Estonian and other Baltic organizations in Sweden.

We protest against Russification and violation of human rights in my home country Estonia, in Latvia and Lithuania.

We demand the right of self-determination to the Baltic nations, and restoration of independence to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, subjugated by the Soviet Russia.

We admire the energy of the ABN and the European Freedom Council in the common struggle against Russian imperialism and subjugation of the free will of nations.

We want freedom for all people who have been bereaved of it.

We are aware of the fact that only the restoration of freedom and full national independence to nations under Soviet domination and in Moscow's sphere of influence will guarantee security in Europe but not appeasement, conferences and agreements in order to achieve a so-called normalization according to Kremlin's pattern.

TURKISH ANNIVERSARY

The 29th October, 1973, is the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Turkish Republic which was established by a great anti-Bolshevik Turkish leader, Kemal Ataturk on the 29th October, 1923.

We wish every success to our neighbour, the great Turkish Nation.

Dr. Ante Bonifacic (Croatia)

The Role of Titoism in the Communist as well as in the Free World

Tito was regarded by Bishop Hurley as virtually more dangerous than Stalin. Titoism is today more contagious than Stalinism to German Jusos, and the French workers at Lip in Besancon. Stalinism was rejected but Communism with an imaginary human face is accepted by the new left. We all know the story of "Le petit chaperon rouge" (The Little Red Riding Hood) devoured by the wolf.

Imagine a Balcan Fabian Society with half a dozen queens, Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor and sage men from all nations on the island of Brioni. Nobody knows that the yearly budget costs the people of Yugoslavia over one million dollars only for Brioni. And there are a dozen other places. On the island of Korčula are the international members of "Praxis", where the sages are fed and amused by "Il Principe". You may learn there everything about Marx and Marcusse. Abortion costs five pounds and there are 26 international casinos. Meyer Lansky and Bernie Cornfeld are good friends. No wonder that the 82-years-old disciple of Stalin is now leading over 70 nations to Algiers as non-aligned nations. They are neither for Nixon nor for Brezhnev, but Tito received two Orders of Lenin and these still free peoples will close their frontiers to the bad capitalists and they will badly miss the oil, uranium, copper, wolfram and the islands for their warships — the last is Madagascar — and the next countries are Angola and Mozambique.

Tito first tried to destroy the state of Croatia, and you may find a description about it in "OPERATION SLAUGHTERHOUSE".

During his visit to the USA, Tito explained in the Press Club in Washington that he was using another kind of democracy: "There are no rights for the opposition!" I seems to me that Watergate started there. The free world should use the same methods as its adversaries. Dostoyevsky said it first: "If there is no God, all is permitted."

And as you know: "God is dead". Prof. Max Horkheimer explained before his death in July 1973 that "solange es Freiheit gibt, die Kollektive werden aggressive bleiben" (as long as there is freedom the collectives will remain aggressive) (*Der Spiegel*, 16 July, 1973). When we destroy God, Liberty, Nations and standards of living we will all live as the "New Class" in a satisfied present time: "Befriedetes Dasein" (Content Existence). Therefore, in Yugoslavia everything which helps the regime is right: "Wrong or right — my Party".

In Croatia Tito found Lumpenproletariat, nationalism, religion and put everybody in jail. At present, all Croatian leaders, who are not abroad, are in jail . . .

His designed successor in a collective leadership is known in London from an article in the **Spectator** as "the butcher of Kočevje" where, in 1945, he liquidated more than ten thousand Slovene "Domobranci" (Home Defenders).

Former Tito's deputy from Montenegro explained to Ivan Metrović that they had to destroy half a million Croats because without this Yugoslavia could not exist. He is a philosopher and writer.

Stalin sent the Ukrainian "Kulaks" to Siberia and Tito sent the Croatian peasants as the so-called guest workers to Germany, Sweden, Austria, France and Australia. If they protest, they are proclaimed "Ustashi terrorists".

Major General Miskovic as chief of "KOS" (Counter Intelligence Military Service), Croatian born, created the necessary artificial terrorists with the help — when necessary — of true Croatian peasant lads looking for vendetta. He is now retired, but he was living on the paradise island too, every morning expecting his Diocletian with some chosen bits of genuine Croatian Slavonic "Kulen-Salami". Tito's closest friends, Kardelj and Bakaric have succeeded now because he has retired, but Mitja stays.

Now every Croatian worker in Sweden and Germany has to explain to his landlady that he is not a terrorist. All leading Croats in the USA were denounced by Tito's ambassadors by means of diplomatic notes. All these ambassadors are usually Serbs having good connections with the press and the financial establishment.

To retain Tito's friendship on his global strategic spot, four or five billion of convertible dollars given to him by Uncle Sam since 1945 were not enough. They contracted over four billion dollars of fresh debts and they have to pay interest every month of over one hundred million dollars.

As "honorary Africans" and leaders of the Third World, they badly need more gold than the three billion dollars extracted from 20 million enslaved people. Before the war, the budget of Yugoslavia was 300 million dollars. The Croats supply, besides guest workers and ships, all Yugoslavian oil, and you may understand the ideology of "Unity and Brotherhood" in Tito's lost "Letter".

Nasser said that he was taught by Tito to extract money on both sides. Brezhnev also promised one billion but it is dropping so slowly that the poor Americans had to give aid recently for the development of "South Serbia" with a miserable sum of 60 million dollars through the World Bank. Chancellor Brandt did not give the demanded one billion DMarks for the victims of Nazism but only 150 million DM and promised to help the commercial development of the country. There are now more than 4,000 Belgrade agents abroad earning 10-50% on every item imported.

"La corruption s'étale avec une impudique, une savoureuse tranquillité." (The corruption increases with a shameless savoury tranquillity.)

What Makes Moscow Tremble?

We have reached a crossroad or rather a bifurcation of history. One of the roads leads to slavery and the other to freedom. The time of dreams and utopias has passed. For decades the world has been living in an illusion. It is time to awake it as long as it is not too late and there is a possibility to react, i. e. to fight.

Still today we must bear the tragic consequences of World War II, and more particularly the monumental mistakes — intended or not — of a disabled man who was unfortunately placed at the top of the most powerful nation of the world and who, instead of assuming his responsibilities in accordance with the interests of his people and his declaration and, instead of practicing the Atlantic Charter, the declarations with respect to freedom and human rights and national independence — the Allies having been fighting for these principles, — abandoned over 150 millions of Europeans to slavery. The blood and sufferings of these slaves, martyrs for freedom, constitute a blemish staining the honour of the great American nation for ever.

Today a new Yalta is coming up: the nuclear Yalta, as a result of which the Russians will be free to extend their rule all over Europe and subsequently to transform the free world into their satellites, as has been done with East European countries 30 years ago.

We were not present at Yalta in 1944 and did not have any possibility to act. However, we were witnessing the process and, therefore, today we may conscientiously ring the alarm bell and call attention to this newly rising monster differing from the preceding one by its name only. We must not delude ourselves by nice and noble declarations that Moscow is spreading, with-

out intermission, in all directions. They are empty, without any meaning, and their only object is to soothe our conscience and to lull us to sleep in order to make us go by ourselves to the slaughterhouse. We should not let ourselves be taken in. It is hardly possible that the Soviet Union will display humanitarian and Christian feelings. This would by no means be in accordance with orthodox Marxist-Leninist teaching. The final strategic goal of the Communist doctrine is "World Revolution, Soviets everywhere". Anything else is only a veil, a tactical and temporary manoeuvre imposed by circumstances but always directed towards the final objective.

Why does Soviet Russia at present even seek a "detente" and peaceful co-existence? Those who pretend to know everything with their unstable dispositions and empty heads will most probably answer immediately: "The Soviet Union has become a conservative power anxious to consolidate its acquired position. It cannot do without Western support to feed its population and furnish its industry."

Demoralizing the West in this way is wrong and dangerous since this is what Moscow actually wants. The Soviet Russian leaders have coldly and authoritatively figured out that the West would be extremely sensitive to hypothetical commercial profits, that the prospect of material gains would make it blind and, consequently, would lead it directly to its ruin — being just a matter of time once it has chosen this road without return.

Soviet Russia does not need any trade with the West. She can do without it as history has proved. Nor does she evidently intend to enrich the capitalist world.

The chief theorist of Communism at present, Mikhail Suslov, a member of the POLITBUREAU, has made clear his point of view in this respect. A few weeks ago during the celebrations in connection with the anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union he repeated that the establishment and development of economic and trade relations with the West by no means implied abandoning ideological warfare. On the contrary, the ideological struggle was to be continued even more ardently. When returning from the United States Brezhnev also hastened to insist on the ideological struggle in a speech broadcast not only within the entire Soviet Union but also in all countries of the Communist Bloc.

This clear and unambiguous view of the Russian collective leadership definitely sweeps away the declarations made by the supporters of Brezhnev & Co. The Kremlin in fact wants peace and coexistence but only provided it is a Soviet type of peace and coexistence.

However, why is Soviet Russia just at the moment trying so hard to improve her relations with her Western neighbours? Why is she seeking to attract highly industrialized countries by the prospect of considerable commercial profits? Why does she choose a moment when the West rotten by material wealth and deprived of a positive and consistent ideal undergoes a serious crisis of decadence?

There is a simple explanation to this but the problem must be considered at the roots. In this connection we again refer to the primary theorist of the Communist doctrine, Mikhail Suslov. On the occasion of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow the guardian of orthodox Communism delivered his conventional speech dealing in detail with the ideological problems of the USSR to be solved and being of high importance for its very existence.

According to Suslov the following problems — in the order placed by himself — preoccupy Russia nowadays:

- 1) The nationalism of the peoples constituting the Soviet Union and the satellite states.
- 2) Western ideological influence.
- 3) Revisionism.

As we may realize it is by no means charity of nor an imperative need for the Soviet Union to take up trade with the West.

Suslov mentions revisionism last. Soviet Russia, in fact, fears revisionism, in particular that of Mao. This is obvious, but this fear is long-term. The crisis as foreseen will not break out before the end of the century. Most probably it will be resolved by means of an armed conflict. And this excludes any possible slow down in the production of armaments in the Soviet Union. On the contrary — as has recently been shown by an eminent French economist — the Soviet military budget continues and will continue to rise. The modernization of armaments is effected at an accelerated pace. Considerable efforts are made with respect to land forces which will benefit from increasing motorization and whose classical artillery will be replaced by rocket units. New tactical and strategic arms will be employed. On the other hand, the Soviet Navy with its submarines and surface ships has practically achieved pre-eminence and demands a considerable material effort on the part of the United States to avoid being surpassed by the Soviet Union.

The future crisis attributable to the doings of the revisionists constitutes a reason sufficient per se for explaining the new policy, i. e. covering the rear. Even more, the USSR will pretend to be the saviour of the West in view of the increasing Chinese menace. Basically, however, after analyzing the situation we will realize that this problem alone would not have incited the

Being conscious of the fact that the spirit of freedom is burning more ardently than ever before among all oppressed peoples, each of them possessing eminent historical and moral value, we must pay our respects to them. We should pay our respects to the peoples of the satellite states having been "bolshevized" by the force of the Red Army and to the peoples which, against their will, have been incorporated by violence into the Russian empire. All these peoples subjected to an intense Russification by force, a true genocide — the average Western citizen does not even know their names — whose population amounts to over 100 million people suffering next to your doors have realized that their only chance is to unite and that they may obtain freedom only through their own efforts.

Thus 30 years ago the delegates of 12 countries subjugated by the Soviet Union by force gathered in the forests of Zhytomyr and decided — under the protection of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — to create the ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), the oppressed peoples' common organization, in order to fight against slavery and for freedom.

The peoples oppressed by Communism — a form of Russian imperialism — have not ceased to fight and will lay down their arms only after being victorious.

Without fearing imprisonment or concentration camps the Jan Palachs, Morozes, Dzyubas and others opposing tyranny will secure the victory of justice and freedom.

Greetings to ABN/EFC Conferences

*Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko
Chairman, European Freedom Council
President, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations*

Thank you for your letter and invitation regarding the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Regretfully, I will be unable to attend their joint London Conference, in August, because of prior commitments.

We congratulate you and the activities of your organizations for your inestimable contribution toward freedom throughout the globe. It is through efforts such as yours that the people of the free world will come to know the oppressive reality of Communism and to realize how fortunate they are to live in freedom.

The struggle against Communism is not confined to national boundaries. Indeed, this fight is being waged and will ultimately be won by people throughout the world. The very existence of the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations demonstrates that free people have joined together in a common cause against a common enemy — Communism.

I should like to offer you, the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, my own personal commendation as well as the commendation of the American Security Council. I sincerely hope that your forthcoming convention will be successful and productive.

Best regards,

Sincerely

John M. Fischer
President, American Security Council

Life in Lithuania under Russian Occupation

In 1940, as the result of the plot devised by Stalinist Russia and Hitlerite Germany, by force and fraud, by breaking all treaties held sacred in the civilized world (Peace Treaty concluded in Moscow on July 12, 1920; the Non-Aggression Pact signed in Moscow on September 28, 1926, never renounced by either the Soviet Union or Lithuania; the Convention on the Definition of Aggression of July 5, 1933, wherein it states that "no consideration of political, military, economic, or other nature may serve as an excuse or justification for aggression"; the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939, which was imposed on Lithuania by Soviet leaders and violated by them less than 8 months later Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were occupied by Soviet Russia. Since that time, at the cost of painful sacrifices to the Lithuanian people, they have courageously fought to recover their freedom and independence, and have not accepted the alien Soviet Russian Communist imperialist regime.

In 1940, Lithuania was not strong enough to resist an open battle with the colossal Red Army of Occupation. The President of the Lithuanian Republic and the Lithuanian Diplomatic representatives abroad publicly protested against the gross violation of Lithuanian sovereign rights, and, even today, the occupation of Lithuania by Russia is not recognized by the Western Democracies.

In Lithuania itself, since the very beginning of the occupation in 1940, a Lithuanian Independent Underground Movement began to be organized, and, when in 1944 the Soviet Russian armies again inundated Lithuania, a spontaneous mass revolt broke out in the entire country.

The West is aware of the tragic Polish uprising in Warsaw, but has still heard little about the no less tragic and no less heroic revolt of 1944-53 which involved all Lithuania for almost 10 years and which finally was crushed by the Russians. The Warsaw insurgents were regarded by the Germans as a regular army, and, when taken prisoner, were treated as prisoners-of-war. The Lithuanian insurgents, however, were regarded as "bandits"; their bodies were publicly exposed in the city streets and squares; their families destroyed and deported; their homes burnt and demolished. Not counting the deported or martyred families, the number of Lithuanian Freedom Fighters who have perished with weapons in their hands against a ten-fold larger force equipped with tanks and airplanes, was 25 to 30,000. For a nation of 3,000,000, this figure represents 1% of the population, and this is relatively twice as large as the number of Germans fallen in the Second World War. The Lithuanian Revolt of 1944-53, hopeless and tragic as it was, little known in the West and deprived of Western support, will rank in the history of Lithuania as the most illustrious manifestation of the will for freedom and independence of a small nation.

Here I would like to remark that when in 1946 all Western Europe was practically disarmed and would not have been in a position to offer effective resistance to Soviet Russian invasion of it, the Soviet Russians did not take advantage of that opportunity. Why? The answer to that question should not evoke the slightest doubt; Western Europe was saved by the immense self-sacrifice of such nations as Lithuania, Ukraine, and others. The active struggle of Lithuanians, Ukrainians

Byelorussia

Byelorussia, sometimes called "White Russia", formed the major part of what was historically known as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (with Byelorussian as the official language until 1697).

Byelorussian SSR in her present political boundaries occupies a territory of 207,600 square kilometers (the size of England and Scotland put together) and according to the Soviet Census of 15th January 1970 had at that time a population of 9,040,000 people (81% Byelorussians, 19% other nationalities, mainly Russians).

Some historical facts concerning Byelorussia:

1) December 5-17, 1917, — All-Byelorussian Congress (1,872 delegates) in Minsk (capital in 1972 pop. over 1 million),

2) 25 March, 1918, — Proclamation of Independence of the Byelorussian National Republic on its ethnic territories (recognized "de facto" by 12 nations).

3) 10 December 1918 — the Red Army occupied Minsk and the major part of Byelorussian territory. The Provisional Byelorussian Government ("Rada") moved to Grodno (Western Byelorussia), later to Lithuania, and from there to Czecho-Slovakia (Prague), where it acted as the government in exile until World War II.

4) 1 January 1919 — the Bolsheviks proclaimed the establishment of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in Smolensk and outlawed the Rada.

Nota bene: After the October Revolution in 1917 when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, they proclaimed on November 15, 1917 the Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia, whose main principles, based on Lenin's doctrine, were as follows:

a) The equality and sovereignty of the nations of Russia,

b) The right of the nations to freedom of self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states.

It is worthwhile to underline, that these principles have never been abandoned by the Russian Communist rulers, and are included in the present Constitution of the USSR (Art. 17), and the constitutions of the Union Republics.

5) 5 January 1919 — the new Byelorussian Communist government, appointed by Moscow, moves to Minsk.

6) Peace Conference in Paris. The Byelorussian Delegation submitted a memorandum demanding recognition of the Byelorussian Provisional Government and independence of Byelorussia based on the enclosed ethnic map. The memorandum was accepted but the Byelorussian Delegation was not admitted to the Conference.

The Versailles Treaty was signed on 28 June, 1919, without taking the Byelorussian request into account.

7) 1919-1920 — War between Poland and the Bolsheviks.

8) 20 October 1920 — Truce (armistice) was signed.

9) Byelorussian uprisings against the Bolsheviks:

a) Uprising of General Bulak-Bulakhovich (about 20,000 soldiers), fighting the Bolsheviks for about 3 months, until the end of December 1920;

b) Slutsk uprising from the middle of November to 28 December 1920 headed by Col. Antsyovich (about 10,000 soldiers);

c) Over 30 smaller ones (based on the Soviet statistics), the last one crushed by the Bolsheviks in 1929.

10) 18 March 1921 — A Peace Trea-

ty was signed at Riga. Byelorussia and Ukraine were partitioned between the Bolsheviks and Poland.

11) 30th December 1922 — The Byelorussian SSR entered into "voluntary" union with Ukraine, Russia and the Transcaucasian Republics, thus forming the USSR.

12) 17 September 1939 — After the defeat of Poland, Western Byelorussia reunited with the BSSR.

13) 1941-1944 — During German-Soviet War, Byelorussia occupied by Germans who were welcomed as liberators by a considerable number of Byelorussians and other nationalities. But their racial policy, lack of clear programme concerning the Soviet Republics, bad treatment of the local population, arrests and deportations alienated nearly the entire population from them.

14) 1944 — When the result of the war became doubtful, the Germans granted Byelorussians some degree of autonomy and allowed them to organize an army. The Byelorussians convened the Second All-Byelorussian Congress (27.6.1944) consisting of 1,039 delegates, which again proclaimed the Independence of Byelorussia. This was rather a symbolic act which was to demonstrate again the determination of the Byelorussian people that the ideas of freedom, self-determination and independence were still alive and deeply rooted.

15) 3 July 1944 — The victorious Red Army reentered Minsk, and at the end of July cleared out the whole of Byelorussia.

16) 1945-1953 (until Stalins death) — A period of mass arrests and deportations of the Byelorussian nationalist elements; thousands were executed for their alleged collaboration with the Germans.

17) The losses in Byelorussian population during and immediately following World War II (based on the Byelorussian estimates drawn from all possible sources which agree with Soviet

statistics) amounted to 2,500,000 people, i. e. 25% of the entire population, through guerrilla warfare, German repressions, but mainly through the Soviet Russian purges, mass deportations and liquidations of all nationalist elements or merely suspects after the war. The Soviet statistics were given by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Byelorussian SSR in his booklet: "Byelorussia", London, 1960, p. 9, but he blames Germans for those losses, saying: "The Fascists exterminated 2,200,000 inhabitants and war prisoners and sent off some 300,000 people to slave labour in Germany".

Remark. At the end of 1939, the population of BSSR was approximately 10.5 million (*Bolshaya Sovietskaya Entsiklopedia*, 1948, p. 1823). In 1959, after 20 years, the Soviet census registered only 8,054,600 inhabitants. At the end of the last century there were 10,200,000 inhabitants in Byelorussia (tsarist Russian census of 1897).

18) For the last two decades there was an increased Russian pressure and policy directed towards Russification and assimilation of all nations of the USSR. It was particularly strong in Byelorussia and Ukraine. After the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in 1971 the Russification of the peoples of the USSR ("internationalization", as it was called) became the official policy.

19) In recent years there have been no mass deportations, but still they have not stopped yet. For example, if we compare the last two Soviet censuses:

Number of Byelorussians in Kazakh SSR in 1959 was 106,000.

Number of Byelorussians in Kazakh SSR in 1970 was 198,000,

an increase of 87%,

Number of Russians in the Byelorussian SSR in 1959 was 660,000,

Number of Russians in the Byelorussian SSR in 1970 was 938,000,

an increase of 42.2%.

abroad by secretly listening to radio transmissions from Germany, the Vatican (there are transmissions in Byelorussian) and to a number of other foreign stations. Transistors are small and cheap and this helps people to find a safe place for listening. Baptists with their regular radio transmissions have considerable success there. The people's attitude towards Western Democracies is generally very friendly, but they do not believe in any radical changes, at least not in the near future. After their return, the people who have visited their relatives in the BSSR, usu-

ally stop taking part in Byelorussian community activities. Fear.

24) Byelorussia and Ukraine belong to the UN, but are represented almost entirely by the Russians, never vote independently of the delegation of the Soviet Union, always giving unconditional support to the Russians.

In spite of that quite grim account, the Byelorussian people have not lost faith in the future. They believe that totalitarian regimes based on brutal force do not last for ever. The dream of freedom and independence is still alive.



**Mass Rally,
London,
August 26, 1973.**

**Top:
The Ukrainian
male choir
"Homin".**

**Bottom:
Delegates and
guests to the
ABN/EFC
Conference.**

ABN and EFC Conferences in London

August 24 - 27, 1973



Prof. F. Schläfli (United States) addressing the Conference



Dr. Ante Bonifacic (Croatian) speaking during the session