

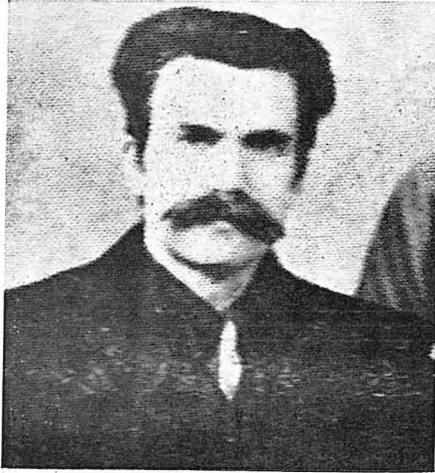
ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

DRACONIAN SENTENCES

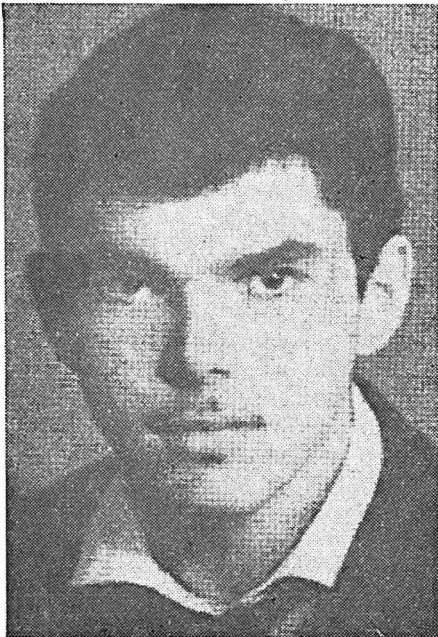
Two members of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusévych were both sentenced to 7 years in a strict regime concentration camp and to 5 years exile in Siberia, during



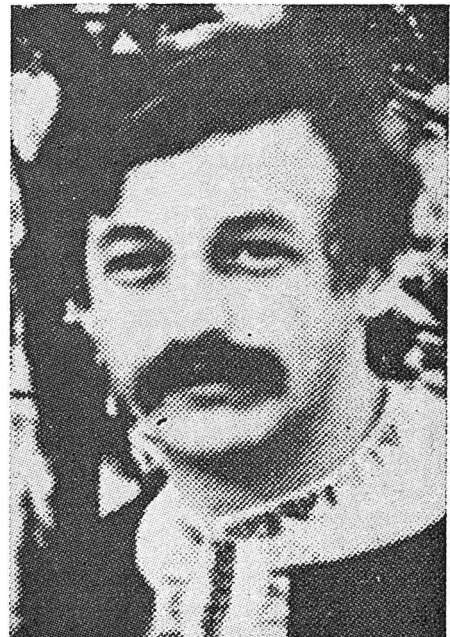
Lev Lukianenko

FOR HELSINKI GROUP MEMBERS

their "closed door" trial, March 23—29, 1978. Lev Lukianenko, also a member of the group, was again arrested by the KGB on December 12, 1977, at his home in Chernihiv, Ukraine. He is being threatened with "treatment" in a psychiatric prison.



Myroslav Marynovych



Mykola Matusévych

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ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

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V. Moroz Defends Byelorussian Nation

“Wake Up. Rub Your Eyes”

“Wake up. Rub your eyes, — says Valentyn Moroz, — do away with your “progressive” schemes painted with pink ink, throw them on a rubbish heap. Only then you will see reality as it is. You will see the most majestic phenomenon in the world — wonderful and formidable in its grandeur — the march of the nations through history, its mighty rhythms transcending everything. Its heavy pace makes mountains shudder and the walls of Jericho, filled with lies, fall. Without death, life cannot be fully appreciated. Values become dear, only if one risks losing them.

The nation is a crag that Atlas must for ever bear on his shoulders. And this is what everyone should aim at: to bear on his shoulders something great, unique, unparalleled and holy; assuming the responsibility for its safety. A holy chalice wherein people have preserved for centuries what they cherish most — only the nation can be assigned this rank. One might throw off this burden, clear one’s biography, but then life would become empty and lose its meaning.

As terrible as it may be to die, to be forgotten,
As terrifying as it may appear to face death,
Death will probably be most horrible,
If there is nothing to die for.

There is no historical “necessity” for disappearance of the nation. But there has been no progress either toward guaranteeing the right of the nation to existence. The nation can survive only, if people are ready to die for it . . .

Only if the individual believes that his nation is indispensable, chosen by God and irreplaceable, he may find true fulfilment, a purpose. If this belief is replaced by “generally democratic” verbiage about the “disadvantage of national limitation”, the individual simply becomes a potato consumer for the soul of the population, though showing much erudition.

In nations lulled to sleep, the struggle between Moses and Dathan, Abel and Cain, Janko Kupala and Evdokia Los, goes on uninterruptedly. The former awaken — the latter lull to sleep. The former talk about disgrace — the latter deaden this voice with drums of idle talk. The former lead — the latter crush shoulders with ballast and sink into the mud, blocking the path as obstacles to be surmounted . . .”

The above passage is quoted from “Moses and Dathan” by Valentyn Moroz, an essay for which he was sentenced in November 1970 to 14 years of imprisonment and exile.

In Moses and Dathan, V. Moroz replied to the article "Powerless wrath blinds. Retort on the radio babblers from Munich" by the Byelorussian poet Evdokia Los. In the following, further passages are quoted from this essay of Valentyn Moroz who is presently detained in the Mordovian concentration camps.

"... Thus God made the earth round, so that everybody may consider his country as the planet's centre, and stand at the highest peak feeling like a giant and equal to God. Only in this way can full-fledged individuals and nations develop.

Anyone looking up to his neighbour must inevitably develop an outlook of being second, inferior and accessory to his neighbour ("a second Moscow" or "nearly Moscow").

Values — something the individual possesses — are irreplaceable and should by no means be lost, since their loss would mean an irremediable catastrophe. As soon as meadows and snows become interchangeable — values have disappeared.

Not only the nation, but objectivity in general, is possible only due to distinctness. An object clearly distinguishes itself from its environment. Having lost its distinctness it ceases to be an object. And if a Byelorussian maintains that he shares with the Russian "meadows" and "snows", his feeling of Byelorussian distinctness, the main factor to which a nation owes its existence, has eroded.

... Two miners from the Donbas region wrote a letter to the CC of the CPU containing the following statement: officially, formally — the Donbas is supposed to be part of Ukraine. In reality, however, everything has been russified. As a result, Ukrainian inhabitants of the Donbas region live in an unnatural state of duality. The miners suggest that the Ukrainian nation should be moved into one or into the other direction. How can these young muscular rock-breakers, used to cutting directly into the adits, possibly understand that what the Russians fear most is precisely that "being moved". If things "are moved" (it does not matter which way,) there will be noise, causing national consciousness, which has been lulled to sleep, to awake. As soon as people became aware of the national problem and get interested in it, everything will be lost. Such a situation would necessarily result in arousing national consciousness, meaning the end of Russification.

... I had the opportunity of talking to the father of a Ukrainian emigrant living in Australia, his wife being an Australian. When this father spoke to his son over the telephone he was addressed in Ukrainian from the remote Australian continent — not only by his son but also by his grandchildren and even his daughter-in-law (an Australian!). A Ukrainian thrown to the other end of the earth has not only preserved his mother tongue but has passed it on to his Australian wife! Somewhere in Uruguay or in the States there also live Byelorussian emigrants ... having preserved their native

language overseas, while you, Evdokia Los, only use it as an ornament in the press, although you are living in your homeland. They have preserved their national patriotism in remote foreign countries, while you have renounced it in your native country . . .

Throughout history assimilationists have always strived to impose a materialist piggish philosophy on their victim nations. They even made considerable material concessions. Material goods have never been spared for assimilative purposes. Take for instance the Roman Tacitus succeeding in corrupting the subjugated Gauls by piggish materialism: "You share the Empire with us. Often it is you who command our legions, who administrate our provinces. There is no barrier separating you from us". The Roman conquerors did not spare money and generously distributed posts to the Gauls suggesting to them the idea: "What do I need Gaul for?". I do not know what the purpose of Gaul's existence is. Nor do I know why Byelorussia exists. But I definitely know that a Byelorussian questioning the purpose of Byelorussia's existence is a spiritually dead man. The question "Byelorussia — what for?" cannot be answered. If sacred matters are at stake, logic is irrelevant. A person's own mother — what for? There are millions of mothers in the world. Would anything change, if there were one mother less? A full-fledged person will never think this way. He will immediately kill everybody who makes an attempt on the life of his mother. The nation is a supreme sanctity. It is the synthesis of all spiritual values that the individual possesses. Shevchenko, a Christian, placed the nation above God — the physical, reasoning God. The true, living God is the nation.

. . . Listen: "We love Ukraine as part of our fatherland, as a living and dear part of our nation, as a component of ourselves; and therefore, any attempt to introduce the concepts "mine" and "yours" into the relationship between Ukraine and Russia is repugnant to us . . . We are remote from condemning those Ukrainians who passionately love their homeland. Local patriotism is a highly respectable sentiment which, however, should not exclude patriotism in a broader sense; the interests of a person's homeland should by no means be opposed to the interests of our fatherland". These are the words of the chauvinistic unionist Katkov advocating indivisibility...

As you see, Katkov also loves Ukraine. What a dreadful kind of love . . . the embrace of an octopus. Racism, as practiced in Rhodesia, is surely preferable . . . The black Rhodesians do not risk becoming assimilated, because the white do not want to assimilate with them. They do not like them. How I wish that Katkov and his heirs hated us Ukrainians!

We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed.

II Corinthians, VI, 9.

Right to Return Home Denied

From Lithuanian Samvydav Documents

Document No. 9

Some political prisoners who have returned to Lithuania are facing a difficult situation. An entire complex system of discrimination against the prisoners who have served their terms has been created. Having acquainted ourselves with the documentation and statements, we have established the following:

1. Some of the political prisoners released from Soviet prisons and camps have been so far categorically denied the right to return to their homeland, Lithuania (*Vytautas Slapšinskas*, returned in 1977 after a 25-year term), although they have not been punished with deportation or with other restrictions of their civil rights (*Stepas Bubulas*, *Kostas Buknys*, *Atanas Deksnys*, *Alfonsas Gaidys*, *Algirdas Gasiunas*, *Robertas Indrikas*, *Antanas Jankauskas*, *Jonas Karalius*, *Leonas Lebeda*, *Kostas Lekšas*, *Juozas Mikailionis*, *Aleksas Mosteika*, *Petras Paltarokas*, *Povilas Pečiulaitis*, *Vytautas Petrušaitis*, *Albinas Rašytinis*, *Vincas Saliokas*, *Vytautas Slapšinskas*, *Jonas Šarkanas*, *Vladas Vaitiekunas*, et al.). They are exiled without a trial, only by administrative order.

2. Some of the returnees refuse to obey an order ("order" — because jurists maintain that such a law does not exist, and therefore they cannot defend these people's rights) and refuse to leave Lithuania. Such individuals must arm themselves with patience, cool nerves, perseverance, and strong will. In some cases, after a long time, the administration, having tried various penalties and trials, finally allows them to register officially. In other cases, the permission to register them is refused — although they do not deport the stubborn individual, they simply adjust themselves

to the accomplished fact. That is what happened on April 20 of last year to the arrestee *Balys Gajauskas*, who had lived in Kaunas for four years without having been duly registered. But *Povilas Pečiulaitis* was allowed to register in Kaunas, then his registration was cancelled and he was showered with monetary fines for not being registered. On May 20, 1975, he was sentenced to one year in a strict regime camp. After he had served his term, the authorities again refused to have him registered in Lithuania or outside its limits...

3. Sometimes, after permission has been issued for residence in Lithuania, the administration changes its mind after a prolonged time, annuls the registration, and expels the resident from Lithuania (*Leonas Lebeda*, *Sostas Leksas*, *Povilas Pečiulaitis*, and others). *Kazys Katkus*, for instance, had his registration annulled in Plunge, in 1975, after having lived there for ten years following his return.

4. The Soviet administration sometimes likes to play cat-and-mouse. *Juozas Tribušauskas*, for instance, returned to his native Panevežys and lived there for several years, but he was then expelled from Lithuania. He took up residence in Latvia, and a couple of years later was again allowed to return to Panevežys.

5. These individuals, deported without trial and without any definitive term, do not know when they will be able to return home. Everything depends on the whims of the administration. One cannot say that nobody is allowed to return. For example, the priests *Petras Jاسas*, *Antanas Mitrikas*, *Kazimieras Vaičionis*, *Kazimieras Vasiliauskas*, and others were kept in Latvia for over ten years, but later were allowed to return.

6. Similar deportations without trial are also applied against people who had not been sentenced at all. Thus, the Apostolic administrators of the archdiocese of Vilnius and of the diocese of Kaišiadorys, Bishops *Julijonas Stepanovičius* and *Vincentas Sladkevičius* remain in exile for almost twenty years. It is true, they were exiled to the border areas of Lithuania, but not outside its limits. Archbishops *Teofilis Matulionis* and Bishop *Pranciškus Ramanauskas* died in such exile after having gone to prisons and camps.

7. Those to be exiled are usually family heads — fathers. The entire family moves with the father to his place of exile. There, the problem of schools in the native language is very topical. At one time, the Lithuanian deportees in Siberia had been forbidden to have Lithuanian schools, although they did not lack qualified Lithuanian teachers who were also exiles. Thus, all the efforts of Lithuanians in East Prussia (now the Kaliningrad area) to establish Lithuanian schools for their children, collapsed.

In this manner, the Soviet administration of Lithuania disregards the international obligations of the USSR. It exiles both former political prisoners and citizens who have not been tried at all, wherever, whenever, and for whatever term it wishes to, and the deportee's family ends up in exile together with him.

Sources:

1. Statement
2. Application
3. Reply to USSR Minister's Council
4. Statement (Russian language)
5. Certificate No. 049912 (Russian language)
6. Certificate No. 045589 (Russian language)
7. Certificate No. 094225 (Russian language)
8. Certificate of Form No. 20 (Russian language)
9. Check of Form No. 20 (Russian language)

Vilnius, June 14, 1977

THE ARREST OF BALYS GAJAUSKAS

Document No. 10

On April 20, 1977 *Balys Gajauskas* was summoned to the Vilnius KGB and arrested. He had been living in Kaunas, and on May 4 it would have been four years since his return from the Mordovian camps. He was not officially registered in Lithuania until his new arrest, but he refused to leave Lithuania, which frequently involved him with various administrative and police institutions and led him to court.

Previously, *Balys Gajauskas* was charged with article 58 and was sentenced on May 3, 1948, to 25 years. He completed his entire term in prisons and camps. On his return, he was interrogated more than once, and his apartment was searched on December 23, 1974, and on February 7, 1977. The purpose of the last search was recorded in the protocol: to seize "objects and documents that may serve as significant evidence in the case." The apartments of *Leonardas Staviskis* and *Ona Grigaliunienė* were also ransacked, in search of materials that might compromise *Gajauskas*.

On May 22, 1977, the apartment of *Birute Pašiliene*, in *Giruliai*, *Klaipėda*, was searched. The search warrant indicated that the purpose of the search was to find materials for *Balys Gajauskas*' case. From *Pašiliene*, the searchers seized No. 43 of the Russian *Khronika*, a manuscript titled *Projektas* (Project), and two typewriters (Lithuanian and Russian).

The only surviving member of *Gajauskas*' family is his sick 73-year old mother,

who was being operated upon in a hospital during Gajauskas' arrest. Two weeks after his arrest, she was informed in writing that her son had been arrested and that he was charged with article 68 (part two) of the Penal Code. Thus he faces a possible loss of freedom from three to ten years and one to five years of exile. *Leonardas Staviskis* and *Ona Grigaliuniene* were called to the KGB as witnesses in Balys Gajauskas' case.

Sources:

1. Statement-Appeal by Birute Pašiliene
2. Description of the search of Birute Pašiliene's apartment.

Vilnius, June 16, 1977

ENN TARTO ARRESTED

Document No. 11

Enn Tarto, Estonian, born on September 25, 1938, residing in the city of Tartu, has addressed himself to us in writing.

Enn Tarto, was arrested in 1956 and in 1962. He spent nine years in Soviet prisons and camps as a political prisoner. Upon his return, the KGB did not leave him in peace and repeatedly subjected him to interrogations. He was dismissed from an institution of higher education and was interrogated about his contacts with *Nataliya Gorbanevskaya*.

This year, there were four attempts to set fire to the building where he lives (Tartu, Anne Street No. 20). Recalling that recently, several dissidents in Moscow were victims of fires, we have decided to publish the letter of Enn Tarto as a document.

Source: Enn Tarto, "*Leedu Helsinkii grupile avaldus*".

Vilnius, June 26, 1977

THE ILLEGAL DETENTION OF ALGIRDAS ZIPRE

Document No. 12

An outcry has reached us — a heart-breaking outcry of a human being from the so-called psychiatric hospitals that are in fact, prisons. This outcry was first heard by *Jonas Volungevičius* (res. in Vilnius), *Birute Pašiliene* (res. in Klaipeda), *Romualdas Ragaitis* (res. in Vilnius) and *Jadvyga Petkevičienė* (res. in Šiauliai) who transmitted it to us.

It is the outcry of political prisoner *Algirdas Žipre*, who was sentenced in 1958 to 25 years, on the basis of article 58, although at that time a decree was in force already, according to which maximum punishment could not exceed 15 years of loss of freedom. The condemned man turned to various agencies of the Soviet administration in order to have the error rectified. For that, this completely healthy, strong and principled individual was thrown on October 13, 1973, into what prisoners call *psikhushka* (psychiatric hospital-prison. Ed.) in Mor-dovia, Barashev camp 385/3-12.

The conditions there are worse than in prison: hermetically sealed windows; a most strict isolation from the outside world; no promenades; the prisoners are beaten and forcibly injected some pseudo-medicine. Algirdas Žipre suffered severe beatings here on October 20, 1973, and February 7, 1975. He was twice moved to the Serbski Institute in Moscow (Sept. 29, 1974 and Feb. 28, 1977), was also kept in Moscow's Butyrki prison, and recently has been removed to an unknown location.

May his outcry reach the ears and the heart of each decent human being.

Source:

1. Statement of Jonas Volungevičius, Birute Pašiliene, Romualdas Ragaitis and Jadvyga Petkevičienė.
2. Letter by Algirdas Žypre, "*Buk sveikas!*" (Greetings!), a copy.

Vilnius, July 1, 1977

Prisoners In Psychiatric Hospitals

Cherniakhovsk. VOLDEMARAS KARALIUNAS was placed in the psychiatric hospital in 1975 for renouncing his citizenship; he also wrote proclamations, urging factory workers to strike.

ARVYDAS CECHANAVICIUS, born 1949 in Kaunas, fourth-year student of medicine. His apartment was searched on April 13, 1973. Tapes containing Voice of America, Radio Vatican, and other recordings were seized, as well as several copy-books with his writings and poems. He was charged according to the Penal Code with "private practice without having completed the Institute of Medicine and with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (possession of forbidden literature).

Cechanavicius was examined by psycho-analytical experts, who "diagnosed" him as a "schizophrenic psychopath", and the court resolved to place him in a psychiatric hospital of a general type. However, in December 1975, he was transferred, for unknown reasons, to the special hospital in Cherniakhovsk. This man is in perfect health and is held in a psychiatric hospital for no other reason but his political convictions.

In addition to the Lithuanians, the following individuals are undergoing torture in the Cherniakhovsk psychiatric hospital for their political beliefs: SHATALOV, a student from Rostov; POPOV, a resident of Moscow, for his attempt to cross the border;

EVGENII ZHICHAREV, engineer, for his book "The Grand Caper"; KASHIN, SOCHI, a journalist; 25 people at all.

PETRAS CIDZIKAS, who had been imprisoned for four years in a psychiatric hospital, was returned to it on January 29, 1977. He was previously placed in a psychiatric hospital on July 13, 1973, for producing and disseminating anti-Soviet literature (Article 68, Penal Code).

The "patients" are forcibly injected with the following drugs: tizertsin, aminazin, sulftasin, insulin. Aminazin induces pain, drowsiness, apathy. This injection was given to the political prisoners: Popov, Shatalov, Cechamavicius, Cidzikas, Zhicharev, Kashin, and others. Insulin induces spasms, loss of consciousness, convulsions. This drug was injected into the Lithuanian political prisoner A. Cechanavicius soon after his mother, PRANE VASILISKIENE had addressed herself to the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights about her son's illegal detention in a psychiatric hospital.

The patients are persecuted and harassed by the administration in various ways, and are forced to work. The personnel of the hospital is notorious for its special cruelty: BUDILINA, Fiodov (a genuine sadist), ZHEREBTSOV, BISAREV, BICHKOV, and others. There have been cases when "patients", broken down by sadism, committed suicide.

Prisoners' Telegram to President Carter

Dear President:

We have been following your career with great admiration. We rejoiced that a person who believes in God, values human dignity and supreme duty has appeared on the grim and sealed-off horizon. We respect a nation that has embodied itself in such a President. May God help you!

Political prisoners in Perm':

E. Sverstiuk

Sergei Kovalev

Petras Plumpa

K. Mendelevich

1977, early March

Legends about the Liberation of Bulgaria by Russia

(A Dubious Jubilee)

On March 3, 1978 the centennial of the liberation of Bulgaria in the wake of the Russo-Turkish War 1877—1878 (waged under the slogan of delivering a Christian Slavic fellow people, the Bulgarians, from Osmanic rule) was celebrated in today's People's Republic of Bulgaria. Audibly and exuberantly Russia was celebrated even as a "twofold liberator". These centennial festivities contributed considerably to further nourishing, in the world public opinion, the legend that the Bulgarian people now, as before, is deeply grateful to the Russian liberators, and so devoted to them as to look upon the occupation of the country by the Red Army in September, 1944 and its present fate as a "second liberation".

However, anyone who is somewhat familiar with the history of that time and has no illusions about the present situation in this Balkan country cannot doubt that these celebrations are a mockery of the Bulgarian people, designed to conceal an entirely different reality, not at all flattering to the Russian "liberator".

In this respect there exists an authentic testimony by Georgi Dimitrov, the notorious Bulgarian Communist leader and Secretary General of the Third International, who prepared the way of the present Russian rule over Bulgaria under the banner of so-called "proletarian internationalism". He explicitly stated in the organ of the Bulgarian Labour Party:

"When Russia advocated the formation of Bulgaria to be included in the terms of the Armistice of San Stefano, it did not by any means, wish to create a great and strong Bulgarian state on the Balkan peninsula. Rather, it intended to gain influence over the new Balkan country and come closer to the Straits. Russia is still decidedly opposed to an independent Bulgaria that would definitely obstruct the Russian designs for conquering the Balkan peninsula . . ." (*Rabotnitscheski Vestnik*, November 19, 1965).

And indeed: since that time, the Russian expansionist drive for the Balkans and the Straits has shadowed the fate of the Bulgarian state in the process of development. For fear that Bulgaria might serve as a stepping-stone for Russia's expansionist intentions, the European Great Powers meeting, at the Congress of Berlin in 1879, drastically dismembered the ethnographic territory of Bulgaria as fixed in the Armistice of San Stefano, cutting it off from the access to the Aegean Sea and allowing only a small Bulgarian principality in northern Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains to exist.

Nevertheless, during the establishment of this Bulgarian principality, Russia, by various subversive activities and massive pressure exerted by its occupational authorities, attempted to influence the formation of the Bulgarian state, with the aim of making it a Russian "Danubian Province". Not without good reason, were the following memorable words uttered in the constituent National Assembly at Tivorno: "Russia has certainly liberated us from Turkish rule, but who will deliver us from our liberators?" At that time Russia's annexation schemes failed due to the resolute and relentless resistance offered by the people and the army with Stefan Stambolov, the liberal leader, as exponent (who thus entered Bulgarian history as a statesman of merit).

If, so far, Bulgaria's experience with its Russian "protectors" offered sufficient reasons for largely cooling down its gratitude for the accomplished liberation, subsequently the ill-will and even open hostility of the Russian one-time liberators was clearly felt in Sofia more than once. For instance, in 1885, Petersburg tried to torpedo the reunification of northern and southern Bulgaria by encouraging Serbia to attack Bulgaria. After the Bulgarian victory, the Russians instigated a conspiracy among the officers to discharge Prince Alexander von Battemberg. Similarly, Russians instigated a plot of the other Balkan countries against Bulgaria during the Balkan War in 1913. As a result Bulgaria was defeated and, as stipulated in the 1913 Peace Treaty of Bucarest, the country was again dismembered territorially.

It is understandable that such events completely thrust aside the former pro-Russian sympathies of the Bulgarian people and promoted suspicion and vigilance with respect to the Russians' imperialistic intentions and endeavours. Such apprehension as to the dangers to Bulgarian independence proved even more justified when the Bolsheviks assumed power in Russia, and Moscow intensified its expansionist efforts on the Balkan peninsula by well-known methods of Communist subversion within the country. In the aftermath of World War I — Bulgaria having been defeated as Germany's ally — the conditions for the spread of Communism were highly favourable: Bulgaria had suffered territorial losses, was flooded by refugees and shaken by economic distress and social crises. The Third International, under Moscow's command, made, of course, use of this situation and initiated a soldiers' revolt in August 1918 at the end of the war, to subsequently set up the so-called "United Front" of Communists and leftist radical peasant elements and to have illegal partisan groups take action. Among other acts, a mass assault in the Cathedral of Sofia and an attempt upon the life of King Boris are chargeable to Communist subversive activity. Due to the prudent and nationally conscious attitude of the overwhelming majority of Bulgarians, all these attempts could be thwarted.

It is quite understandable that all these events now made the Soviet Russian menace appear as the main danger to the Bulgarians, and of course decisively influenced Bulgaria's attitude during World War II. These circumstances also account for the fact that, at the end of the war, only a gang of leftist radical political elements could be found representing a pro-Russian orientation. United in a so-called Communist-dominated "National Front", this gang was installed as the government, after the invasion of the Red Army, in order to force — under the token of hammer and sickle — the country under Russian dictatorship by means of a bloody terror never known before.

The thus established Russian colonial rule did not even stop at prominent collaborators of the People's Front Government, as shown by the fate of the leftist radical peasant leader Nikola Petkov, co-founder of the "National Front". It did not shrink back from seizing popular Communists either, for example, the popular Communist leader Traitscho Kostov who was vice-president. In show trials, both men were sentenced (as imperialistic agents) to be hung as soon as they had dared to oppose Russian foreign rule. The same holds true for the "second liberation", which the people, hating the regime, are forced to celebrate today.

This instructive Bulgarian example should nowadays be taken into account by light-minded supporters of people's front governments with "Eurocommunists" as well as by impetuous transformers of the system.

COMMEMORATING HEROIC DEATH

General Taras Chuprynka-Shukevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), killed in battle against Russian occupation troops near Lviv (Ukraine) on March 5, 1950.

His son Yuriij, was arrested in 1948, at the age of 15 and is languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps to this very day because he refused to denounce his father and his fatherland.



Foreign Nationals in Soviet Concentration Camps — 77

Today you can meet people from all over the world in Soviet concentration camps. This might surprise you. However, it does not surprise those who know how the Soviet authorities gradually began to arrest foreign citizens and sentence them to camp terms.

Let us say a few words presenting the background of this sad story, after which we will look closer at the situation of those foreigners who are currently languishing in the KGB concentration camps.

As far back as 1950, at the famous "Paris Trial", the eminent member of the French Communist Party, Pierre Dex denied the fact that there were concentration camps in the USSR; and after the fact that their existence had been proven by numerous witnesses, he had the nerve to proclaim that he was "grateful to the USSR for this magnificent enterprise" — meaning the concentration camps. The witnesses, former political prisoners who submitted evidence to the trial, were: Dr. Yul Margolin (Israel) who had served 5 years in the camps; the Spanish Civil War Hero, Kampesino (Spain), 15 years in the camps; Mrs. Leonard (France), 12 years in the camps; and many other victims of Soviet Russia.

Those people were imprisoned in Soviet Russian concentration camps for various reasons. Dr. Margolin, for instance was there through "bad luck": he was visiting in Poland at the time of her occupation by the Soviet Army in 1939. What was to be done with the foreigner? Send him to the camps, of course.

The Spaniard Kampesino came to the USSR escaping Franco's dictatorship in the hope of helping the Russians build Communism. The Russians really gave him a good shelter — for 15 years they kept him in the Kolima camps, beyond the Polar Circle. In those camps he met many

of his fellow communists who had similarly escaped from Spain.

Later on, the authorities started to send the Spanish children who were "rescued" from Franco in 1936-1937 to the camps. The children had grown up in the USSR, matured and expressed the desire to return to their homeland. Instead, they were sent to Siberia. As for Kampesino, the immediate reason for his arrest and conviction was also his wish to leave the USSR.

The Frenchwoman, Mrs. Leonard, and Mrs. Buber-Neuman from Germany both spent 12 years in the camps; they too were members of the Communist Party.

Thus, the USSR was gaining experience in arresting the unruly foreign communists who were naive enough to believe that they could freely express their thoughts and opinions in the USSR.

By the end of World War II the Soviet secret police extended their activity in the field of sending foreign citizens to Soviet concentration camps. They could now be sure, on the basis of their previous experience, that they did not have to be afraid of being reprimanded, since the governments of the Western countries would not make any sound of protest when their citizens "disappeared".

In 1945-1947, the KGB kidnapped and deported to the USSR hundreds of people from the Austrian capital, Vienna, divided then by the Allies. Usually the accusation of those kidnapped was espionage, and they were all condemned to slave labour in Soviet concentration camps. I met many Austrians in the camps, for example, Simon Kranz, who in all the ten years he had spent in the camps could not grasp why he had actually been arrested. Those naive Westerners! For them, Russia was real hell, a most terrible pit of horror where they faced hunger, bitter frosts, beatings and deathly labour. They became

reserved, sullen, shrank into themselves, and tried to do everything in order to survive, but most of them perished.

Hundreds of German, Belgian, French, Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Spanish and Italian citizens were sent to the Soviet camps as "Nazi collaborators" or "war criminals". Actually, most of them were simply deprived of their status of POW's and instead "granted" the status of camp inmates with 25-year terms of special regime camps. They remained in the USSR camps "only" until 1955-1956, i.e. approximately ten years. They were freed as a result of open bargaining between the USSR and their countries. West Germany, Belgium, and other countries exchanged in lieu raw materials, equipment and made political concessions, and today nobody remembers the countless thousands of innocent people who perished in Siberia.

Former inmates of the "Ozerlag" camp in Taishet remember that in 1956 about 10,000 Germans were freed from this camp, (the Siberian Railway Construction) and permitted to leave the USSR, but in 1946 about 100,000 had been brought there. Only approximately one out of ten survived. Why are they silent now? Where are you, our camp comrades, Captain Zigmund Ol'sner, General Sartorius and others?

The Soviet Russians' insolence knew no limits whenever they wanted to kidnap "useful" people, whoever they were. Thus, in 1945, the Swedish diplomat, Raul Valenberg, who had helped to save Hungarian Jews during World War II was kidnapped in Budapest by the KGB and brought to the USSR. Valenberg had in his possession valuables and information on valuables belonging to those who perished in or survived the war. All this disappeared. So did Valenberg. Only as late as 1973, the witness Ch. Mashinsky, who arrived from the USSR, told us that he saw Valenberg in 1963 on Vranghel' Island in the Arctic

Ocean, where three top secret camps for foreigners are located. According to Ch. Mashinsky, the inmates of these camps are subjected to medical experiments needed for the Soviet Navy and Space missions.

A leader of the anti-communist Russian organization, Yugoslavian citizen Trushnovich, kidnapped from West Berlin in 1953, was also kept in one of those camps on Vranghel' Island. Thanks to Ch. Mashinsky's evidence it became possible to locate great numbers of Italian and German citizens who had been reported "missing" since World War II; all of them had been sent to Soviet Russian concentration camps where they are still to be found today.

As late as 1953-1963, while a prisoner in Siberian political camps, I met the American Army officer Alexander Shornik, and French citizens, Vensan de Santer and Pierre Sup'u. I also had a chance to talk with a Greek guerrilla fighter and communist Vazupolis, who was being kept in the same camp. The USSR "kindly" deported him, as well as other Greek communists, to Tashkent after they had escaped to Yugoslavia following the failed communist coup in Greece. After a few years in the USSR these people realized that Communism in that country did not exist, and they started to criticize openly the Bolshevik dictatorship. All those Greek communists were promptly dispatched to the camps for "anti-Soviet propaganda".

In 1945, the KGB kidnapped the American Army General Stany Dubik in Vienna; he spent ten years in the camps of "Peschlag" (Kazakhstan) and "Ozerlag" (Siberia). The KGB agents simply threw a bag with narcotics over his head and he regained consciousness in a Moscow prison. The KGB demanded from him information about the American Armed Forces. After ten years in the camps he was exchanged for a Soviet spy arrested in the USA in 1955.

In Paris, 1946, the KGB kidnapped Vensan de Santer and his brother; both

were given a sleeping potion, brought to the USSR and sent to the camps beyond the Polar Circle. They were told frankly in the KGB headquarters: "We took you by mistake". To return them? Impossible! Vensan's brother died in the camps, Vensan survived and after 12 years returned to France. We do not know where he is now or why he is silent.

Pierre Sup'u was brought to the USSR by his father who wanted to help the Russians build Communism. The father died in the camps in 1942. In 1946, Pierre requested an exit permit to France. He was sent to Siberia, in the footsteps of his father, where he spent ten years in the same camps.

Dr. Wolodymyr Horbowyj, a Ukrainian citizen of Czecho-Slovakia, served sentences in both German and Russian camps, having spent 25 years in the latter, for taking part in the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement. He was released from the camps in 1975 and placed in

exile, where he is unsuccessfully trying to obtain an official permit to rejoin his relatives in Czecho-Slovakia.

The Israeli Yehuda Kogan found his brother in the USSR, with whom he fought together in the partisan movement against the Nazis during World War II. In 1963, he went to the USSR, holding an official tourist visa, in order to see his brother, whom he considered killed in the war. However, he was immediately arrested. He spent ten years in the camps for political prisoners of "Dubrovlag", being falsely accused of "deserting the Soviet Army". He brought us information about the foreigners who in 1974 were inmates of those camps. Below is a list of their names. Y. Kogan could only recall those he had been friendly with, and did not remember the names of the others.

Alex Gincas, American citizen, sentenced to 5 years. Gerstel' Pinkas, French citizen, 15 years. Malofazi, German citizen, 25 years (died in the camps). Otivaka Masafu,



Youth honoring Valentyn Moroz, imprisoned Ukrainian historian, on the occasion of his birthday, April 15.

Japanese, 10 years. Walter Newman, German, 5 years. Wolker Schafchauer, German, 5 years. Herald Bruk, British, 5 years. Debash, Turkish citizen, 10 years. Shudashdemir, Turkish citizen, 25 years. Dishkant, Polish citizen (Ukrainian), 18 years. Marchak, Polish citizen (Ukrainian), 15 years. Peter Sontag, German, 7 years. Bek, Czech citizen, 15 years. Katrotzius, former commander of the communist Greek guerrilla fighters, 7 years. Elevantorius, former commander of the communist guerrillas in Greece, 6 years.

In addition to this, Y. Kogan gave us information about ten Japanese, five Egyptians, three Italians, eight Iraqis, seven Lebanese, three Jordanians and two Englishmen who had been arrested in the Soviet Union and were serving terms in the camps there.

Most of those people are suffering in Russian camps even today. Their hope to see the free world again is almost nil, since the KGB does not spare efforts to prevent foreigners from going abroad after they have seen a GULAG with their own eyes.

It is interesting to mention that neither I, nor my numerous friends who passed through tens and hundreds of Russian camps of various types have ever met foreign spies in the USSR. This is not because spies are kept in special camps, we have seen both pilot Powers and the Englishman, Vain, who was involved in Colonel Pen'kovsky's affair. Both of them were kept in regular camps alongside other political prisoners. However, we have seen no other spies or saboteurs in Soviet Russian camps. There is an explanation for this. Up until recently, foreigners in the camps were not enemies of the communist regime sent from abroad; they were mostly people who had gotten into the clutches of the KGB by mere chance. Or, they were "criminals" like the deported Hungarians who took part in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, or Czechs who participated in the

struggle for the liberation from Soviet Russian occupation in 1968.

However, recently, during the last two or three years, the situation with foreigners in Soviet camps started to change. Some young people in Europe decided to help the nations living under the communist Russian occupation in a constant fear of the KGB.

So, the young men and women from the Free World went to the USSR bringing with them a weapon of the worst kind for the communists — books forbidden in the USSR. Those tourists had in their luggage Bibles, books on anti-Marxist philosophy, studies on the crimes committed by the Soviet Russian regime. Those brave young people were deliberately defying the KGB and Soviet authorities. While distributing the books and at the moment of their arrest, they claimed: "The Helsinki Final Act envisaged the free exchange of ideas and literature. The USSR signed the Helsinki Agreement. We are openly promoting the exchange of ideas."

The list of such heroes who dared to enter the struggle for human rights in the USSR is lengthy: Van Brantegem, Elizabeth Lee, Annelie Copiel, Jo Dris, Willy Keipers, Francis Bergeron, Jacques Arnou, Takki, Marinutzky, Eidsvig, Jengset — we cannot list all!

True, during the interrogations the KGB forced some of them to orally renounce their views, after which they were immediately expelled from the USSR without any trial. When they returned to the Free World they told about the KGB methods of interrogation: intimidation, deception, blackmail, provocation, hunger.

But some of the best representatives of the Free World remained unbroken, and that sometimes also resulted in expulsion from the USSR after interrogations. Sometimes, however, they had to stand trial and were consequently sentenced to three-to-five years of concentration camps (and

this is only for bringing books to the USSR).

With deepest respect and appreciation we pronounce the name of Anton Pype from Belgium, sentenced in 1977 to five years of corrective labour, who was released before the end of his term in September, 1977, thanks only to the worldwide protests on his behalf.

But some of those brave people are still suffering in Soviet camps. One of the latest victims is Jean-Jacques Poli, the Frenchman, who was arrested on September 12, 1977, in the USSR for distributing leaflets among the population calling to struggle for human and national rights in the Soviet Union. What happened to him afterwards is still unknown.

In 1976, the executive director of our Research Centre was invited to the US State Department. The State Department asked for the assistance of our Centre in locating the American citizens who "disappeared" in the USSR. The State Department has a list of such people which includes both civilians and servicemen: some went to the USSR on business matters and "disappeared", others were obviously kidnapped; pilots of the planes which had crashed also disappeared without leaving a trace whenever they were picked up and "saved" by the Soviet Russians, and only due to mere chance it became known that they had been seen beyond the Polar Circle. Some American service men captured in Vietnam have also been seen in Soviet concentration camps.

Our Research Centre offered to the US State Department a number of proposals

regarding the search for American citizens in the USSR, but as far as we know, no action has been taken so far. Why then, had the director of our Centre been invited to the State Department? It seems the only purpose was to show that the State Department officials were "making efforts".

During a visit to the USA, we happened to hear a speech of the President of the Committee of Relatives of Service Men Reported Missing in Vietnam. The Committee was trying to press the US Government to take some concrete measures so that their relatives might return home, but to no avail. They are "the voice calling in the wilderness", among legions of indifferent officials. Everybody is too afraid to disrupt "detente". Thus, the USSR gets everything and gives nothing in return.

As for foreign citizens who so strongly believed in their countries' democracy and were sure their governments would rush to defend them, they are languishing in countless Soviet Russian camps and prisons even to this very day, forgotten, helpless, utterly in the power of the KGB.

Just recently, we received information concerning one more secret camp for foreigners located in the Far Eastern part of the USSR. But apparently nobody is interested in this information. The Free (for the time being) World is crowded by the USSR.

A. Shifrin

(Research Centre for Prisons, Psychprisons and Forced-Labour Concentration Camps of the USSR)

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

“Why I Burned Lenin’s Portrait”

Below we are publishing the “Declaration” of Razmika Zobrabiana, an Armenian national activist and political prisoner of the Perm concentration camps and Vladimir prison. This text was written in the concentration camps and is being circulated in Soviet Samvydav. (Ed. note)

I am 25 years old. I was born into a working-class family and I am a worker too. I am also a patriot and member of the illegal party, NOP. On 20th January, 1974, in Lenin’s square I burned a portrait of Lenin on cloth having the size of approximately 16.5×8.5 meters. This was at the time of Gromyko’s visit to Jeryvan to present the “Friendship of Nations” Order. My deed was an act of protest against Moscow’s anti-Armenian internal and external policies and also against the persecution of Armenian patriots and freedom-fighters.

Abusing the good-will and sympathy of the Armenian nation toward the Russians, even as far back as the tsarist times and ever since, Moscow has operated conspiracies against Armenia and the Armenian nation. Russian White ministers dreamed of an “Armenia without Armenians”, being already at that time apologetic supporters of an extension of the Russian Empire.

The Soviet leader Lenin, not reckoning with the interests of the Armenian people, according to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, acknowledged Turkey as the ruler of our lands. In order to destroy the Armenian nation, weapons and gold were handed over to Turkey, which the Turks made use of for occupying our country.

In March and September of 1921 Moscow once again allocated the following Armenian districts to Azerbajdzan: Arakh (Karabakh), Nachykhevan; — with the aim of prolonging the enmity and friction between the two neighbouring countries. Repressions and annihilation have made us

become worthier sons of our nations. The Urals and Siberia have become symbols of exile and imprisonment.

The Armenian national question has not been solved. Forty per cent of Soviet Armenians live beyond the borders of Armenia against their will. Armenia is not able to welcome all Armenians who wish to return to their homeland, but do not have the opportunity to do so. The worst representatives of the Russian nation are sent to Armenia to, in fact, control Armenia: the head of the KGB, the second secretary of the CC, etc. do not even trust their own lackeys. Massive persecutions of nationally conscious dissidents and Armenian youth began in the years 1964—65. Court trials became an everyday phenomenon. Economic, moral and physical terrors were aimed at frightening freedom-loving and free-thinking sons of the Armenian nation. All this was in vain, as the spirit of independence, liberty and democratic ideals proved to be indestructible. The brave people, which have become victims of oppression, are being tortured (“re-educated”) by cruel treatment.

These barbaric acts are the continuation of the genocide of 1915 (a political genocide of the Armenian people) and are to be considered a crime against humanity. Moscow is trying to turn back the wheels of history by disregarding the principles of the UN, the Declaration of Human Rights, and all basic human and legal rights. All in vain. Nations are destined to be reborn and to progress.

60th Anniversary Of The Re-establishment Of National Independence

UKRAINIAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Fourth "Universal" — January 22, 1918

(E x c e r p t)

People of Ukraine:

Through our efforts, will and demand, a free Ukrainian National Republic has been established on Ukrainian soil. At long last the visionary dream of your forefathers, fighters for freedom and human rights, has been realized. But the freedom of Ukraine was born at a very difficult hour. Four years of war have weakened our nation; our factories do not produce, our production has slowed down, communications are damaged, currency is being devaluated . . . we stand on the brink of famine.

Meanwhile, the Soviet People's Commissars, the St. Petersburg Government, in order to annihilate the free Ukrainian Republic has declared war on Ukraine and is sending troops to our land. The same St. Petersburg Government of People's Commissars is purposely delaying the peace and is calling for a new war defining it as "holy" . . .

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, cannot agree to that and we will not support any such war. The Ukrainian people want peace and a democratic peace should come as soon as possible.

In order that neither the Russians nor any other Government hinder Ukraine in its task of establishing the desired peace, and in order that our country may be brought back to a normal state, to pursue a policy of creative work, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, proclaim to the citizens of Ukraine the following:

From This Day Forward The Ukrainian National Republic Becomes The Independent, Free and Sovereign State of the Ukrainian People.

We want to live in peace and in friendship with all of our neighboring states including Russia, Poland, Austria, Romania, and Turkey. Not one of these states, however, shall be permitted to interfere with the affairs of the free Ukrainian Republic . . . In the free Ukrainian National Republic all of the nationalities enjoy the privilege of personal autonomy granted to them by law on January 9, 1918 . . .

*The Ukrainian Central Rada
Kyiv, January 22, 1918*

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union a Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation of the USSR 60 Years Ago)

CONSTITUENT CHARTERS OF THE BYELORUSSIAN COUNCIL (RADA)

The First Constituent Charter. Directed to the Byelorussian People.

Our native land has found itself in a new and difficult situation. The fate of the regime that was here previously is not known. We face the possible occupation of our land by German troops.

We must take our fate into our own hands. The Byelorussian people must assert their right to full self-determination, and the national minorities their right to national and personal autonomy.

The rights of the nation should be realized by means of a Constituent Assembly convened on democratic principles.

However, even before convening the Constituent Assembly, all power in Byelorussia should belong to the people residing therein.

The Executive Committee of the Council (Rada) of the First All-Byelorussian Congress, supplemented by representatives of the national minorities and fulfilling the goals imposed upon it by the Congress, declares itself to be the Provisional Authority in Byelorussia to govern the land and to convene as soon as possible an All-Byelorussian Constituent Assembly based on universal voting rights for the entire adult population without distinction of nationality, religion, or sex.

The Provisional National Authority in the land, having assumed the tasks of defending and strengthening the revolutionary achievements, will carry out these tasks through the National Secretariat of Byelorussia, which has been established and which, from this date on, has assumed the exercise of its responsibilities. The names of the members of the Secretariat will be published later.

Given in Byelorussian Miensk (Minsk), February 21, 1917.

*The Executive Committee of the Council
of the First All-Byelorussian Congress*

THE SECOND CONSTITUENT CHARTER

During this World War in which some powerful states have been destroyed and others liberated, Byelorussia has awakened to national life. After three and a half centuries of subjugation, the Byelorussian nation again declares to the entire world that it is alive and will remain alive. The Great National Assembly — the All-Byelorussian Congress of December 5—17, 1917, concerned about the fate of Byelorussia, confirmed a republican government with

its territory. Carrying out the will of the Congress and defending the national rights of the people, the Executive Committee of the Council (Rada) of the Congress, decrees the following concerning the political structure of Byelorussia and the rights and freedoms of her citizens and peoples:

1. Byelorussia, within the borders of the numerical majority of the Byelorussian people, is declared to be a Democratic Republic.

2. The fundamental laws of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic will be confirmed by the Constituent Assembly of Byelorussia, convened on the principles of a universal, equal, direct, secret, and proportional voting law without regard to sex, nationality, or religion.

3. Until such time as the Constituent Assembly of Byelorussia convenes, the legislative authority in the Byelorussian Democratic Republic shall belong to the Council of the All-Byelorussian Congress, augmented by representatives of the national minorities of Byelorussia.

4. The executive and administrative authority in the Byelorussian Democratic Republic shall belong to the National Secretariat of Byelorussia which shall be appointed by the Council of the Congress and be responsible thereto.

5. Within the borders of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic freedom of speech, press, assembly, and the right to strike and organize unions are proclaimed; as well as unconditional freedom of conscience, and the inviolability of the individual and of residence.

6. Within the borders of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic all peoples have the right to national and personal autonomy; and equal rights for all the lang-

uages of the peoples of Byelorussia are proclaimed.

7. Within the borders of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic the right to latifundial ownership of land is abolished. The land is to be given over without payment to those who till it. Forests, lakes, and natural resources are declared to be the property of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic.

8. Within the borders of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic a working day of a maximum of eight hours is established.

Proclaiming all these rights and freedoms for the citizens and people of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, we, the Executive Committee of the Council of the Congress pledge to guard the legal order of life in the Republic, ensure the interests of all the citizens and people of the Republic, and preserve the rights and freedoms of the working people. We shall also apply all our strength to convene the Constituent Assembly of Byelorussia in the very near future.

We call on all faithful sons of the Byelorussian land to assist us in our difficult and reponsible labors.

The Executive Committee of the Council of the First All-Byelorussian Congress Given in Byelorussian Miensk (Minsk), March 9, 1918.

THE THIRD CONSTITUENT CHARTER

The Thrid Constituent Charter of the Council (Rada) of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic

One year ago the people of Byelorussia, together with the peoples of the Russian empire, threw off the yoke of Russian tsarism, which had oppressed Byelorussia most of all. It precipitated our land into the conflagration of war which totally destroyed Byelorussian cities and villages. Now we, the Council (Rada) of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, have cast off from

our native land the last vestige of national dependence which the Russian tsars imposed by force upon our free and independent land. From this time on, the Byelorussian Democratic Republic is proclaimed an independent and free state. The people of Byelorussia themselves, under the aegis of their Constituent Assembly, shall determine the future national relations of Byelorussia.

By virtue of this, all former national relations lose their force — relations which made it possible for a foreign government

to sign the Treaty of Brest for Byelorussia, thus destroying the Byelorussian people by partitioning their land.

By virtue of this, the government of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic will establish relations with interested parties by proposing to them a review of that part of the Treaty of Brest which concerns Byelorussia, and the signing of peace treaties with all belligerent states.

The Byelorussian Democratic Republic should include all those lands where the Byelorussian people constitute a numerical majority.

The Byelorussian Democratic Republic

confirms all those rights and freedoms of the citizens and peoples of Byelorussia which were proclaimed by the Constituent Charter of March 9, 1918.

Proclaiming the independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, its Council expresses the hope that all freedom-loving peoples will assist the Byelorussian people to achieve fully their political and national ideals.

*The Council (Rada) of the Byelorussian
Democratic Republic*

Given in Byelorussian Miensk (Minsk)
March 24, 1918.

MANIFESTO TO THE ESTONIAN PEOPLE, FEBRUARY 23, 1918

“Down the centuries, the people of Estonia have yearned to regain their independence. Generation after generation has nursed the hope that after the dark night of servitude and the violent rule of alien nations the time would come “when in every home the torch will flash and flame at both ends” and “when Kalev will return to make his children happy.”

“The rotten structure of Czarist Russia has been demolished in a struggle of nations, the like of which has never been seen before. A destructive anarchy is sweeping the plains of Saumatia, threatening to engulf all the peoples who dwell within the borders of the former Russian State. The victorious German armies are approaching from the West to seize their share of the estate left and to occupy as a first step the countries of the Baltic.”

“In this fateful hour, the Estonian Diet, as the legitimate representative of the country and its people, having made its decision unanimously with the democratic political parties and other organizations, and in accordance with the principle of the selfdetermination of nations, has deemed it necessary to take the following steps to determine the future of the land of Estonia and its people: from this day, *Estonia is declared an independent Republic within its historical and ethnographical boundaries.*” . . .

(The manifesto then detailed the territory of the Republic, stated the principles of government, and proclaimed the neutrality of Estonia in the war between Russia and Germany. It bore the signature of the Committee of Elders of the Diet.) Source: E. Uustalu, *The History of Estonian People*, Boreas Publishing. London, 1952, pp. 158, 159.

TARYBA DECLARES THE INDEPENDENCE OF LITHUANIA

The Lithuanian Taryba, in its session of February 16, 1918, decided unanimously to address the following communication to the government of Russia, Germany, and other states:

The Lithuanian Taryba, as a sole representative of the Lithuanian nation, on the basis of the recognized right of self-determination of nations and of the decision of the Lithuanian Conference of Vilnius, September 18-23, 1917, proclaims the re-establishment of an independent, democratically organized Lithuanian state, with Vilnius as a capital, and the abolition of all political ties which have existed with other nations.

At the same time the Lithuanian Taryba declares that the foundations of the Lithuanian state and its relations with other states must be finally determined by a Constituent Assembly, to be convoked as soon as possible and elected democratically by all the inhabitants.

*Members of the Lithuanian Taryba
Vilnius, February 16, 1918*

PROCLAMATION OF LATVIAN INDEPENDENCE

(E x c e r p t)

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LATVIA, recognizing itself as the only legal supreme body, declares that:

1. Latvia, within the ethnographic borders (of Kurzeme, Vidzeme, Latgale) is a sovereign, democratic-republican State, whose constitution and relation toward other states will be determined by the Constitutional Convention. The latter will be called and conducted in a manner where both genders on equal, proportional ballot will exercise their rights in elections.

2. The National Council of Latvia has founded the highest executive body in Latvia — the Provisional Government of Latvia.

The National Council of Latvia calls on the citizens of Latvia to observe peace and order and to do their utmost to support the Provisional Government of Latvia in its very difficult and responsible work.

*Proclamation signed by: Ulmanis and Zemgals.
Riga, 18 Nov., 1918*

GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

Prof. Vasyl Pliushch

Order from: Press Bureau of ABN, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 München 80

Economic Exploitation Serving Russian Colonialism

The economies of all the union republics in the USSR are constrained in a totalitarian straitjacket, regardless of the needs of their population, to make them so economically dependent on Russia and Russia's industrial development, which is so dependent on the raw resources and markets of the constituent colonial republics, that the *political preservation of the Soviet Russian Colonial Empire will be sealed by an economic colonial interdependence.*

The entire economic life of every non-Russian union republic and consequently of its population is totally subordinated to the interests of the Russian aggressor-state, providing a classic example of a colonial relationship vis-à-vis the Administering Power.

The colonial union republics have no right to enter independently into international commercial relations and conduct foreign trade. The Russian administering power through its centralized All-Union jurisdiction has the sole authority to enunciate economic plans, approve the budgets of the union republics, maintain the management of banks, industrial and agricultural institutions, transport, communication, the credit and monetary system, state insurance, loans, and the legislation of basic laws on land utilization.

In the Russian-dominated colonial republics one finds only those branches of industry which: extract raw materials, such as coal, gas, oil, iron, and other metals; help exploit the raw materials, such as manufacture of mining equipment, freight cars, agricultural machinery, etc; convert the raw materials into their final form.

In these Soviet colonial republics there is little or no production of such products as machine-building equipment, or of textile, chemical and electrical equipment, much less of complex mechanical apparatus, despite the fact that the republic may have

the raw material for their production and especially despite the fact that it needs these products as well. Instead such products are manufactured in distant metropolises in the Russian aggressor-state itself, specifically in the Leningrad and Nechornozemny centers (in six Russian *oblasts* closest to Moscow). These industrial centers, including newly developed industrial areas in the Urals and Siberia, do not possess their own raw materials, yet they are the most developed areas industrially, whose populations enjoy a higher standard of living.

The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet republican colonies provide the markets for the products of the above-mentioned metropolises, which are produced, more often than not, from the very raw materials acquired from the colonies at low cost.

These colonies in the form of Soviet union republics are also a source of cheap labor, whose native population is being reduced to manual labor at a rate vastly disproportionate to the Russians. Furthermore, they constitute regions of colonization for the Russian aggressor-state, whose citizens settle in the most productive areas, work in industry as administrators, technicians, and engineers. This implantation of the Russian element is increasing in number in each colonial republic yearly, particularly in the Baltic republics, Byelorussia and Ukraine, and constitutes the worst form of colonialism, particularly when equally qualified natives are forced to seek employment and settlement outside their native lands in the far reaches of Russia and Siberia.

The non-Russian population of the Soviet Russian Colonial Empire is unremittingly subjected to physical exploitation, assimilation and even destruction by economic as well as political policies. In the past, parallel with the colonization of non-Russian ter-

ritories, the Soviet Russian administering power had resorted to the physical destruction or genocide of the subjugated peoples. The Soviet government's organized and deliberate famine in Ukraine in 1933, resulting in the death of at least six million Ukrainians, was dictated by economic policies serving the political aims of a foreign

imperial administering power. The millions of non-Russians physically deported and obliterated in Soviet Russian slave-labor camps further illustrates the parallel application of economics and politics, symbolized by such monuments of death as the city of Norilsk, whose sole aim is to strengthen the controls of the administering power.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHERS DEFEND PRONIUK, LISOVY AND BONDAR

WASHINGTON, D.C. — *The American Philosophical Association unanimously adopted a resolution in defense of three Ukrainian philosophers, Yevhen Proniuk, Vasyl Lisovy and Mykola Bondar, at the organization's annual meeting held here in late December 1977.*

The resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved: that a letter be sent on behalf of the Eastern Division of the APA to Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, as follows:

"We, the members of the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association, are deeply disturbed by the fate of our Soviet colleagues Yevhen Proniuk, Vasyl Lisovy and Mykola Bondar.

"In May 1971, Bondar was sentenced to seven years in a strict regime camp. His sentence constituted a denial of the basic right of free speech. In prison he has protested repeatedly against the mistreatment to which he is subjected.

"In December 1973, Proniuk and Lisovy were sentenced to seven years in a strict regime camp and to several years' exile from their country for merely composing a letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU and to some prominent Soviet citizens which was critical of the Party's policies and of arrests in Ukraine. Their investigations and trials departed from the legal norms of the USSR. Their sentences constituted a denial of the basic right of free speech. In prison Proniuk and Lisovy are treated in an arbitrary and brutal manner. Their health is seriously impaired and their very survival is in danger.

"We call upon you in the name of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as in the interest of the humanitarian treatment of colleagues who are suffering harsh and unwarranted punishments, to review their cases, revoke their sentences, and release them from detention."

A letter in this regard was sent to Mr. Brezhnev by Prof. Kurt Baier, president of the Eastern Division of the APA.

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of

VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
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Croatian Suffered Nightmare

Mirko Vidovic is touring the United States. His visit is partly sponsored by Amnesty International, the Nobel prize-winning organization that works for human rights, and partly by the Croatian Information Service.

The Croatian people, Vidovic says, are among the most oppressed in the world. The Croatian language, which has been around more than 1,000 years, can no longer be called the Croatian language in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian government has shut down the Croatian literary magazine. The oldest Croatian cultural organization has been banned. The nation of Croatia, nearly 1,300 years old, has been engulfed and enslaved. And protesters, dissidents, Vidovic says, are routinely thrown into Yugoslavian jails, where they are tortured and beaten and deprived of fundamental human rights.

Vidovic knows this to be true because he lived it. The Yugoslavia he knows is a little different from the one we read about in the travel brochures.

"Wherever one looks, there are vivid reminders of the Greek, Roman, Ottoman, Slavic, Celtic, and Macedonian empires. A treasure chest of temples, mosques, minarets, fortresses, fountains, cathedrals and coliseums, painstakingly preserved through the ages..."

Mirko Vidovic was born and raised in Livno, Croatia, in and among the treasure chest of temples and mosques that is Yugoslavia. Eventually, he left Croatia in 1965, when he was 25, for Lyon, where he works as a writer and translator. But he never forgets Croatia.

He is Croatian, and an intellectual, and a poet, and a journalist, and first and foremost a believer in the dignity and freedom of the individual, and that combination of interests did not make him a favourite son

of the Yugoslavian government. It is Marxist; he is humanist.

In 1965, Vidovic published some articles in a Croatian newspaper that, he says, showed clearly that the Croatian community was being systematically destroyed. "Work done at the University in Zagreb showed that during the war there were 260,000 Croatian casualties and that after the war, 760,000 Croats disappeared. Whole villages vanished", he says.

"The secret police said I was printing secret information and insisted that I leave the country."

But even in Lyon, even after the French had given him political asylum and declared him a French citizen, even then he continued to write. Vidovic believes that man ennobles himself only so long as he is completely aware of his own distinctiveness. These ideas, of individuality, of freedom, are not part of the Yugoslavian education system, Vidovic says.

"Culturally, Yugoslavia boasts more than 300 museums, 1,400 scientific and technical libraries, and 12 permanent opera companies and philharmonic orchestras, in addition to the dozens which perform during its year-round festivals. Colonies of artists, actors, writers, musicians, and dancers further testify to the country's cultural richness..."

In 1970, Vidovic published a book of poems called "Temple of Hope." "There are 100 poems in the collection," he says, "and only one of them ("The March of the Croatian Legionnaires") spoke of the need to awaken feelings for an independent Croatia. I am not a political person", he says. "My work has always been literary in nature. Once I left Yugoslavia, I did not expect to encounter any more problems."

He was wrong. In 1971, Vidovic received word that his mother was sick and dying, at home in Croatia. He went to

see her, and just before he left to return to his home, in France, he got a call from an old school friend. "He asked if I would meet him and bring him my collection of poems. I didn't know at the time that my friend had become the son-in-law of a Yugoslavian secret policeman." Vidovic met his friend, was arrested, and thrown in jail.

"Diversity. That is the word for this land. And it's evident in the makeup of the country itself. Yugoslavia is comprised of six republics, each of which has its own distinctive folkways, food, and fine wine. So whether you happen to be visiting Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, or Bosnia Hercegovina, you will never be wanting for wonderful experiences for your eyes, ears, memory, or palate..."

Vidovic remembers his two-day trial as if it were a nightmare — it was awful, bizarre, gruesomely real and unreal all at the same time. "My old friend was the main witness against me," he says, "but he didn't appear at the trial. He sent in a written account of what happened. And his father-in-law sat on the jury."

Vidovic received a four-year sentence. He was given one year for writing the book of poems, and three additional years for bringing it into Yugoslavia. His lawyer argued that the book was already in Yugoslavia, that it was readily available at the library of the University in Zagreb, but the argument did not matter. "Nothing seemed to matter," Vidovic says. "The fact that I was a French citizen meant nothing. It was really unbelievable. I had lived for six years in a free country, in France, and I could not believe this was really happening to me. I saw the judge after a few days and he said they were making an example out of me for other intellectuals."

Vidovic ended up spending five years and two months in Yugoslavian prisons. Since Yugoslavia does not segregate its

political prisoners — the government admits to 1,800 and Vidovic says the real figure is close to 2,000 — Vidovic was thrown in with murderers, rapists, and assorted thugs who, he said, scored points with prison officials for beating up the intellectuals.

At one point, a few months after his arrest, Vidovic was given a chance to score some points with prison officials. They wanted him to testify against some Croatian intellectuals who had been arrested, but Vidovic refused. He was told his sentence would be doubled, but he still refused. There was a second trial in 1973 and Vidovic was given an additional 3½ years in prison. "His sentence has been increased after he apparently had refused to give evidence against other prisoners", Amnesty International's official report says. It did not say that he was then thrown into solitary confinement for six months.

"It had been bad before," Vidovic says, almost dispassionately, "but this was worse. A tiny space. No books. No bath. No exercise. They beat me twice. I could not see outside; the windows were painted over. I had a large tin can for a toilet and I was allowed to empty it once a week. I was living in a septic swamp."

"There's no question that Yugoslavia is the stuff that vacation dreams are made of. But it takes more than a great destination to make a great vacation..."

For five years, Vidovic endured. His wife could only visit him for 20 minutes once a month, and she made the 2,500-mile trip from Paris to Croatia 49 times. He was sick, he was beaten, he was cold. He feared the murderers would get him. For 66 days, he and some dissident friends went on a hunger strike. Eventually, word got out and the Amnesty International people came in and after much diplomatic maneuvering and international human rights pressure, Vidovic was released from prison.

And now to nobody's surprise, he has written a book about his experience. The whole nightmare is relived in his book "The Other Side of the Moon". His book, the first exposé of Yugoslavian prison conditions, was written in French, has been translated into Croatian, and soon should be available in English.

"All this beauty . . . all this historic and

cultural diversity . . . in a country which welcomes its visitors with a warmth and graciousness you may have thought no longer existed. And where you still get great value for your travel dollar . . ."

Marilynn Preston

*"Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska",
Toronto, Canada, March 1978.*

Four-star General Faithful to Ukrainian Heritage

Following are excerpts from a speech given by General S. Jaskilka, assistant commandant of the United States Marine Corps, on the occasion of the 60th Ukrainian Independence Celebration, Detroit, Michigan, January 22, 1978.

Dr. Zukowsky, distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. Last summer when Dr. Zukowsky invited me to speak before you I must confess I had precious little information on the Ukrainian Independence Movement. To be sure, my mother told me lots of stories about it when I was a boy. Meanwhile, I became totally engrossed in my Marine Corps career and all those stories my mother told me about Ukraine were dimmed in my mind with the passage of time.

Recently, Dr. Zukowsky kindly sent me a good deal of written material. It sparked great interest and reminded me that the stories my mother told me in her own way were more formally stated in the excellent material sent to me. It is quite a story. It's one of which you are all proud or else you wouldn't be here. Indeed, it is a story of which all Americans are proud, as witnessed by the several statements entered into the congressional record in recent years, on the occasion of the anniversaries of Ukrainian Independence.

Now, I know that I need not instruct you on the history of the great Ukrainian people, except to note that their's is one of

the great struggle for freedom in all of mankind. That history tells the story of brave and independent people who wish to be left alone, to be free of foreign dominance, a people who wish to pursue their own language, culture, religion, music and all those things that civilized people the world over cherish.

The story of their struggle for independence in the 1917—1921 time era during which the national Ukrainian Republic was created and later subjugated by the USSR is especially moving.

As a boy I remember reading about some seven-million Ukrainians who were starved because they resisted their Russian masters. To this day, Ukrainians resist, and Ukrainians all over the world remind their fellow citizens that full human rights are not available to those who live in Ukraine. These facts and more are only too well known to you who continue by your diligent and persistent efforts to remind the world that back in Ukraine, are some forty-eight million people who do not enjoy the human rights and the freedom and independence that we enjoy in the United States and in other Western countries.

On this occasion, I would ask that you would permit me to share with you some of my innermost thoughts on being the son of Ukrainian emigrants, again, this may be nothing new to you but I would like to

give living testimony to what it has meant to me personally.

I grew up in a small milltown in Connecticut. For three years in my elementary school days I attended a Ukrainian school after public school classes were dismissed. It was then that I learned some of the language, and some of the customs, and something about the nature of Ukrainian people. I must confess that my linguistic ability has been lost due to forty years of no use at all. However, I always remember with great affection my Ukrainian teachers and people of my generation who attended the Ukrainian schools part-time with me. They are good people and as some of Dr. Zukowsky's literature so proudly states thousands of us have served the United States well in its armed forces. I think of them as kind and honest people, peace-loving and law abiding but ferocious when their freedom is challenged or their human rights violated. In short, I am very proud to call myself an American of Ukrainian descent.

As a general officer in the marine corps, make frequent public appearances, the most common question asked of me is, "what kind of a name is that?" and of course, I am proud to tell them where my parents came from.

Recently, the Polish American veterans wrote me a letter claiming me as an American of Polish extraction. I assure you it took a long time to convince them that my parents came from Ukraine.

I believe that you serve a very real purpose to mankind by constantly reminding the American public and the world of the need for full human rights of Ukrainian people and others. Surely you must be encouraged by the stand President Carter has taken in this respect. I could not help but note that when our president first announced his stand on human rights, the loudest protests came from the governments in those countries whose political way of life does not provide full human rights to all its citizens.

In my career I have travelled to many lands and fought in three wars. Despite the different languages, cultures, and histories, it has been my experience that people the world over treasure freedom and independence as much as life itself, because of this basic fact, I sincerely believe that somewhere in the course of time — somehow — full human rights, freedom, and independence will surely be restored to the people of Ukraine and to the several other peoples of the world who long for it.

REVOLUTIONARY ATMOSPHERE IN LITHUANIA

On the 10th of October, 1977, a soccer match between Smolensk (Russian) and Vilnius (Lithuanian) was held on the local sports ground in Vilnius. During the match crowds began shouting Lithuanian nationalistic and anti-Russian slogans, which were picked up briefly on the local television before live coverage of the match was abruptly cut off.

The crowds then poured out into the streets and set fire to militia and other government cars, overturned them, broke windows and pulled down communist

placards. This type of political rioting lasted until midnight.

Local militia and KGB units tried to break up the disturbances, but were unsuccessful. Many individuals were arrested on the spot but the crowds succeeded in freeing some of their arrested compatriots.

Next morning Red Army units patrolled the main streets of Vilnius and prohibited any gathering of people on the streets. Similar types of political resistance are a continuing occurrence since the Soviet-Russian occupation of Lithuania in 1944.

Latvia and Latvian Soldiers

The history of Latvian people and Latvian warriors dates back to 2,000 B.C. when the Baltic or *Aistian* peoples settled along the Baltic Sea in the territories of present day Latvia, Lithuania and East Prussia. The Latvian tribes, a branch of the Indo-Europeans, had to fight from time immemorial as did the other Baltic tribes, against Slavs, Vikings, Teutons, Poles, Swedes, Germans and Russians. Latvians and Estonians (the latter, like the Finns, belong to the Finnish-Ugrian group of peoples who settled along the coast of the Baltic Sea about 2,500 B.C.) fell under foreign yoke from the 13th to the 14th century A.D. and the Old Prussians in the flow of centuries were extinguished by the Teutons. Lithuania was a large and proud nation at the time of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 13th till 16th century, but she too had to submit to the Poles and Russians in later centuries. Latvia and Estonia underwent almost the same fate of being under foreign occupation from the 13th century till the year 1918.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania proclaimed their independence as Republics in 1918. Heavy battles were fought and many sacrifices were made by their soldiers during their War of Liberation against Soviet Russians and Germans from 1918 to 1920.

Described are the Latvian soldiers and their famous battles and heroism during the years 1915-1945, because only during this time did Latvians fight in separate national units and have their own national armed forces.

During World War I, when the German Army in 1914—1915 penetrated the Russian armed forces and invaded (through then occupied Lithuania,) the territory of Latvia, Latvians on July 19, 1915 got approval from the Supreme Commander

of the Russian Armed forces to form Latvian Battalions and later Regiments to fight the intruding German Army in Latvia. The Latvian Rifle Battalion and Regiments were formed from Latvians who fought their heavy and famous battles in the Northern part of Latvia along the Daugava River and Lielupe River from 1915 till 1917, when they had to retreat from Latvia because of the weak Russian Command and the declining morale of the fighting Russian soldiers. Even the German Army recognized the fighting spirit of Latvian Rifle Regiments as the Eight Stars of Latvia (the eight Latvian Rifle Regiments). The Latvian Rifle Regiments had their own badge and the official Latvian red-white-red striped flag was designed and approved by the Rifle Regiments in 1916. The heroism of the Latvian Riflemen in defending their homeland against invading Germans is a part of history, not only of the Latvians, but of the world history in World War I, 1914—1918.

Germans occupied Latvia at the end of 1917, and Estonia in 1918. In 1918 during the German occupation, Estonia and Lithuania proclaimed their own independence against the will of German occupants and the new-formed Soviet Russian government. Latvia was the last to proclaim her independence, a week after the end of the World War I, on November 18, 1918. Under difficult circumstances the Latvian formations were built in December 1918, but after the treacherous invasion of the territory of Latvia, by the Red Army, they had to retreat behind the Venta River in Western Latvia, where the German-Latvian Army held a front against the Soviet Russians. The Latvians found temporary allies in some German forces, but in some instances, later had to fight them also. On March 3, 1919 the German-Latvian counterattack

started against the Red Army in the territory of Latvia, but the Latvian Army fought the Soviets alone from June, 1919 till the end of the War of Liberation in 1920. The Latvian Army also had to fight some German units at Cesis (a city in Eastern Latvia) and Riga (the capital of Latvia), and Bermond-Avalov's Russian-German Army in Middle and Western Latvia in 1919. The War of Liberation lasted from December 1918 till August 1920, when a peace treaty with Soviet Russia was concluded. Help to fight the Russian Red Army was given also by Estonian soldiers, and later by Lithuanian and Polish soldiers in the Eastern territory of Latvia. The heroism and love of their country was deeply embedded in the hearts of Latvian soldiers and their battles and suffering is described in the history of the Latvian War of Liberation 1918—20.

The spirit of nationalism and strength of Latvian soldiers in the Latvian National Armed Forces after the War of Liberation from 1920—1940 during the independence of Latvia is also known to all Latvian people and their neighbours: Estonia, Lithuania and Poland.

In June, 1940, during World War II Russian armed forces brutally occupied Latvia (also Estonia and Lithuania). Red terror, murder, torture and mass deportations of Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians continued from June 17, 1940 until July 1941. During this first Soviet occupation of Latvia, 1940—1941, soldiers from the Latvian National Armed Forces were forcibly transferred by the Russian occupants to the newly established Soviet Latvian Territorial Corps. Many of these national-minded Latvian soldiers (because of the German Army's attack in June, 1941,) were executed along with many civilians by Soviet Russians before the Soviet retreat from Latvia. The German occupation of Latvia began July 1941 and many Latvian volunteers joined the German Army to fight the hated Soviets and revenge the mur-

ders and deportation of Latvian people and the destruction of their native land. On February 8, 1943 the Latvian Legion started to form in accordance with the order of the German Chief. Many volunteers, also mobilized men, joined the Latvian Legion; two divisions were formed which fought the Red Army in Russia, East of Latvia, in Latvia and Eastern Germany. The Latvian Legionnaires and the German Army held the small westernmost corner of Latvia, known as the "Fortress of Kurland" (Kurzeme, in Latvian, is the western district of Latvia), until the German Capitulation on May 8, 1945 when the defenders of this "island" had to capitulate according to capitulation orders. The heroic resistance to savage Soviet Russian attacks in the Fortress of Kurland is known to historians and is dear to Latvian people. About 14,000 Latvian legionnaires were captured, murdered or shipped to Soviet Russian slave labour camps in Siberia. One division of the Latvian Legion fought in Western Prussia against Soviets in 1945, retreated to West Germany and surrendered to Allied forces. A part of the Latvian Legionnaires fell into the hands of the Red Army; their fate was terrible. The same terrible fate befell the Latvian legionnaires who fled to Sweden and were later delivered to the Soviet Union by the Swedish Government. The Latvian Legion is now in the history of World War II, known very well by Russians who suffered heavy defeats and many casualties by the Latvian Legion from 1943 till 1945.

The brutal Soviet Russian occupation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania with its terror and genocide against the Baltic Peoples started again in 1944—45 and continues until today. Together with Estonian and Lithuanian partisans many Latvian soldiers managed to hide in the woods and to harass the Soviet occupation forces in guerrilla warfare in Latvia and other Baltic States for many years after the end of World War II. The Latvian Legion found its place in

the history of World War II with their heroic deeds for their homeland, Latvia.

Many Latvian soldiers and civilians escaped from the Red terror to the free world, about 120,000 Latvians live in exile in the free world. Most of the Latvians are to be found in the United States of America, Canada, England, Australia, Germany, Sweden and many other countries of the free world.

But old soldiers never die, they live in history and in the hearts of their people. Also Latvian soldiers and their deeds are not forgotten by enslaved Latvians at home and by free Latvians in exile.

The story of Latvian soldiers ends for a while in the flow of the occupation years, but once again Latvia will be independent and her people free. Latvian soldiers and partisans will fight the Soviet Russian occupants and expel them from their land as they did in the years 1918—1920 in the War of Liberation.

But now let us all, believers in God and freedom, in the whole world, join the Holy War against Communism and continue it with God's help until all the godless and brutal communist regimes are liquidated and Captive Nations freed from Communist slavery.

LEV LUKIANENKO ARRESTED

Lev Lukianenko, a member of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was arrested by the KGB in his home in the city of Chernihiv, (Ukraine) Dec. 12, 1977.

Lukianenko's arrest came some 19 months after he was released from a 15-year prison sentence for belonging to the so-called "jurists", a group of Ukrainian lawyers who were tried in 1961 for calling for the secession of Ukraine from the USSR.

Craig Whitney of The New York Times, writing about the arrest, quoted Oksana Meshko, a member of the group: "The situation for us in Ukraine is critical".

UCIS reported that the secret police conducted a 16-hour search of Lukianenko's apartment from 7:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. before arresting him.

Lukianenko's arrest raises to five, the number of Ukrainian Helsinki monitors to be arrested since the group's formation late in 1976. Others arrested include Mykola Rudenko, group leader, Oleksa Tykhy, Mykola Matusych and Myroslav Marynovych.

At the time of Lukianenko's arrest, the KGB also searched the apartments of his brother and his 1961 co-defendant, Ivan Kandyba, who lives in Pustomyty, a village on the outskirts of Lviv. He was also released from imprisonment with Lukianenko in the spring of 1976.

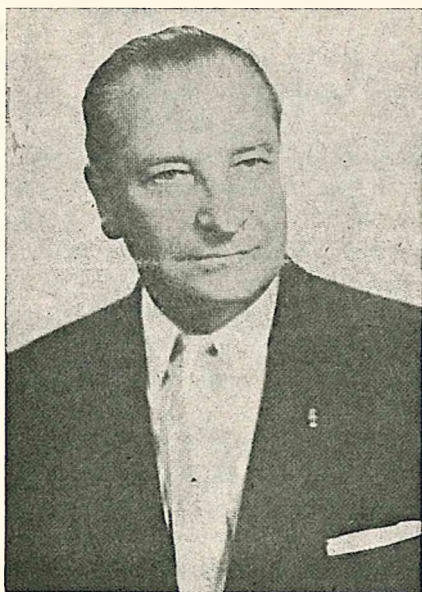
Oles Berdnyk, the current chairman of the group was also arrested December 12th and confined for 15 days of interrogation.

On Thursday, December 8, the secret police ransacked the living quarters of Petro Vins, Georgi Vins' son, a member of the Kyiv group.

P. Vins was newly arrested February 15, 1978 for the second time within the last 3 months, and is being threatened with a 2-year prison sentence.

President of the ABN Peoples' Council Dies

ALFRED BERZINS



A great Latvian patriot and politician is no longer with us. His loyal heart stopped on November 30, 1977 in New York, far away from his homeland, but in the middle of an extensive and very strenuous lecture tour.

Alfred Berzins, born in 1899, was the only living Minister of Latvia's last government. In 1940, while Latvia was already under Russian occupation Berzins managed to escape. In 1941 en route from Switzerland to Sweden, he was arrested in Berlin and spent the next 34 months in the Nazi concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. There he met Dr. Yaroslav Stetsko. Mutual friendship developed based on common purpose which in the post war years transformed into

closest ties between Munich and New York.

His whole life, from the age of 20 when he joined the Latvian Liberation army, to his last lecture delivered in Lincoln was one continuous process of serving his nation. He was an excellent speaker and possessed a remarkable capacity for work, but above all he remained consistent. No political, social or material pressures, comforts and temptations could divert his main aim — a free Latvia.

Berzins will also be remembered for his many published books, in particular: "The Unpunished Crime", "I Saw Vishinsky Bolshevize Latvia" and "The Two Faces of Coexistence".

Apart from being the editor of the *Baltic Review*, he held various executive posts in the Committee for a Free Latvia, American Latvian Association, Assembly of European Captive Nations and the Latvian World Federation. For many years, Alfreds Berzins also served as President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Peoples' Council.

How better to end this obituary than to quote from his own book "The Unpunished Crime":

"Time and time again the communist oppressed nations have come to see that the free world seems blind and deaf to the crimes committed against them by the Soviet Union. Still, these nations keep hoping that this indifference will end and that the Western

nations will come to the understanding that the struggle for world freedom must eventually be aimed at the extermination of the Communist plot which, itself, is aimed at the destruction of world freedom.”

T. Zarínš

FREEDOM DAY CELEBRATED IN NATIONAL CHINA

The “Freedom Day” Movement started when 22,000 ex-Communist POWs of the Korean War, more than 14,000 of them Chinese, regained freedom on January 23, 1954 after persistently resisting Red efforts to bring them back to Communism. WACL, as you may recall, decided in 1968 to observe January 23 as “World Freedom Day” so as to enhance human dignity and encourage struggle for freedom on a global scale. Another WACL resolution on how to mark the day was adopted the following year. The China Chapter has since acted accordingly without interruption.

The theme for this year’s observance — “Freedom Forces Unite! Overthrow Communist Tyranny!” — has been taken as an order for active execution. Our undertakings in the January 18-25 period included four lecture meetings (attended by a total of more than 10,000 people), five forums, numerous prayer meetings by various religious bodies, and rallies in all the major Taiwan cities, including the World Freedom Day Rally of the Republic of China (ROC) in Taipei on January 23 that was attended by 3,000 representatives from all walks of life, and the Rally for Strength and Progress in the central Taiwan city of Taichung the following day that had 100,000 participants.

Much significance was added to these events by the presence of 65 freedom-fighter visitors from 24 countries — Australia, Brazil, (Free) Cambodia, Canada, France, Germany, Holland, India, Indonesia, Japan, Jordan, Republic of Korea, Lesotho, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway,

Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Swaziland, Thailand, Turkey and U.S.A. — and one territory (Hongkong). They included parliamentarians, political party leaders, professors and youth leaders. These guests spoke on many occasions and pledged further unremitting endeavor. Calls and field trips by them covered some 15 offices and installations.

President Yen Chia-kan of the Republic of China addressed the Taipei rally. The Taichung rally, also presided over by me, featured colorful morale-boosting programs. The latter event was put on tape and condensed into a 60-minute program for joint broadcast by Taiwan’s three TV networks the following day. All the other mass media of this nation also cooperated well for widest possible dissemination of messages.

Other speakers included Former U.S. Senator George Murphy, Speaker John T. Kolane of Lesotho’s National Assembly, Vice President Marten Schakel of the Netherlands Parliament, Parliamentarian Jorge Vargas from Brazil, Rector Abdul Aziz Al-Fadda of Saudi Arabia’s University of Riyadh, Hon. Masaaki Nakayama of Japan’s House of Representatives, Canadian Parliamentarian Otto Jelinek, West Germany Parliamentarian Ursula Krone, and Vice President Sabit Osman Avci of President, WACL/APACL China Chapter Turkey’s Justice Party.

Sincerely yours,

*Ku Cheng-kang, LL. D.
Honorary Chairman, WACL
Chairman, WACL & APACL Councils*

News and Views

Philip Green (Australia)

DAY OF SADNESS AND SHAME

In the time when millions of people subjugated by Soviet Russia still live in misery and fear of persecution, the Moscow Embassy in Canberra staged a celebration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. In the celebration many foreign diplomats, including those from Red China, took part. Also present were members of the Australian government and opposition.

While the Soviet-Russians entertained their guests about 300 people, mainly members of the subjugated nations, demonstrated outside the Rex Hotel against the USSR oppression, slavery, and denial of human rights to subjugated peoples. Many protesters were holding national flags and anti-communist posters which warned Australians of the communist danger to this country.

Mr. Wentworth, member for Mackellar (Ind.) in his address to the demonstrators, bystanders and some of the guests who for some reason were leaving the celebration after a short while said:

"This function reminds me of the dinner of the pigs in the novel 'Animal Farm'."

The second speaker, Mr. Douglas Darby, M.L.A., president of Captive Nations and President of the Australia-Free China Society, in his address summarized the following:

"The 60th anniversary of the October Revolution is a day of sadness and shame.

Sadness, because of 60 years of tyranny, genocide, torture and murder."

Mr. Darby spoke about the expansion of the Soviet Russian Empire and "the vicious exploitation not only of the captive nations within the Soviet Union, but also of its satellites, East Germany, Poland,

Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. During this period, communism has deceived the Western World from the betrayal at Yalta, to the doctrine of co-existence and now, detente."

"In Australia the Communist influence is widespread. Many teachers in our schools and in our universities indoctrinate our young people with the so-called virtues and inevitability of communism."

"The shame of communism falls upon our heads, for, since World War II, we have stood idly by on the sidelines while Communism has conquered nation after nation."

"Communists are active in Australia only because they plan to conquer us also."

"After World War II, we offered our freedom to over a quarter of a million refugees from Communist dominated Europe. Should we leave demonstrations against Communist Russian Imperialism to the Ukrainians, Poles, Baltic People, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, and Byelorussians?"

Further in his address Mr. Darby stated that "if Communism had been any good, its empire would not be a gigantic prison".

Mr. Darby continued as follows: "I challenge all Australians on this day of sadness and shame, to resolve to reject Communism, and to tell the Soviet-Russians here that we will have nothing to do with them and that their evil empire is doomed. When, and when only, the day comes when Communism collapses and the Captive Nations are free, can we have peace in the world".

Mrs. Darby in her address urged all members of the subjugated nations to make themselves heard by joining Australian political parties.

A member of the younger Ukrainian generation in Queanbeyan, Mr. B. Lytwynskyj, in his address said that he was disgusted to listen to Communist propaganda in Australia. He had never seen communism himself but his parents had, and in spite of that, Australians do not take any notice of the witnesses who have seen that horrible system. He believes his parents because they were victims of that system. He also expressed his dismay and disappointment because not all members of the Captive Nations took part in this demonstration.

Mr. Kavunenko, President of the Union for Freedom for Ukraine, in his address stated that as long as communism exists there will be no free nation in the world.

Deserving of special commendation was Bill Hutchinson, President of Citizens for Freedom, for the way he had conducted the demonstration and introduced all speakers and for preparation of the resolution which was unanimously accepted by the demonstrators and later sent to the United Nations.

A very interesting event took place at this demonstration. When the National T. V. Channel 7 (seven) for some reason, in spite of promising to do so, did not cover the demonstration, the participants decided to march to the T.V. station and take the message to them personally. As a result of that, next day on the evening news the station gave some publicity. The demonstration was covered by different radio stations and the local newspaper — The Canberra Times.

After the demonstration the participants moved to the Ukrainian Club in Queanbeyan where, after refreshments Mr. and Mrs. Wentworth, Mr. and Mrs. Darby, and the Editor of "News Digest — International", Mr. J. P. Kedys were decorated with the medal of the Ukrainian National poet laureate Taras Shevchenko — fighter for freedom of all peoples — and with the citation for an outstanding contribution to the cause of freedom in the world at large, by the President of the Union for Freedom of Ukraine, Mr. O. Kavunenko.

(News Digest No 4—57)

FROM THE CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN LITHUANIA

On Easter the municipal authorities of the city of Šiauliai gave permission for the ringing of the bells of St. Peter and Paul's church after a 20-year long silence.

At the celebration of the anniversary of Archbishop Jurgis Matulevicius in January 1977, the main service was celebrated by the exiled bishop of Kaišiadorys, V. Sladkevičius. During a similar anniversary several years ago, even registered priests had to celebrate the Holy Mass in the vestry of the Marijampole church.

Lithuanian Catholics are not allowed to publish religious literature that would acquaint the believers with the main dogmas of faith. During the 30 post-war years, for

instance, the leadership of the Catholic Church in Lithuania has been pleading in vain for permission by the Soviet government to print a catechism. The Soviet government sees the catechism as an extremely dangerous book, because it would be read by children and students who must be kept in complete ignorance about religion.

The Soviet government has increased the enrollment in the Theological Seminary . . . But at the same time it has stepped up its efforts to mutilate the young seminarians spiritually. The KGB efforts to enlist the seminarians as spies and traitors are sufficient indication of the Soviet government's goodwill — be a priest but help the

atheists to wreck the Church! We must wonder and thank God's Providence that, despite these terrible efforts of the KGB, the seminary still graduates so many good priests . . .

The easing of the persecution of the Church did not do much harm to the atheistic government. First of all, many priests and believers, inured to a long-year persecution, were not able to comprehend the present situation and are not trying to fight to regain the lost positions: to publicly teach catechism to the children, to ring the bells, to visit the believers during the Christmas period, to try to attract the young to an active participation in religious rituals, etc. There are still priests in Lithuania who are afraid to allow children to assist at the Mass, or to participate in processions, e. g. in the St. Anthony's church in Kaunas, in the churches of Siauliai. Some priests today inform the authorities about religious festivities and even about retreats, and ask them to allow the visit of several priests. Other priests fail to take advantage of such means of pastoral work that are not forbidden by the atheist government. In the church of Resurrection in Kaunas, for

instance, no sermons are given on Sunday evenings, although these services attract many believers. There are rectors who do not deliver sermons during funerals and do not allow their vicars to give them. The curiae of the diocese show little interest in such things and do not warn the laggards.

The majority of the believers, especially the intelligentsia are chained by fear, and refrain from practising their faith publicly, educating their children in a serious Catholic way, and are stooping before lies.

There is no doubt that the "goodwill" of the Soviet government would vanish instantly, if the priests and believers would make a serious effort to revitalize the religious life. Wherever students begin to attend church actively, the parishes in which they live come under pressure.

. . . We urge all priests and believers to free themselves from fear and to fight for the right to believe and live freely . . .

We ask the governments of all nations to follow the example of James Carter, President of the United States, and to constantly remind the government of the Soviet Union that it properly respect the rights of the citizens.

Memo From Kyiv

Kyiv Helsinki Group Releases Memorandum No. 18 on Discrimination Against Ukrainians

In its latest memorandum, the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords scored the Soviet Russian government for discriminating against Ukrainians and other non-Russians in its emigration policies.

The Ukrainian Helsinki monitors wrote in their Memorandum No. 18 that while the Soviet Russian government allows Soviet Jews and Russian dissidents to emigrate to the West, Ukrainians and non-Russians are oftentimes incarcerated for their attempts to leave the USSR.

"The Soviet government signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords. Both of these famous documents guarantee the right to emigrate for all people, without regard to their national origin, but the leaders of the USSR approach emigration from a different standpoint, based on national origin," said the Kyiv group members.

They said that they were "most outraged" by the fact that discrimination is based on nationality and, according to them, "not one non-Russian free-thinker

was given permission to leave the Soviet Union.”

Memorandum No. 18 was written sometime last fall and was signed by Oles Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Lev Lukianenko, Oksana Meshko, V. Striltsiv, and Nina Strokata.

The Kyiv group members theorized that non-Russians are not allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union because the Kremlin does not want them to spoil the myth about the USSR which the government has created over the past 60 years.

In citing examples of discrimination against Ukrainians, the Kyiv group members interestingly enough wrote that “not one Ukrainian has been given permission to emigrate for permanent residency beyond the Soviet borders.” No mention was made in Memorandum No. 18 about the arrival of former Ukrainian dissident, Leonid Pliushch, in the West in January 1976.

Among Ukrainians who have declared their desire to emigrate, but have not received permission, the Ukrainian Helsinki monitors listed: Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Yevhen Hrytsiak, Oles Berdnyk, Nadia Svitlychna, Nina Strokata, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukianenko, Volodymyr Zatvarsky, Hryhoriy Prokopovych, Pavlo Kampov, Mykhaylo Lutsyk, Yosyp Terelya, Vasyl Ovsienko, Vadym Smotyhel, Apoloniy Berniychuk, Oleksa Murzhenko, Vasyl Fedorenko, Yuriy Dziuba, Yuriy Shukhe-

vych, Ivan Svitlychny, Vasyl Romaniuk, Dmytro Basarab, Dmytro Verholiak, Oleksander Serhiyenko, Hryhoriy Herchak, Volodymyr Vasylyk, Zinoviyy Krasivsky, Ivan Shovkovy and Andriy Turyk.

The Kyiv group members gave several examples where Jewish or Russian dissidents have been allowed to settle in the West, while Ukrainians, such as Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Mykola Matuskevych, Myroslav Marynovych and Heli Snehiriov have been arrested and sentenced.

They explain that Russian dissidents are struggling for civil rights, while Ukrainian dissidents are concerned with that “plus our national question.” The Ukrainian human rights advocates went on to write that this added concern in Ukraine threatens to destroy the Soviet myth about its solution to the nationality problem. The emigration of Ukrainian leaders to the West, they wrote, would acquaint the free world with the problems in Ukraine, and the Kremlin fears this.

The Kyiv group members believe that true peace in Europe can be achieved “through just treatment of human beings, including respect for the right to emigrate.”

The Kyiv Helsinki watchers requested the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to review discrimination against Ukrainians in emigration so that the Soviet government will justly resolve this problem.

TRIED FOR LITERARY AND ART WORKS

Mykhaylo Osadchy, arrested in 1972 and sentenced to seven years of camps and three years of exile wrote a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in which he demands his release and rehabilitation. Below is the said document circulating in the *samvydav*:

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the USSR
Citizen Chairman:

According to the decree of February 8, 1977, I, have been convicted without proof of guilt and have served over three-quarters of an unfounded penalty based on political motives, or putting it more simply, for literary and art works, can be released and assigned to forced labor according to a decision of the KGB and under their supervision. I shall not have the right to travel and shall be deprived of civil rights. I shall

be surrounded by KGB informants everywhere.

I am also being threatened with the fact that I shall be forcefully sent to the city of Sumy.

In connection with the situation which has developed, I declare: I have not engaged in anti-Soviet activity and have no intention of engaging in it. I have been convicted not for anti-Soviet activity as maintained by the officials . . . but for the publication in the West of a creative novel, *The Cataract*; convicted without any legal motives. This is an act of arbitrariness which, by its cynicism equals perhaps the punishment of Radishchev and Shevchenko. Even the greatest executioner, Stalin, did not persecute directly for artistic creativity. While already serving my sentence, my family and I were subjected to persecution, as the result of which my mother and I were beaten and my brother, Volodymyr Osadchy, 33, was murdered at Sumy on April 5, 1975.

The possibility of sending me to Sumy by force, 900 km. from my family (wife and two children), isolation from friends and

environment is an obvious hint that, at any given moment, the fate of my brother can also become my fate. I, just as my brother, could be killed by criminals, and just the same, no investigation will be conducted, nor will it be ascertained what higher authority incited the criminals to commit an unpunished murder.

Citizen Chairman,

Your decree of February 8, 1977 is not directed toward the humanization of the penal system of our country. It is an instrument of more refined methods of terror, persecution and violence of the Soviet creative intelligentsia. Save me from a murderous act. I need rehabilitation, and only rehabilitation, not a conditional release with obvious supervision and forced labor.

Mykhaylo Osadchyi,
repressed Ukrainian writer

SUICIDES IN LITHUANIA

" . . . There were 1002 suicides in Lithuania in 1974, 1001 — in 1975 . . . Nobody writes sociological studies about them . . . and even the statistics are kept secret . . ."

Freedom Fighters Plead For Rev. Romaniuk

NEW YORK, N.Y. — An impassioned plea for the Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, addressed to virtually all of the West, asked for his release and for the right of religious belief in the USSR and its satellites.

To the:
Holy See
The World Council of Churches
The National Council of Churches in the U.S.
Governments and Parliaments, States-Signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords

We, the undersigned Ukrainian political prisoners, incarcerated in Soviet concentration camps of special regime for our con-

The letter, signed by eleven Ukrainian political prisoners was widely distributed in Ukraine by the "samvydav" underground publications. The full text of the letter, in English translation, follows.

victions and for our literary and artistic creativity, wish to direct your attention and, first of all, the attention of all Christians of the world and people of good will, who defend justice, freedom and peace, to the most flagrant violations of basic human rights in our country.

Since this document is addressed to international organizations and centers of Christianity, we have chosen Fr. Vasyl Romaniuk, whose case constitutes one of

the classical odes of Soviet lawlessness. The cruel treatment that he has been accorded is so unprecedentedly brazen and cynical that it cannot but arouse the conscience of every honest human being wherever he or she may live. To sentence a human being to 10 years and call him "a particularly dangerous recidivist" (according to Soviet law, such cruel punishment is meted out for willful murder, since the only higher punishment is death) is savagery and barbarism.

Of course, we, the citizens of this country, are not surprised by such a repression of a servant of the Church. We are used to it, because it is wholly commensurate with the savage nature of the punishers, with their life-style and their mentality, inasmuch as during the first decades of Soviet rule, such men as Fr. Vasyl were shot to death by the thousands without asking questions as to why and for what. It was enough that they were priests.

We are surprised, however, that this lawlessness over Fr. Romaniuk and over other dissidents in the Soviet Union was perpetrated at the very time when the Soviet regime launched a vast propaganda campaign in conjunction with the convocation of the Helsinki conference. The public of the Western countries received it indifferently, although it could have been quite justly construed as a brazen challenge to democracy and to humanity.

We were even more surprised that the Christian community of the Western world, particularly clergymen and those who preach the word of God, failed to condemn appropriately the punishment meted out by the Soviet Themis to their brothers in cloth, as well as to all those who in a Soviet land had the courage to express their views on a variety of questions in this or that form. The majority of those who have signed this appeal (Orthodox and Catholic) are surprised that clergymen who have a great deal of influence

in the free world have abandoned their brothers as food for the atheistic hyenas. This decline of Christian love is surprising to our friends in grief, some of whom are either non-believers or doubt the faith of God, yet all of whom would like to believe in Christian friendship and solidarity. But even the lay democratic organizations and governments of the West cannot work out a joint strategy in the struggle against tyranny over dissidents in our country.

Moreover, the most humane internal policy of Carter, the great president of all times and all peoples, the policy of human rights, elicits attacks from irresponsible people, to be exact, from sadists in the U.S. as well as other parts of the West. These sadists, as for example singer Dean Reed, close their eyes at the physical destruction of people in the Soviet Union, at the incarceration, at the cannibal-like sentences merely for an idea, for an artistic word, for freedom of conscience. They close their eyes at the killings of dissident's families (for example, on April 5, 1975, the killing in Sumy of Volodymyr Osadchy the 33-year-old brother of Mykhailo Osadchy; the killing was the work of the oppressive organs). Of course, the violence and the highhandedness of the punishers are not applied on such a massive scale as during the Stalin period; they are Brezhnev-like, more sophisticated; but they are not easier, they do not make the killings nor the decade-long sentences more humane. We are surprised that Christians close their eyes at all of this.

We repeat, moral, physical and psychological repressions are taking place at this very time in our country for ideas, for the faith. Don't you hear our voice, Christians of the world? This is the voice from the abyss, from under the gun. Christians of the world, we are on the verge of death. Can't you help at least Father Romaniuk? Will you abandon your brother? We cannot understand this. Clergymen of the world should do their utmost to stop the

cruel treatment of their brother, inasmuch as this is not the first crime against the Christian Church.

The case of Fr. Romaniuk is neither private nor accidental. It is not a crime against a single person, but against all Christian Churches and the faithful of all religions. And if there is no response, it will be tantamount with encouragement for the regime to commit new crimes against the Church. This case should remind the entire world that there is no guarantee in our country that whatever happened in the 1930's and the 1940's will not happen again. If now, at the end of the twentieth century, a priest is called a dangerous recidivist, as if he were a rapist or a murderer, this should be a warning to all Christians and to faithful of all religions.

The repression of Fr. Romaniuk was designed to scare the priests and the faithful not only in Ukraine but in all of the Soviet Union. It was not an accident, because the stature of religion has risen substantially among youth and intelligentsia. The repressions, therefore, warrant an appropriate counterattack.

According to the testimony of such authoritative priests as the protopresbyters Rev. Krashynsky and the Rev. Leonty Borsa, as well as young priests such as the Rev. Myron Sas-Zhurakovsky, and many others, Fr. Romaniuk is an unusual preacher and organizer, who was exceptionally active on the religious scene. This is the reason why he was chosen as an object of repressions. That is why his name is used to scare priests in Ukraine. He has become a cause célèbre, but also the martyr for the word of God, for the faith. This strengthens the conviction that the defense of Fr. Romaniuk is the defense of religion, the defense of freedom in our land.

We hope that international Christian churches, its centers and all of Christianity, all people of good will, will do their ut-

most to stop the cruel treatment accorded the martyr of the twentieth century. This would strengthen the authority of religion in the Soviet Union, it would be an inspiration to those who doubt, and would strengthen those who are weak in spirit. This act would become yet another act of Christian solidarity.

Appealing to you are: Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets; Mykhailo Osadchy, both convicted for artistic creativeness; Oksana Popovych; Iryna Senyk; Bohdan Rebyk; Danylo Shumuk; Mykola Yevhrafov; Petro Saranchuk; Vyacheslav Chornovil; Sviatoslav Karavansky; Vasyl Dolishniy. All of us are incarcerated in a camp of special and severe regime. All of us are facing a term of exile in Siberia.

P.S. We are asking the international democratic community to arrange a meeting of foreign correspondents with all of us or with one of us. On the basis of what law do the camp administration and the Soviet authorities deny such a petition?

An appeal to the Government, the Senate and to President Carter: for every permission to a Soviet journalist to visit a jail in the U.S., you should request the permission to visit a political prisoners' camp and a jail in the USSR. We are sincerely supporting the policy of President Carter in defense of human rights. President Carter is the beloved political leader not only of Soviet dissidents, but of the entire democratic community.

Our appeal to all those who write letters to us from abroad: demand that letters from abroad to Soviet political prisoners be delivered by international mail. We are not receiving letters from abroad and we are being told that this is going to be the case until there is "an outcry from abroad."

Greetings to all democrats and humane people of the world from the most cruel Soviet concentration camps the world has known.

LITHUANIAN "CHURCH OF THE CATACOMBS"

On August 27, 1974, Nijole Sadunaite was arrested with the eleventh issue of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania* in her typewriter. The *Chronicle*, an underground publication, is laboriously copied and passed from hand to hand at great risk, so that the truth can be told about the persecution of the Church in Lithuania today. For dissemination of the *Chronicle*, Nijole was sentenced to three years of hard labor, and three years of exile.

Nijole Sadunaite is a symbol of the spirit in the Church in Lithuania today. Lithuanians, an ancient nation, 85 per cent Roman Catholic at the time of the Soviet Russian take-over in 1940, are engaged in a life-or-death struggle as a nation and as Catholics.

The Church in Lithuania operates at two levels: officially and clandestinely. The Church operating openly, within the strin-

gent limitations of Soviet-Russian law, is at the mercy of the atheists. However, it is very difficult for the Communists to destroy the "Church of the Catacombs", because its activities are impossible to monitor.

Lithuania, with six diocese, has no resident bishop and no normal contacts with the outside world. Two bishops have been prevented from functioning since 1962. Today, priests are prevented from ministering, seminarians are screened by the KGB and recruited as informers, and all religious orders are banned.

Even so, despite the ceaseless efforts of teachers and government youth leaders to force the youth of Lithuania into atheism, heroic parents and priests continue rearing children in the Catholic Faith, in hopes that soon, the "Church of the Catacombs" will see sunshine again.

RESOLUTION OF THE BYELORUSSIAN AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

(June 7, 1977)

We, the members of the Byelorussian-American Association and the participants at the celebration of the 59th anniversary of the proclamation of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic held in New York City on March 27, 1977, do hereby call the attention of the *United States Government, President Carter*, all members of the U.S. Congress, and all political and civic leaders of America to the fact that Soviet authorities in Byelorussia have been violating civil, religious, and cultural rights. We plead for help for the victims of this persecution. Inasmuch as the Soviet Government is covering up its crimes against its citizens because of their political, cultural, or religious convictions, and the exact number of such persons in Byelorussia is not much — it runs into thousands — it has been possible to identify only a small fraction of the true number

of victims by names for the last fifteen-year period. Some of these persons are still languishing in prisons, concentration camps, or places of exile throughout the Soviet Union. Others, although living in so-called freedom continue to suffer from discrimination and harassment and are deprived, to a larger or smaller degree, of their human and civil rights. We hereby attach the names of some of these persons and call on all defenders of human rights to do everything possible to terminate their persecution.

1. Antonenko (Antonienka) Vladimir I., from Minsk, arrested 1962.
2. Artyukh (Arciuch) Piotr A., b. 1934, Volkovysk, ar. 1966 & 1972.
3. Artyuk (Arciuch) Vladimir A., b. 1927, Volkovysk, ar. 1967 & 1972.
4. Atrakhimovich (Atrachimovic) Zig-

- munt, from Sharkovshchina, ar. third time in 1974.
5. Baranovski (Baranouski) N.N., from Lesnoye nr. Minsk, ar. 1975.
 6. Besko (Bieska) Vladimir I., Drozdy nr. Stolbtsy, ar. 1974.
 7. Borichevski (Baryceuski) Vasili K., b. 1924, Pinsk, ar. 1974.
 8. Borushko (Baruska) Georgi G., b. 1939, a Byelorussian from Odessa, ar. 1967.
 9. Bukhovets (Buchaviec) Artyom A., Rudnya, raion Karelichy, ar. 1974.
 10. Fedorchuk (Fiedarcuk) Ye. N., from Brest, ar. 1963.
 11. Frolov (Frolau) Andrei F., b. 1931, Gomel, ar. 1968.
 12. Gavrilenko (Haurylenka) T. I., b. 1890, Khoyniki, ar. 1966.
 13. Gavrilovich (Haurylovic) Vladimir K., b. 1927, Laputy nr. Dokshitsy, ar. 1967.
 14. Karetko (Karetko) Nikolai A., b. 1907, Kamenets, ar. 1968.
 15. Katovich (Katovic) I. A., b. 1890, Brest, ar. 1963.
 16. Khadorkin (Chadorkin) G. Ye., b. 1922, Svetoch nr. Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.
 17. Khanzhenkov (Chanzankou) Sergei, b. 1942, ar. 1963.
 18. Kolesnichenko (Kalasnicenka) Alexandr P., b. 1932, Gomel, ar. 1968.
 19. Kolesnichenko (Kalasnicenka) Mikhail A., b. 1944, Gomel, ar. 1968.
 20. Kopenkov (Kapiankou) F. Ye., b. 1909, Ust of Gomel oblast, ar. 1966.
 21. Korzhanets (Karzaniec) Lidia A., b. 1932, ar. 1973.
 22. Kovalov (Kavalou) N. A., b. 1891, Gomel, ar. 1966.
 23. Kozin Nil N., b. 1930, Gomel, ar. 1968.
 24. Kukobaka (Kukabaka) Mikhail I., b. 1936, Bobruisk, ar. 1970.
 25. Kurash (Kura) Piotr S., b. 1936, Kuroshi of Verkhnedvinsk raion, ar. 1968.
 26. Lakhnovich (Lachnovici) I. P., from Ratmanka nr. Minsk, ar. 1975.
 27. Lazuta N. N., from the village of Barodichi of Zelva raion, impris. for five years.
 28. Ludko G. S., b. 1900, Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.
 29. Lusenko (Lusienka) V. D., b. 1944, Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.
 30. Madzhara (Madzara) A. Ye., b. 1906, Gomel, 1966.
 31. Makarenko (Makarenka) Georgi M., from Minsk, ar. 1962.
 32. Masyuk (Masiuk) Nina F., b. 1930, ar. 1973.
 33. Matveyuk (Macviajuk) Stefan A., b. 1926, Brest, ar. 1962.
 34. Patsukevich (Pacukievic) Aleksei P., from Minsk, ar. 1962.
 35. Prokhorenko (Pracharenka) F. Ya., from Vitebski, imprisoned for five years and exiled for another five years.
 36. Prokhorenkov (Pracharenkau) Aleksei N., b. 1927, Rybatskoye nr. Gomel, ar. 1970.
 37. Puko Piotr, from Sharkovshchina, ar. third time in 1974.
 38. Romashkevich (Ramaskievic) Stefan D., b. 1898, Mogilev, ar. 1966.
 39. Rusavuk Andrei P., b. 1928, ar. 1974.
 40. Ryzhuk (Ryzuk) Vasili F., b. 1930, ar. 1961.
 41. Shepetunko (Sapiatunka) G. N., b. 1902, Brest, ar. 1963.
 42. Shluk (Sluk) M. A., b. 1929, Volkovysk, ar. 1967.
 43. Shugalo (Suhala) N. V., Barodichi of Zelva raion, ar. 1970.
 44. Silchukov (Silcukou) Evgeni I., b. 1935, Slutsk, ar. 1967 & 1974.
 45. Sloboda (Slabada) Vikenti F., b. 1932, Dubravy of Verkhnedvinsk raion, ar. 1968.
 46. Sloboda (Slabada) Nadezhda S., b. 1930, as above, ar. 1968.
 47. Streltsov (Stralcou) A. Kh., from Borisov, ar. 1975.
 48. Sych (Syc) Mikhail, from Vitebsk, ar. 1969.
 49. Tolouyev (Talalujeu) Ivan A., b. 1931, a Byelorussian from Krasnodar, ar. 1968.

50. Tarasevich Vladimir I., b. 1919, Baranovich, ar. 1968.
51. Tavrilyuk (Tauryluk) A. Ya., b. 1888, Gomel, ar. 1966.
52. Tikhno (Cichno) Vladimir I., from Baranovich, ar. 1974.
53. Tishkov (Ciskou) I. S., b. 1930, Gomel, ar. 1966.
54. Tretinnikov (Tracinnikau) Kuzma N., b. 1910, Ut' nr. Gomel, ar. 1973.
55. Tupolski Ye. N., b. 1895, Gomel, ar. 1966.
56. Zabiran V. Ya., b. 1926, Gomel, ar. 1966.
57. Zapatylok Vasili A., b. 1907, Svetoch nr. Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.

ANDRIY KOROBAN TRIED FOR AN "ATTEMPT TO FORM AN ANTI-SOVIET ORGANIZATION"

Among the "samvydav" documents from Ukraine there are two that pertain to Andriy Koroban, who is now in exile (following two previous convictions). The first document, which we are publishing, contains information on Koroban and his father, which sheds a considerable amount of light on the fate of a Ukrainian family under conditions of Communist dictatorship and the cruel treatment of Ukrainian patriots. The second is a transcript of A. Koroban's second court sentence in 1970.

"Andriy Koroban, born in 1930, of Ukrainian nationality, although born in the distant Altai region.

His father, Mykhaylo Koroban, an engineer by profession, born in the Kyiv region, after graduating from an agricultural institute was given a post in Altai.

He went there with his wife Oleksandra, an actress by profession, and a son, Andriy, was born to them.

In the war years, the father, living with his family in the city of Simferopil (Crimea), being a candidate of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was one of the organizers and leaders of a rather large underground organization. On November 26, 1943 the Gestapo crushed the organization. Maria, M. Koroban's second wife, was ambushed and the Gestapo shot her in the early part of December 1943. Koroban himself, his 13-year-old son Andriy, and a few individual insurgents who were saved, fled into the Crimea Mountains at great risk, and joined the partisan detachments.

In the early part of 1946, the father was

arrested by the MVD organs and, on false charges, was sentenced to ten years.

Son Andriy, after completing the second year of the philologic faculty of the Kyiv Pedagogic Institute (the Ukrainian Department) wrote a scathing article which exposed the shortcomings of the Stalin and Beria system of violence and their characteristic deception. In September 1950, he was arrested and convicted by a secret, unconstitutional Moscow court (a so-called special session) to ten years. The verdict read: "For anti-Soviet agitation and an attempt to establish an anti-Soviet organization."

In September 1956 after the unmasking of the so-called "personality cult" he was released prior to the completion of his term with the removal of jurisdiction. He returned to the institute where he completed his studies in 1958, having attained the profession of teacher of Ukrainian language and literature. Yet, in school he taught foreign languages (English, German) almost exclusively.

The father was released in 1955, and three years later he received his rehabilitation, i. e. an official acknowledgement that he was unjustly convicted.

After his release, Andriy engrossed himself in the question of Ukraine's history, devoting himself simultaneously to theoretical work and some organizational activity. As a result, his manuscript (approximately 500 notebook pages) "The Problem of Ukraine's National Independence" appeared.

In early December, 1960, he was arrested

of Ukraine's National Independence" appeared.

In early December, 1960, he was arrested and together with Olha, a native of the Lviv region and later his wife, was brought to the Kyiv regional KGB headquarters. In the course of a search, the above-mentioned work (in manuscript and partially typed form) was almost fully confiscated. A meeting with a general, the chief of the regional KGB headquarters, was arranged, at which representatives of the KGB and the official historians were also present. After this, A. Koroban was forced to renounce in writing any further political activity. After two days they were released. However, following his release by the KGB, Andriy unfolded active scholarly and political activity. In the course of those years he wrote such works as "Shevchenko and Ukraine", "Propaganda and agitation in the System of Russian Pseudo-Socialism (Bolshevism)" and the final work (unfinished) "The Foundations of Marxism and the Essence of Bolshevism", as well as an introductory critical part to the program of the future labour party of Ukraine.

At the beginning of September 1969, Andriy, working as a German language translator at a construction office, was arrested.

For eight months persistent attempts by the investigating organs to expose a Ukrainian underground labor organization and at the same time to charge A. Koroban with treason (!?) according to Soviet law failed.

In general, the investigation was based on the testimony of two or three renegades.

In early June, 1970, A. Koroban was sentenced to a six-year term and as an additional method of punishment, to 3 years of exile to the north of the Tomsk region.

NEW YORK AF-ABN BRANCH FORMED

Due to the move of Executive headquarters of AF-ABN to Detroit, it was necessary to form an AF-ABN branch in New York. A meeting was held on February 4, 1978 in order to found the New York branch.

Participating in the founding meeting were: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, CC-ABN member and Editor-in-Chief of *ABN Correspondence*; Eng. Bohdan Fedorak, Chairman of the Executive of AF-ABN, who presided over the meeting; Dr. I. Docheff, Chairman of the Bulgarian National Front; Eng. W. Hladkyj, Chairman of the Ukrainian Section of AF-ABN; I. Kosiak, Chairman of the Byelorussian Congressional Committee; representatives of Croatia, E. Germany, N. Caucasus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Hungary, Cossakia, Cuba; and many guests.

Elected officers of the newly formed AF-ABN Branch in New York were: Petras Azualas (Lithuanian activist) — Chairman; Peter Vitenius (Lithuania) — Deputy Chairman; Eng. W. Hladkyj (Ukraine) — Second Deputy; Dr. M. Nisner (E. Germany) — Secretary; and M. Miketic (Croatia) — Treasurer.

TRIAL AGAINST MARYNOVYCH AND MATUSEVYCH OPENED

Hearings against Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matushevych (both members of the Kyiv-Helsinki Group, arrested in April, 1977) began Tuesday, March 22, 1978, in Wasylykiv, a small town south of Kyiv, as reported by the press agency Reuters, from a March 23 communique from Moscow.

The agency confirms that members of both Matushevych's and Marynovych's families were not allowed to attend the trial, which is being held behind closed doors.

It is understood that the two men are being accused of "anti-Soviet activity".

Book Reviews

CROATIAN CATALOGUE

The stamps, coins, paper money and military decorations of Croatia (1941—45) are treated in a new 300-page paperback catalogue just off the press.

Croatia, a historic Slav nation which enjoyed considerable power and prestige in the Middle Ages, came eventually under Habsburg rule and was part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy until the collapse of the Central Powers at the end of the First World War. When the allied victors created the kingdom of Yugoslavia after the war, uniting the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, it mustered the Croatian independence movement that endures today.

The book is written in the Croatian language with footnotes in German, French, Spanish and English. Included in the book are stamps of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The catalogue is distributed by the Croatian Philatelic Society, 1512 Lancelot Road, Borger, Texas 79007, USA, at \$ 13.50, which includes postage.

NEW SAMIZDAT PERIODICALS FROM LITHUANIA

The underground periodicals in Lithuania continue proliferating, despite extensive KGB efforts to suppress them. At present, Lithuania has the liveliest samizdat press in the entire Soviet Union.

The most recent arrivals in the West are issues 28 and 29 of *Lietuvos Kataliku Bažnyčios Kronika* (The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania) and issue No. 7 of *Aušra* (The Dawn). Summaries and excerpts from the three samizdat periodicals will appear in the next issue of our Bulletin.

The *Chronicle* No. 28 is dated June 29, 1977. It contains a study of the "problems

of religious life" in Lithuania and the USSR, a list of violations of the Helsinki Accords, a survey of news from diocese and schools, etc. The *Chronicle* No. 29, dated August 25, 1977, features a statement to the Belgrade Commission, monitoring the observance of the Helsinki Accords. *Aušra*, dated August 1977, publishes articles on Lithuania's cultural heritage, the status of Lithuanians in Byelorussia, etc.

According to the *Chronicle*, two new underground periodicals have been recently launched in Lithuania. One of them is *Rupintojelis* (The Sorrowing Christ). In the first of the two issues, published in May 1977, the editors wrote:

"*Rupintojelis* is coming to you. This name was chosen, because it wants to encourage and to disseminate the values symbolized by the Sorrowing Christ that used to adorn the roadsides in Lithuania."

In May of 1976, *Laisves Saukelys* (Herald of Freedom), a free Lithuanian periodical devoted to social problems, started its publication. Six issues are known to have appeared so far. The first issue contains the following words:

"May these pages express the unextinguishable national longing for freedom and the efforts of those people who are continuing the traditions of free Lithuanians under the most impossible conditions."

AREJAS VITKAUSKAS

HOW LITHUANIA JOINED SOVIET UNION...

He's 6-years old — standing by the ditch, with the grownups. Red soldiers behind them are clicking their rifles... A last minute arrival shouts in Russian, "Wait! Wait!"... That's Alain Stanke's

introduction to the time of the Red occupation of my native land, Lithuania. His father, director of the radio station at Kaunas, was later ordered to keep the station intact, (or "else"!). At Vytautas Park, (where I lived . . .), a little boy encountered mad Red-Russian riders — saw a man and a woman trampled and killed by them . . . Another cruel sight: "The two riders were carrying the naked body of a woman between them. Each held a leg. The poor woman's head dragged upon the ground, bouncing on each cobblestone and left a long, bloody trail . . . ". At Pajaislis, near Kaunas, (I've picknicked there), in the cemetery, the boy accompanied an old Lithuanian who was checking new graves. They heard an approaching truck, scrambled into a tree. Reds brought four men with their arms tied behind their backs. "They dragged one of the four men to the foot of the tree. They bound him to it, while the man with the red armband asked questions I couldn't hear. He shook his head. He doesn't know or he can't . . . He screams. The interrogator kicked him violently in the stomach and punched him in the face. There's a stream of blood running from his ear down to his mouth. The blood covers his face, pours down his neck and soaks his shirt. It's getting dark. One of the soldiers turned on the lights of the truck and the other three prisoners stood facing it, watching their comrade. He's being used as an example, or perhaps they just have to wait their turn. Back to business. Now the poor man is moaning like a whipped cur. Another burly soldier comes up to help. He brings his rifle butt down at full force upon the man's head. The man screams with pain and fright. The beating continues; the blows rain down and vibrate through the tree, filling my entire body. Bloody scraps of flesh hang from his cheeks. His face and chest are criss-crossed with scarlet tracks. His

body slumps. I can't take my eyes from this terrible scene. The prisoner is silent now. By the time the awful man with the armband takes out his long knife, the prisoner must already be dead. He rams it into his victim's body with vicious force, then jerks it upward with a single movement as if he were dissecting a rabbit . . . ". The man with the red armband today probably guides the visiting homesick American Lithuanians, exalting the happy life there; or, maybe he's even working in the "Cult Department", where religious matters are supervised . . . (From — Alain Stanke: "So Much to Forget: A Child's Vision of Hell", Gage Educational Publ-g Ltd., 164 Comander Blvd., Agincourt, Ontario, Canada).

ABOUT THE "LITOPYS UPA"

The "Litopys UPA" is the name chosen for a series of historical books in Ukrainian the aim of which is to publish historical documents and relevant materials pertaining to the history of the Ukrain's'ka Povstans'ka Armiya or the UPA (The Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

The very first book of the "Litopys UPA" is devoted to "Volyn' i Polissya" ("Volyn' and Polissya").

More specifically, the aims of the "Litopys UPA" are: (a) to print source materials on the military and political activity of the UPA, regardless of their origin; (b) to re-print, with no changes to the original, important publications of the underground presses, especially those which have not yet been published in the West, or may have appeared in limited editions; (c) to publish memoirs of UPA members; (d) to invite and to publish scholarly articles and manuscripts about the UPA and about the history of Ukraine of that period; (e) to publish critical reviews of books written about the UPA or events in Ukraine at that time; (f) to compile a bibliography on the UPA.

Documentary sources which will be pub-

lished include such items as military orders, instructions, circulars, all sorts of correspondence, official declarations, photographs, diaries, and reports. The maps of larger military operations, of individual battles, and of raids which were either released by the UPA or its opposition will also be made available.

Those works on the UPA that have appeared in Poland and in Czecho-Slovakia, are full of bias and tend to reflect the views of the Communist Party during the Second World War. Nevertheless, they do present certain facts and provide direct quotations from various UPA documents. Even in Poland the full edition of the captured UPA documents has yet to appear in print.

It should be pointed out that relatively few documents of the UPA are preserved in the West. There are many explanations for this state of affairs. For reasons of security, the UPA's own documentation was restricted to the barest minimum level. The nature of UPA's guerrilla warfare did not lend itself to continuous collection and safe-keeping of important papers. Many documents were destroyed intentionally after having served their purpose and only those deemed more essential were hidden. Most have been lost forever. It is quite evident, from the Polish publications in particular, that some documents did fall into hands of the occupying authorities.

The largest collection of UPA documents preserved in the West originated primarily from the period of German occupation. Next in quantity, are those from Polish-held Ukrainian areas, from which more lively contacts with other countries were possible. Still fewer documents are available from various areas in the Ukrainian SSR, since contact with the West was difficult and the couriers to Western Europe brought with them only those which seemed most important. Nonetheless, sufficient materials do exist in the West, which, when assemb-

led, will go a long way in explaining activities of the UPA in various Ukrainian territories.

The pages of the "Litopys UPA" are open to all authors who wish to contribute on this subject. In the countries of the Western world there live a large number of individuals who possess documents, photographs or other valuable materials related to the UPA or to the liberation movement in Ukraine. The Editors extend an invitation to such persons to publish these materials in the "Litopys UPA". The Editors also invite memoirs, eye-witness accounts, collection of stories, facts, no matter how seemingly insignificant, as long as they will help shed additional light on the history of the insurgent movement in Ukraine.

The name of this publication the "Litopys UPA" is not accidental. It was used for the first time in a publication which appeared in mimeographed form in October 1947 in "BUH", one of the military regions of the UPA-West. It was this publication which contained personal accounts by UPA soldiers, some documents, poems, and several articles. In choosing the name the "Litopys UPA" the Editors wished at least partially, to continue this tradition. Much more importantly, however, the Ukrainian term "Litopys" (Chronicle), characterizes best the contents of the publication as well as its aim, namely, to present the reader with a comprehensive work on the history of the UPA.

Editors of the "Litopys UPA"

FREEDOM AND FOREIGN POLICY

Freedom and Foreign Policy by Thomas J. Dodd, Bookmailer, New York, 1962

Senator Thomas J. Dodd died isolated and disenchanted, after an unspeakable campaign of calumnies unleashed against him by the press and by certain political circles. Thomas J. Dodd has fallen victim to the Communist conspiracy, which ope-

rates in the United States and which he had fought his entire life. It was to be expected that all the attacks of Communist propaganda, and of the men and newspapers manipulated by it, be addressed against him.

As a distinguished lawyer, Thomas J. Dodd served first in the Department of State, as Assistant to the Attorney General. As such, he took part in the International Trial of Nuremberg.

After he entered the political arena, he was elected twice to the House of Representatives, and later served in the Senate, representing the State of Connecticut. He was a member in many of the committees: the Committee on the Judiciary, the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, and the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was as a member of this last committee that Senator Dodd distinguished himself, for his clear understanding of International Communism and for his experience in foreign policy, especially concerning the safety of the free world.

Thomas J. Dodd knew and understood Communism very well, its perverse nature and the methods it followed when it wanted to undermine the very existence of other nations. He demanded a re-examination of American foreign policy, and its reorientation in the course of world's events, in order to enable it to pass from the defensive to the offensive phase.

Senator Dodd began with the statement that the United States are the last bastion of liberty in the world. Because it has this mission, it is only natural that the United States be the target of the communist conspiracy. Conscious of the threat which is hovering over her, America should prepare herself to face this danger. But an organized defense against communism cannot be realized without first a good knowledge of the enemy that must be confronted.

Therefore, the first thing that must be done, says the American patriot, is to get

to know the nature of the enemy. It is with sorrow that the Senator recognizes the fact that the American public is very confused about the communist problem. "Unfortunately there is a great deal of confusion, fuzziness and apathy abroad concerning communism, some of it stemming from academic circles." "There are a number of stock arguments which one hears continuously that tend to obscure the real nature of communism and dissipate one of the principal weapons against it: the moral condemnation of decent people."

Senator Dodd thus defines the nature of Communism: "Communism is total evil. It is black. There is nothing good about it. Its ends are evil. Its means to those ends are evil. If by force or circumstance, communists are for something right, it is only an expedient to advance their evil ends."

Senator Dodd distinguished clearly communist strategy and communist tactics. While their strategy, which is the subjugation of the entire world under their domination, remains inalterable, their tactics are extremely subtle, to the point that sometimes they give the impression that they are actually doing good things. Being blessed with a clear mind, enriched by a great political education, Senator Dodd was able to identify the enemy in its innermost secrets, and found it diabolic.

"Communism is at war with the whole human race. It is based on the blasphemy that a human being is just a particle of matter, without independent mind or spirit. It seeks to destroy the family as an institution. It seeks to wipe out religion. It seeks to blot out the human conscience, and to destroy all concept of right and wrong. It seeks to reduce man to a mere beast of burden, without a will, without a personality, without a home, without personal property, without knowledge of God and without hope of eternal life."

Communism, concludes Senator Dodd, is the most brutal form of imperialism and

colonialism that ever existed in the history of the world.

Communism has two aspects: one is visible and the other is invisible. "The communists, therefore, must be combated on two levels: above ground and under ground." The danger of communism is not so much in its open attacks against the free world, but in its covert attacks. There is a triple infiltration, unmasked by Senator Dodd, in America and in all the Western countries: the infiltration of all the branches of government, the infiltration of radio, television and the press, and the infiltration of political parties that are not communist.

Senator Dodd asks that Americans abandon the defensive line, and begin an offensive against communism. They must mobilize all their minds, all their wills and all their spirits in this fight that has taken the proportions of a world struggle. For this purpose he had proposed that Congress form an Academy of Liberty, which was to study all the aspects of communism, and to form a science, as a counter-action in order to destroy completely this communist subversion.

Speaking about the Hungarian revolution, and the lost opportunity to free subjugated countries at that time, Senator Dodd makes an acute observation concerning the Captive Nations: "But I say to you, and I say to my fellow Americans that the interest of the captive nations and of the Free World community are one. I say that the captive nations, even in captivity, protect the peace, because they constitute the chief deterrent against Soviet Russian aggression. I say that the Free World, in its own self interest, must seek the liberation of the captive nations, by every peaceful means at its disposal: or else it will pay for its moral and political delinquency by forfeiting its own freedom."

We bow with respect to the memory of this great American patriot, and great and constant defender of the countries subjugated

by Moscow. His prophetic words have become even more real today, just like a "mane, tekell, fares" addressed to all those who have not yet lost the consciousness of their duty towards God and their country.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE WITH RED PERIL

The China Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) prepared the book, *China's Struggle With Red Peril*, at the request of the Preparatory Committee of the 11th WACL Conference to serve two purposes: to let the world see the nature of Communism more clearly through an objective analysis of the history of Communism in China and the current Chinese mainland situation; and, to present the experience and lessons of the nation's anti-Communist struggle for the reference of readers everywhere.

This book records historical facts of the Republic of China's prolonged suffering from and sustained struggle against Red scourges over the past 60 years. It begins by presenting Chinese Communist (CPC — Communist Party of China) strategy and tactics for the promotion of their so-called "world revolution", which is characterized by emphasis on class background, division of action into stages, and dependence on the masses. For a short time these tactics were thwarted by the Koumintang (KMT — Nationalist Party of China), especially during the Party Purification Movement in 1927. The Communist Party then went underground and set up a soviet-style regime.

The Chinese Communists were able to build up their numerical strength and territorial holdings while pretending to fight along with government troops in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937—45). Also, the Russians helped the post-war Chinese Communists to usurp mainland power.

The CPC's domestic policy changed when Mao Tse-tung came into power. His poli-

tical campaigns, such as the "Great Cultural Revolution" are reviewed and analyzed, along with the internal power struggle of the CPC, and the Chinese mainland people's anti-Communist and anti-tyranny endeavors.

Chinese Communist world strategy is followed, from its "one-sided leaning on Russia", to antagonizing both the USA and the USSR, to the alliance with America against Russia. Emphasis is placed on the present "three worlds" strategy of the Peiping regime, which views itself as the self-appointed leader of the Third World.

The final chapter introduces a proposal for global anti-Communist struggle based on the experiences learned by the Republic of China. Included are ways and means to counter united front tactics, armed rebellion and guerrilla warfare. A commentary on the strengths and weaknessess of the world anti-Communist struggle concludes the book.



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Articles in *The ABN Correspondence* appear in both English and American, for the reason that materials received come from various sources around the world, and are also often translated from many different languages. *Ed.*



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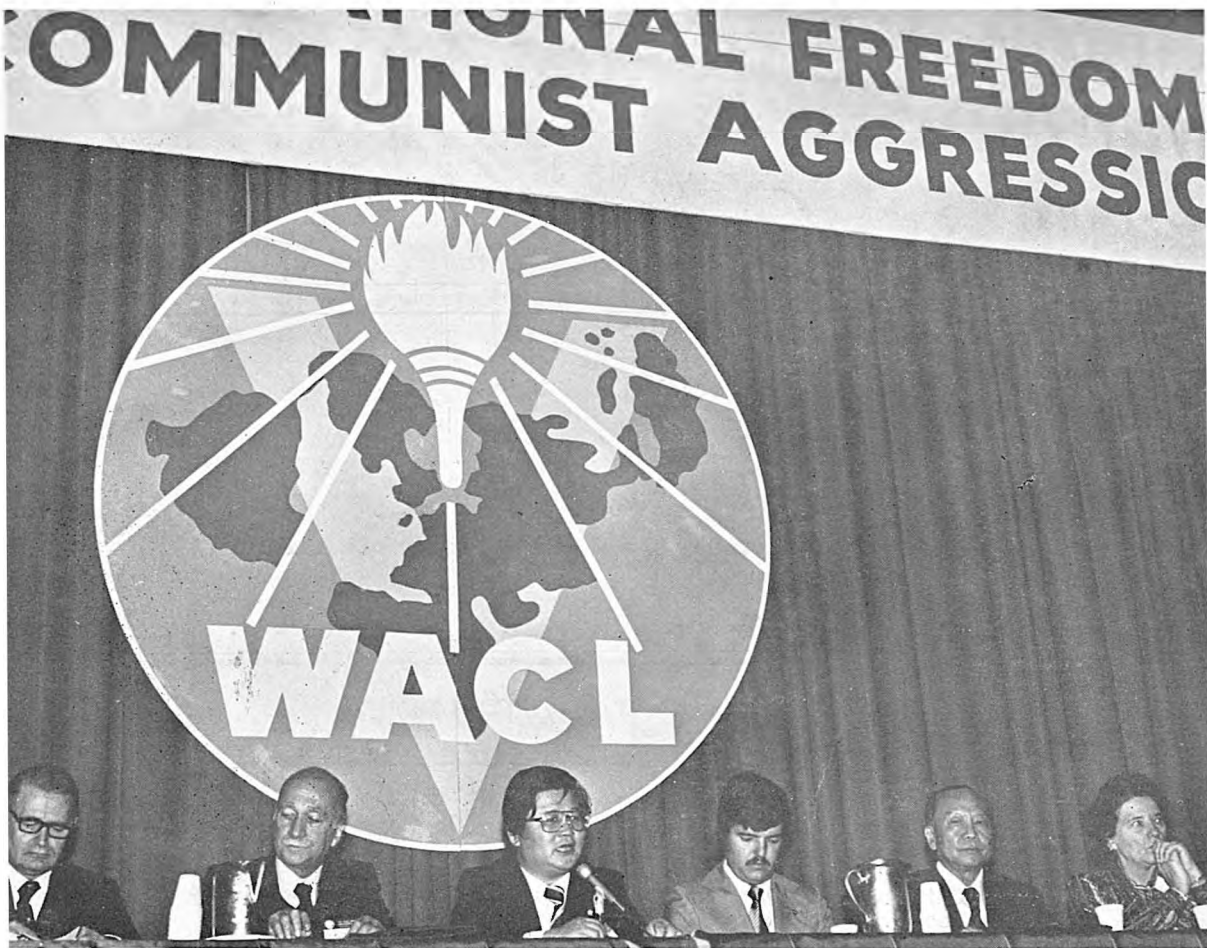
Underground Magazine from Ukraine
Issue IV

Containing details on the trial of Valentyn Moroz and the brutal murder of Alla Horska, unpublished poems by Vasyl Symonenko and news of repressions against the Ukrainian intellectuals. Poetry translated by Vera Rich.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Presidium of the 8th World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL) Conference, under the conference slogan "Unity for National Freedom Against Communist Aggression", Washington, D.C., April 27-29, 1978.

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THE ROAD TO IDEOLOGICAL VICTORY OVER MARXISM AND BOLSHEVISM

How can we find a way out of the contemporary ideological, moral, religious, and spiritual crisis that has enveloped a great part of mankind? The nations subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism are not undergoing such a crisis, for in the cruel struggle for self-preservation they have found their identity, their eternal values and beliefs which have given them strength in their fight for national independence and freedom. Their faith is sustained by their suffering and martyrdom, by their heroic lives which are filled with the belief in the victory of truth and God's justice, with the concept of God and Country as "the thought of God".

Today mankind awaits leaders of vision, not necessarily pragmatists or vote-getters, but men with a sense of mission, men who commune with God about saving mankind from the communist and Russian-bolshevik flood. Such people exist in the subjugated nations. They are warriors of the spirit; they are in concentration camps, prisons, and psychiatric wards, but they are indomitable, like the Dantons of national and religious ideas, like inspired soldiers of faith. One of them is Lev Lukianenko who, after 15-years of prisons and prison camps, has been arrested once again for defending the idea of Ukrainian independence. Lev Lukianenko writes; "Even if I were the last man on earth, I would fight for Ukraine." Lukianenko is now in prison for his participation in the Kyiv Group for the realization of the Helsinki accords. In his Christmas address to militant atheists, Lukianenko writes:

A human being always is a part of God and that which unites him with God, a great sphere of spiritual life. The soul of man, which lives and feels the God-like, attains its deepest unity through communion with God and draws from this that idea of the sublime and beautiful which cleanses a person and lifts him above material and bodily needs. It makes of him a real human being that senses beauty and wants to become something better by striving eternally towards God and by an eternal recognition of God through his works.

God, Ukraine, and the nation — these are the fundamental ideas of faith and rebirth, the revitalization of individuals and whole societies.

Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian philosopher of history sentenced to 14-years of prison, writes:

"Wake up! Open your eyes! Throw into the trash your "progressive" rose-colored schemes. Then you will see the living

reality. Then you will see the greatest event in the world, beautiful and terrible in its significance — the march of a nation through history. Its mighty rhythms dominate everything. Mountains tremble from its heavy steps and Jericho's walls, built on lies, tumble down... There is no full worthwhile life without death. There are no true values without the possibility of their loss. A nation is a rock which Atlas must always support on his shoulders. This is its goal — to carry on its shoulders something great, individual, unrepeatable, holy. To feel responsible for not letting it fall. This can only be a nation, a sacred vessel in which the most valuable things have been kept for ages. One can get rid of this burden and ease one's biography, but then life will become empty and lose its sense."

Ideas for Spiritual Renewal of Mankind

Two fundamental ideas, the national and religious, are emphasized by Ukrainian cultural leaders and political prisoners. Josyf Slipyj, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, at present a prisoner of the Vatican, a martyr and a defender of the faith, speaks of the rebirth of nations and people, of heroic Christianity, religion, and belief in God, patriotism and the struggle for one's country. The age of national liberation, of new values, new concepts of life and struggle, the age of new people, great in their faith and nobility of heart, an age of heroic humanism that is brought before the world by a liberating nationalism — such an age is still before us. Mankind is waiting for a new world order which will combine in itself the best achievements of the human spirit in all areas of life. Nationalism as a new national and socio-political system of life has not yet been realized anywhere in the world. It has already begun to revive nations with its ideological, ethical, and cultural values. Yet nationalism was neither Nazism, which was national *socialism*, nor was it fascism, which, although in principle distinguishing itself from racism, is not related to nationalism because of its single-party totalitarianism, negation of social development, and imperialism. Nationalism is anti-imperialism, anti-chauvinism, anti-racism, anti-colonialism. It respects the rights of every nation to its statehood within its ethnographic boundaries. Nationalism, because it is the rule of the people, will save the world from slavery. Is it not strange that out of 145 sovereign nations in the world only about 30 have democratic governments? Communist totalitarianism and colonialism continue to rule an ever growing number of the nations of the world. The independence of nations and the realization of human rights can, in our era, be achieved only by a nationalism of liberation which draws its strength from a heroic humanism and a solidarity of all levels of society. Valentyn Moroz writes, and

history confirms, that all great cultures had a religious and national foundation. There are no national geniuses without national cultures. There are no world geniuses unless they are national geniuses first and unless they grow and mature in the spiritual environment of their nation. There is no world culture without separate national cultures that comprise a universal world culture. Imperialists and colonialists, especially those of the bolshevik kind, perpetrate a crime against world cultures when they attempt to denationalize and assimilate the peoples of the world.

Denationalization is a deheroization of life; denationalization is the destruction of the cultural life of man; de-Christianization is barbarism, as can be seen by the bolshevik system of the Russian empire, a prison of nations and people.

There should not be and there cannot be a Soviet nation; there can only be Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Russia and other nations. The attempt to create a Soviet nation means the destruction of national cultures and their thousand-year-old traditions and religious and national identities. To deprive nations of their spiritual roots means the destruction of morals and civilized life and the regression to barbaric ages of history.

Communism — The Most Retrogressive System in the Development of Mankind

Bolshevism, as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, that is, Leninism, of which Marxism and communism are integral components, is not progress in the history of nations and people but a reactionary movement, a regression to the morals and culture of the jungle. Lenin and Marx are the greatest criminals in the history of humanity. Their pupil was Stalin, the mass-murderer.

Although bolshevism, communism, and Marxism have been responsible for the killing of over 60-million people in the bolshevik empire in the course of 60 years, their ideas are supported by many in the free world, especially by young people. The reason for this is not only Moscow's propaganda about the "achievements" of communism, but mainly the fact that:

1) Western democratic liberalism places in the center of its value system the hedonistic and material well-being of the individual; and 2) official Christianity, as formulated by the Vatican and the World Council of Churches, has abandoned the ethics and beliefs that made Christianity an unmatched revolutionary force in the history of mankind. The greatest revolutionary event in the world was the birth of Jesus Christ. Out of the first 32 Popes, 29 died the death of martyrs. Neither Peter nor Paul bargained with the tormentors of Christ, the Neros and Diocletians, as do their modern successors under the directives of today's Pope. Only

martyrdom provides a religion with strength and victory. The Patriarch Josyf Slipyj of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Mindszenty, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, Pastor Vins, the clergy of the Lithuanian Church and other underground churches — these are the true Christian alternatives to the official imitations of the West. The more hedonism spreads in individuals' lives, the more the modern church eases its demands upon the faithful. This is a great mistake. The essence of the religious life is self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, simplicity, strictness of tradition. Monasteries and monks — these are the proof of the strength of religion and the church!

The Church of the Catacombs is the true Christian Church, and not the World Council of Churches or the Vatican who collaborate with the ungodly communist regime and its "religious" hierarchy. Let us support the Christianity of heroes and martyrs and not capitulate before militant atheists.

The Occident Has Abandoned its Values and Ideals

The official ideology of the West has rejected the idea of nationalism and patriotism. The nation is no longer considered to be an organic community or the highest social ideal in the world, but, rather an isolated unit of egoism. The idea of national heroism is no longer a subject for enthusiasm and emulation of youth but rather a cult of the golden calf. The downgrading of the heroic concept of life in conjunction with one's native land is the most important reason for the spiritual and moral decline of the West. "Better red than dead" — this is the motto of decadent hedonism of the official West. Because the leaders of the West have rejected the idea of the heroic life in defense of one's country, a great part of youth has lost its ideals, for the path to God leads through the nation, through one's native land. And one's homeland is not wherever one feels well; one feels well where one's homeland is. The West has lost its power of attraction when it lost its ideals, its sense of mission, and its faith in itself and its culture. It lost its power of attraction when its leaders began to believe in ideas of ruin and destruction: dialectical and historical materialism, Marxism, communism, Leninism, and the new prophet of the West — Mao! The Middle Ages, a magnificent page in the history of heroism and creative energy of the West based on national and religious beliefs, are still regarded as the "Dark" Ages, although those were times of heroism and the concept of "noblesse oblige". The officialdom of the West, with its democratic liberalism, its cult of egoism, and anti-christian and anti-national tendencies, has resulted in the intellectual and spiritual demoralization of the younger generation. No research institute can find the reason for this demoralization and communization

of youth because it inevitably looks in the wrong place. The real reasons are the disbelief in the nation, in heroism, in heroic humanism and heroic Christianity. One has to believe in something, one has to know what to live and what to die for. As one Ukrainian hero stated as he was about to perish at the hands of the invading enemy: "I know what awaits me and I am not afraid of death. I am only sorry that I will no longer be able to serve my country — Ukraine." Until the West once again acquires ethical, spiritual, and religious values, it is doubtful whether it will be able to achieve victory over dialectical and historical materialism.

Communism never achieved a single victory in the subjugated nations by means of its slogans and ideas, but rather by means of its use of national and social ideas drawn from the arsenal of liberating nationalism. Today Russian imperialism, whose instrument is communism, uses ideas of national liberation in its ideological propaganda and the private use of land and property in its socio-political propaganda. Only after gaining power does communism forcibly take away the land from the people and institutes collectivization, as happened in Ukraine, for example, 45 years ago. And those countries with strong national leanings, communism turns into colonies of Moscow as, for example Poland, Hungary, Latvia, Byelorussia, Georgia, or Ukraine.

The Question of the Concept of Eternal Values

The ideological and military struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism can only be successful under the following conditions:

With the help of Marxism, communism, Leninism, and dialectical and historical materialism, Moscow presents humanity with a pattern of social and national existence that leads to collectivization of the economy and a dictatorial form of government. The goal is a world-wide communist Russian empire of totalitarian despots with the aim of destroying the nation, the family, and the individual.

Is this a new Babylon? Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian historiographer sentenced to 14 years of prison, foresaw this possibility when he made a symbol of the little town of Kosmach with its thousand-year-old Christian and national culture as opposed to the coalescing of nations for which Moscow, as the center of the world empire of non-nations, is striving. Our answer to the above question is that it is not enough to do what the officialdom of the West does when it attempts to oppose the idea of the freedom of the individual to the ideas propagated by Marxism-Bolshevism. Freedom is merely a frame, a necessary condition; it is the possibility of choosing among various different values and ideals and being able to put these values into action. It is not only a question of freedom, but a question of the nature of the values and ideals that the West represents.

One must oppose the ideas of communism, Marxism, and all of their offshoots, by ideas for which the West is ready to struggle, which it defends, and which it can present to the subjugated nations and peoples. Without this kind of opposition between two total conceptions of life, it is not possible to be victorious. To be more concrete, against the denial of God one must affirm the conception of God as the creator of the world; against the idea of an international and anti-national class rule one should affirm the national principle as a means of world order and sense of community; against social realism in culture one should support the idea of freedom of cultural creativity based on religious and national concepts; against the destruction of individuality, the affirmation of man as made in the image of God; against the dissolution of the family as an organic national unit, the realization of the family as necessary to the moral and physical health of the nation; against agricultural collectivization, the idea of private ownership of land and the means of production; against "étatisme", a triple organization of economical activities: the private sector, the cooperative sector, and the government. But the most important idea is to oppose the nation to the empire. The central concept necessary to the realization of the potential of each nation is the breaking up of the Russian communist empire into independent states. Only nationalism with its ideal of liberation and the ideal of heroic Christianity can accomplish this.

I realize that I am proposing unpopular ideas, but behind these ideas stand the nations enslaved by communism and Russian imperialism. Not every authoritarian regime is opposed to democracy. When a democracy needs to be saved through the suppression of communist activity that may threaten fundamental freedoms, then such an authoritarian regime cannot be regarded as an evil but must be helped to make the transition to a normal guarantee of basic human rights. Today, many condemn General Franco, but if it were not for his help, it is possible that Russian communist divisions might be stationed on the shores of the Atlantic. Let us be fair in our judgement of historical events. The freedom fighters in the subjugated nations are dying for the cause of national and democratic ideas, for the rights of nations and the fundamental rights of individuals, and for the ideals of nationalism.

US Human Rights Policy and the Imperative Needs of Freedom Fighters

The United States, in the continuation of its anti-colonial struggle of liberation and in its traditional role as representative of aspirations for freedom and national independence, has been uneven in its defense of the universal ideals of freedom of nations and individuals. President

Wilson initiated the idea of the self-determination of nations, but did not put it into effect. President Eisenhower took up the idea of the liberation of the subjugated nations, and the US Congress, with its 1959 Public Law concerning the Captive Nations, set the tone for US policy in regard to the liberation of the nations enslaved in the Russian empire and the restoration of their national rights. However, this law has remained an empty declaration, that has a moral, rather than a political effect at the present time. President Carter has taken a step backwards, however. He has not joined President Wilson's position to the stand of President Eisenhower, but has substituted instead, the idea of human rights as the main drift of US foreign politics. Yet is this declaration a religious and ethical one only or a political one as well? Will it have practical results concerning the Russian communist empire? The capitulation of the West in Belgrade makes this rather doubtful. The unwillingness of the US to support the Helsinki groups in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, and Armenia in their demands for human and national rights shows that at present, President Carter's declarations have only a moral aspect and not a concretely political one. The harsh sentencing of the leaders of the Ukrainian Helsinki group: Tykhy, Rudenko, Marynovych, Matusevych, and Lukianenko, who was re-arrested after 15 years of imprisonment, and is being threatened with incarceration in a psychiatric prison, without any reaction from the US government emphasizes the lack of conviction concerning the problems of human and national rights. Many Ukrainian political and religious prisoners treated President Carter's defense of human rights very seriously, and openly supported the President, with the result that they have suffered a great deal at the hands of Brezhnev. If the US government has no serious intention of beginning an ideological offensive against bolshevism, then it should not create illusions among those who are struggling against it. The fighters for freedom could do more for the liberation of their nations than the mere assertion of solidarity with the president of the US — who has left them to the mercy of the KGB. President Carter has received many appeals from Ukrainian political and religious prisoners asking for US citizenship. As the Prime Minister of the last independent Ukrainian government on Ukrainian soil, I have received an appeal from Ukrainian political prisoners which reads, in part:

“During the last several years a significant number of people, among them particularly Jews and Russians, have been able to leave the USSR. Since the majority of them come chiefly from the ranks of the open opposition, which, regardless of the increasing repression by the regime, has grown intensely in the last two decades, the world public opinion received from the eyewitness reports about the existence of totalitarianism in general, its practices, the situation of an individual and the enslavement of whole nations.

The world is especially well informed about the state of affairs and the oppression of Jews in the USSR, and this helped to mobilize the world community, mass media, and the government of many countries against such violence. At the same time there are almost no Ukrainians among those leaving. As a matter of fact, no Ukrainians at all.

There is, in this, also a positive factor, since this numerically small (percentage-wise), but nationally highly conscious part of the population remains in Ukraine. Nevertheless, in my opinion, an active involvement of this segment of Ukrainians in the national liberation process, culture and science would bring Ukraine incomparably greater benefit, were they in the Western countries and in our diaspora. It is a matter of saving the people who are already unable to work in Ukraine. There are many who desire to leave, but there are no possibilities to do so.

Realizing the complexity of the situation (and in order to establish a precedent), we the Ukrainian political prisoners, have requested the President of the United States to grant us American citizenship. Being political prisoners, this may complicate the decision. But there are thousands of people who are "free", and who have been ruthlessly repressed by the KGB for many years. Consequently, they find themselves in a hopeless situation. This is the second and personal aspect of the problem.

Talented literati, artists and scientists suffer personal tragedies, or are unable to work creatively. To condemn to inactivity, to kill talent is a more subtle, but no less cruel method of destruction of the treasures of Ukrainian culture. Examples: Opanas Zalyvakha, an artist of European stature, has not been allowed even one personal exhibit; talented poets like Lina Kostenko and Ihor Kalynets have not published a single collection of poetry in the past ten years; Ivan Svitlychnyj, a renowned literary critic, prior to his arrest was unemployed for approximately ten years and could not publish a single article; Mykhailo Horyn, a talented psychologist, is employed as a stoker, and in twelve years has not even had one publication; Yevhen Sverstiuk, a known Ukrainian (literary) critic and psychologist, had been persecuted even before his arrest by being dismissed from his job, and has not published a single work; Vasyl Stus, one of our better poets — not even one book. The following scholars were dismissed from learned educational institutions: R. Krypiakevych, M. Briachevsky, Y. Leshkevych, as well as other literati whose works have never been published, such as V. Ivanysenko, B. Horyn, M. Kosiv, V. Badzio, R. Kohadskyi. The talented writer R. Kudlyk has been silenced, as well as scores of others who have refused to compose party odes and panegyrics, and

because of this, their works do not appear on the pages of newspapers and periodicals. The list of such people can be complemented with hundreds of names.

Each of us in his own way joins in the process of creation of Ukrainian culture and the rebirth of the nation — a new wave of upheaval for our freedom.

From all the facts cited here, it can be concluded that under the conditions of absolute tyranny and arbitrariness of the KGB a Ukrainian cannot be useful to Ukraine in Ukraine. This is exactly why we are turning to you, Mr. Premier, with the request to strengthen with your authoritative recommendation, as well as the influence of the organized Ukrainian diaspora, our request to the President of the United States of America to grant us the citizenship of that country.

Once again we would like to bring to your attention that it is not a matter of individual cases. The above cited facts about the life of each of us, is only a small illustration, the exposure of which threatens us with the loss of freedom.

But in Ukraine, there live thousands of people with similar biographies whose creative potential is doomed to death.

Repression for beliefs and for creation of spiritual values is varied: concentration camps, prohibition to write and paint, confiscation of works already created, etc. The methods are varied, but the objective is the same — to destroy Ukrainian spirituality.”

Our conclusion is that the West, in order to attain victory, must wage a planned ideological battle in which it opposes Russian communism by its own view of life, its own concept of world order and world values. We have already suggested the contents of such a view.

For the Global, Ideological Warfare of the Occident

Moscow treats the inherent problems of its ideological war and especially the problem of the movements of national liberation very seriously. Moscow's concern shows itself in the fact that the main part of the Soviet Constitution is the following postulate of Soviet Russian politics, as stated in the preamble: “This victory (in the Great Patriotic War) made possible new favorable circumstances for the growth of socialist strength, for *national* liberation . . . in the whole world”. And in section 28 under the title of “Foreign Policy” we read: “The foreign policy of the USSR is directed toward the *strengthening* of world socialism, the support of the struggle of peoples for national liberation and for social progress . . .” Hence, wars of expansion, imperialist aggression, interference in the social and national processes of all nations and continents — all this was

foreseen and recorded in the Soviet Constitution a document which provided for imperialistic wars and the conquest of the whole world. Hitler presented his whole program and plan of aggression in *Mein Kampf*, just as Lenin did. The only difference lies in the fact that Rosenberg's speech in London was boycotted by Englishmen and thus rendered ineffectual, in the same way that during the French Revolution the Jacobins could not propagate their views in the United Kingdom. But the ideas of the enemy, the entry of Moscow's Trojan horses in the form of Leninism, communism and bolshevism, are received in the West with enthusiasm. The ideas of the enemy are propagated in churches and universities, and the leaders of the communist parties in the West travel to Moscow to make plans of how to enslave their own nations! The betrayal of one's country has today become a self-evident phenomenon. Isn't this terrible?

The ideas that ought to be launched against Bolshevism have already been referred to. These ideas, especially those of national and human rights, should be a politically functioning aspect of US foreign policy and not just a humanitarian gesture. The concept of national and human rights must be an integral element of US foreign policy just as Marxism-Leninism is an integral element of Russian policy and planning, including the exploitation of ideas of national liberation movements. One and a half billion people live in communist totalitarian nations. National and human rights, in a specific context, and of the sort that we have already mentioned, are a great part of the weapons of the defense of the West, too. For a long time now, the US has ignored the national and human rights of the captive nations within the USSR. In this respect the US must play a more aggressive role after the total defeat of the West in Belgrade. Moscow has received assurances of the current status quo of the boundaries of the Russian empire remaining as it is. The West, however, has received no assurance from Moscow concerning the human rights question, let alone the national rights one. In the face of the mortal enemy of all mankind — Bolshevism — the newly developing nations must realize that the attitude of the free nations toward them will depend on whether they support and defend the agents of totalitarian communism or whether they are the champions of national and human rights, of democracy and national liberation. International treaties and international law are on the side of the free nations.

However, the constitutions of the US and of the other free nations are not suitable for an ideological global war against Bolshevism. In order to succeed they must be changed to meet the exigencies of a global war with a global enemy who has shaped the constitution of his empire to wage aggressive, expansionist wars. The Western nations are unable to even grant citizenship to freedom fighters and cultural workers who defend the very essence of nations and individuals — national culture. Only Winston Churchill received US citizenship! Yet citizenship should

be available to everyone in the ideological war who represents the ideals of humanity. The foreign policy of the US must be based on ethical considerations if it is to unite and appeal to the multinational roots of its citizenry. The constitutions of the free nations must allow the use of all legal means to defend the fighters for national and human rights and to support the national liberation struggle of the enslaved nations in the Russian empire and in the communist sphere of influence and control. It is necessary to make use of political, economical, and military means, similar to those of Moscow and Cuba in Angola, in order to make the transition from ethical and religious sentiments to political reality. There is an opportunity here to make use of a whole arsenal of offensive maneuvers in accordance with internationally legal decisions and laws in which the Russian empire has become entangled in its attempt to undermine the free nations. This has boomeranged against Moscow from the viewpoint of international law and from the viewpoint of the insurmountable contradictions within the empire itself. This boomerang is not being exploited at present, not even the Helsinki boomerang.

The charter of the UN and its statement of the independence of all nations of the world, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN declaration about the decolonization of all the empires in the world, the 1976 resolution about the need and duty of providing captive nations with military aid against the colonial yoke, the 1977 Geneva ratification of international rights in times of war which supplements the Haag and Geneva convention of 1949 concerning the just treatment of prisoners of war of insurgent armies identically as with the prisoners of war of regular armies — all those boomerangs, to which Moscow has been a signatory in its attempt to weaken the West, must be used against it and its empire and, on their basis, to begin an ideological war. This is of the utmost importance.

Until the West realizes that it is not only a question of the enslaved nations but of its very own existence, it will remain in a state of continual retreat. Let us remember that in our subjugated nations, communism has become bankrupt; it is powerful only because of the ideological weakness of the West and in the strength of the communist, pro-communist, anti-national and anti-religious elements of the West. The way out lies in the ideal of heroism, in the cult of patriotism and the nation, in the belief in God and in the idea of man as made in the image of God, in the struggle against hedonism and egoism, against materialism, against the desire to exploit and dominate. The survival of democracy without the victory of nationalism and an ethic based on religion is impossible.

The above address was delivered at the XI World Anti-Communist League Conference in Washington D.C., April 29, 1978.

NOTES FROM A MADHOUSE

*An Open Letter to the Chief of the KGB,
Council of Ministers of the USSR,
Yu. V. Andropov,
From Citizen of Ukraine Yosyp Terelya*

*"Do not bind yourselves in a strange
yoke with unbelievers; for what has
righteousness to do with wickedness,
or light with darkness?"
(The Second Epistle of Apostle Paul
to the Corinthians, 6:14)*

Yuriy Volodymyrovych,

You may note the above quotation from the evangelist Apostle Paul and agree that you and I really have little in common — you are a despot, one of those behind whose backs lawlessness creates its own "law": "Be my friend, or else I'll kill you."

By conviction, I am a Human Being. By religious belief — a Christian; to be more precise, a Ukrainian Catholic, a Uniate. Yes, the very same Uniate who has no officially recognized Church, the Uniate who under the threat of imprisonment is forbidden to take part in prayers and functions of worship, go to Confession, baptize his children, repent, and celebrate Church holidays lest he be labeled from above a "militant Catholic."

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is in the CATACOMBS! You, if anyone, know this well. Strange, is it not, that the age of Diocletian is long gone, we're in the twentieth century, and Ukrainian Catholics are in the catacombs. (Many other Christian communities in the USSR also find themselves underground.) But, actually, I wish to speak here about myself personally, and about you. You are well acquainted with my genealogy from my camp protests and statements, but I feel that I should

refresh your memory as to who I am. I am one of the thousands of Christians who has felt your despotic fist on his own skin.

My family comes from Boykivshchyna. I was born in 1943, during the Hungarian occupation of Carpathian Ukraine. During my short life span, I have lived through three occupations. I grew up in a family of Communists. My father organized the first collective farm in Volivechchyni in 1949, and in that same year was wounded by — as is officially said — a "Banderite bullet." My mother was graduated from the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. As you can see, I could not have been born a "bourgeois nationalist." From childhood I was taught to love and honor my native village, my home; in time this would be turned into a "crime" against the foundations of Soviet society. I grew up blind and dumb, as did also others. For one, I enjoyed going to church with my grandmother; in time this child's curiosity would also become a "crime." I first felt another's hatred — from a foreigner, a grown man — when I was in the ninth grade, with two months remaining in the school year. It happened that I was called a "filthy Hutsul," to which I replied in an original manner — by spitting in his face. To spit in another's face is forbidden; one should stand silent and not even wipe his own. Thrice they expelled me from school and every time for "hooliganism" — hooliganism, for which there is no forgiveness in the USSR, not even for children. From the ninth grade until today, I am hounded by the chauvinistic slogan: "He would not step onto the road of rehabilitation."

By 1961, after having completed construction school, I was already on the "register," paying semi-weekly visits to the Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukr. SSR, 15 Korolenko St., Room 7. In 1962 I was sentenced under Article 222, Sec. 2, and Article 223, Sec. 2, to four years in a corrective labor camp. On January 4, 1963, I fled from Uzhhorod Prison No. 128—72; I was caught. Another trial, another sentence — five years in a severe-regime corrective labor camp — and, as Colonel Bily of the regional KGB warned me, "One more time and you won't weasel out of it..." I fled again in 1965, this time from Camp No. 128-59 in Pishchanka. I escaped, lived seven months in freedom, under assumed names. In 1966, KGB officials told my mother that if Yosyp gives up and repents, all will be forgiven, for aside from escaping, he did not commit any crime. On February 28, 1966, I appeared to repent at the regional office of the KGB in Luhansk (Voroshylivograd). You know very well how repentance is received. First, you report on all who interest the KGB, then the repentance and repudiation of "the Past." It is necessary to renounce everything. "Take off that crucifix! What kind of repentance is this?..."

On March 1, 1966, I was arrested and transferred to Vinnytsya Prison, whose warden then was Colonel Kashyrin. The prison greeted me "joyously": on the second day after my arrival I was given fifteen days in the penal block, so that — according to the chief of the operations section — I would become "acclimated." On May 2, a trial — seven years' severe-regime corrective labor camp. In July, they transferred me to Camp No. 128-39, in the village of Ladyshyno. During this time the KGB was feverishly searching for "a candidate for a statement of repentance..." Repressions began with my first moments in the camp. As soon as I set foot inside the prison gate — "Take Tere-

lya aside and search him well. Take off all the regalia." That is how I became acquainted with First Lieutenant Yarmosh, who was to be my future tormentor. They began to strip me. Seeing a locket with a picture of the Virgin Mary, they ripped it off. And for having dared to conduct this "overt propaganda" — fifteen days of the SHIZO (penal solitary cell). After release from the SHIZO — more repressions. Prisoners were forbidden to talk with me, walk with me, "associate" with me. Every morning the officer would announce in front of the prisoners' ranks that I was a bandit, that I was there for rehabilitation and that they would beat the "Banderite spirit" out of me. One August day before dinner — by this time I had already spent one month and fifteen days in the SHIZO — the guards herded all believing Christians into the dining room. No one suspected anything. The head regimen officer, First Lieutenant Yarmosh, and the deputy political instructor of the camp, Captain Tarchevsky, were present at this affair. Yarmosh ordered all vegetarians to step onto the stage, where there was a "table for parasites." Ten prisoners stepped forward. "Set Terelya in a chair in front of them all." The order was carried out with precision. The remaining nine were tied hand and foot to their chairs with telephone wire, after which the guards began "feeding" the religious evangelical prisoners. They began pouring (illegible) into the prisoner's mouths, while the supervisors were "splitting their sides" with laughter. When everyone was "fed," it was commanded that Terelya try some meat broth by himself, for the guards were tired, but before eating he must say a prayer, for all Christians pray. A tight circle was formed around me; the believers were herded into the circle so that they could all see how one should eat broth by himself. I recited a prayer aloud: "Lord God, help us sinners endure the work of the evil one." They knocked me off my feet and

began to beat me. And so I ended up in the camp jail for "correction." That same day, they sent for "correction" the believer of Christ's Church, Jehovah's Witness Vozny, and the Orthodox A. Boyko. (For writing a book, *One Human Being to Another*, and for forming a camp organization Boyko was sentenced in 1969 to be executed by a firing squad.)

The camp jail was where the torture began. We were made to pick up and stack granite slabs that were "scattered about"; we were given three twigs to clean the cells of water sloshed on the floor; we were forced to stand for days on one spot. After a month we were told that the camp commission could not release us because we had not stepped onto the path of rehabilitation. At ten o'clock each morning the camp commandant, Major Platonov, First Lieutenant Yarmosh, Captain Tarchevsky, and the chief of the guards, Captain Volosenko, along with a formation of guards would come to the camp jail to see if their "victims" would beg for forgiveness and "confess" their crimes. After two months, my weight dropped to 49 kilograms. Our daily menu was uniform:

"10—B"

1. 400 grams of bread (special bread)
2. 200 grams of meatless broth
3. 15 grams of salt
4. 63 grams of fish (rotten salt sprats)

November brought snow and frost. The snow mixed with rain and the chilly winds penetrated through our summer uniforms; for inserting towels underneath our shirts and thus violating the "uniform dress code," we were severely beaten.

On November 3 (a day I shall never forget) I was taken into the corridor before the others and told to undress. I undressed. Encircled by Yarmosh and the guards, I thought that they would beat me; however, no one did. Volosenko asked whether it was true that Christians are baptized in water. I wasn't sure what I should answer... Finally, I gathered

enough courage and said yes. They told me to go outside. I started to dress, but they took away my clothes and chased me into the street. The cell locks clanked, and the other prisoners were filed outside. When I came into the courtyard, they doused me with water, placed into my hands a small icon of the Jerusalem Mother of God which they had confiscated from me, along with a Bible, back at the Vinnytsya Prison, and told me to stand in front of the prisoners who refused to step onto the road of correction. They said that I would be saved by the almighty Jesus Christ. Some believers began to cry and pray out loud; right then and there they were beaten for "sympathizing" with a Banderite. I prayed to God that I would endure and not fall. Then they herded everyone under a roof and began to pour out portions of swill; in the cold the cooked concoction cooled immediately. I was left behind at the "place of work" to "think things over" — I did not know then that this would be my place of work for two months, minus four days. On December 30 I was transferred to Vinnytsya Prison, and from there to a prison in Odessa.

On a few occasions during December they took me into the courtyard, where in front of the "zek" (prisoner) formation they enumerated my "crimes" and warned the prisoners that if anyone were caught near the penal block yards with bread in his hands, he would take Terelya's or Boyko's place.

In 1967 the Kirovohrad Regional Court sentenced me to eight years in a severe-regime corrective labor camp for "tendentious interpretation of the history of Ukraine and slanderous fabrications about the policies of the Government and the Party." My poems, notes and even my thoughts, all this became evidence of criminal activities aimed at creating "a so-called independent Ukraine."

Interesting? Could it be that no one realizes that by this Soviet law and rights

guaranteed by the Constitution were being violated? They knew and still they violated — this is Stalinism in a new form. I find it difficult to write about and describe all the details of the cruelties I suffered at the hands of the officers and men of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) of the Ukr. SSR. Even the officials of the investigative branch of the Kirovohrad KGB were shocked. All of the above-mentioned criminals in MVD uniforms were called as “witnesses” in my case, and no matter how bitter it was for the court to admit this, it did make note in the sentence that the camp administration “treated Terelya, Y. M., with cruelty.” And that was all. With cruelty! At that time I did not know that “cruel” treatment could also be official, that is, sanctioned by law. In Kirovohrad I was neither beaten nor chased out into the frost and doused with water. But, instead, the regional procurator Dyatlov, in the presence of the head of the investigative branch of the KGB, Snyesarenko, and an investigator, First Lieutenant Medvedyev, read me “The Regulations Concerning Physical Persuasion Methods,” explaining that they apply when there is some evidence of criminal activity on the part of the accused which is dangerous to the state system, and when the accused refuses to testify. I do not have to explain to you this well-known procedure, and you know very well why I was selected for this “honor.” For two years I was tortured by the KGB; this time they did it officially, demanding that I admit to being a member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), knowing full well that I never was nor could I have been a member of an organization that was destroyed by the valiant KGB when I was but three years old. To prove that they were not kidding, they placed me in a penal cell for fifteen days. The temperature of the cell was changed every hour — one hour hot, one hour cold. Here I got hypertonia and hemorrhoids. Even before

my trial, they told my mother that Yosyp would get ten years. When she asked them why go through with a trial, when everything is already known in advance, they answered that if I should confess, then, possibly, I would be released, but for this I would have to be influenced. The trial lasted four days — my mother was present for three — a trial behind closed doors! I and my fellow accused, Yuriy Zapashny, the son of a famous entertainer, and Alim Khabirovych Seyfutdinov, the son of the district party secretary of Baykanur, denounced the pre-trial investigation proceedings in writing as a false and deceiving formality. They dragged us into the courtroom by force, handcuffed, beaten-up, barefoot.

Tell me, where else could one find such enthusiasm in the performance of duties; we had, after all, refused to take part in the trial, a right that is guaranteed by your laws.

My mother witnessed all this cruel mockery throughout the entire “trial.” When they let her speak so that she could influence me, she said: “I would rather see you crucified on a slab than alive in their hands.” The court reached its verdict:

“Terelya, Y. M., as a juvenile was drawn into criminal company. Aside from escaping, he did not commit any crimes. Taking into account his youth, and so forth, he cannot be considered an especially dangerous repeat offender; therefore this court sentences him to eight years in a severe-regime corrective labor camp. The term will begin on August 10, 1967.”

One year and five months was lost without hope of recovery. They told me later that the court got its dates mixed up, but this “mistake” never did get corrected.

And that is how I got into “Dubrovlag” in the Mordovian ASSR, into the “fiefdom” of the old Beria hand and Stalinist General Hromov, who had eluded the punishing hand of Law. March 10, 1968, I entered Camp No. 385/11 in Yavas

Station, where the camp commandant was Major Spirin.

Three days after my arrival I was put into the SHIZO — ten days. At that time I was having problems with my stomach and liver. Major Biskaykin, stopping by the SHIZO, told me that I would croak there. In the spring, they took me, Yaroslav Lesiv and Volodymyr Kulchytsky to a local prison near women's Camp No. 385/2, where we were met by KGB Captain Petro Rusyn and Major Krut. When I entered the office, Major Krut began "screaming" at Captain Rusyn for wasting time on "this bandit; the scum should have been shot a long time ago; the government is only wasting bread on him." Rusyn asked that Krut leave and let the two of us be alone. The major left. The captain approached me and said that Krut is an old Stalinist and scoundrel, that I should ignore him, etc. He continued that if I decide to cooperate with the KGB, they would free me in a year, give me a woman and good food. He said that I should think it over and give "a bit of thread" (disclose any contacts), for my case is not closed, and it would be better for me to tell all, so that things don't get worse later.

When I answered that there was no "bit of thread," Rusyn began threatening me that this is not Ukraine, that they would soon "dehorn" me. And if I ever do get released, all my work will go for medicine. "Here, you'll turn blue and green, you'll croak, and there won't even be the trace of a grave." He said, "Before you finish your term, we'll Russify Ukraine." To which I replied that I had not planned on living in a Russified Ukraine; I would live in Russia and Ukrainianize it. This comment cost me five months in the camp jail. In the camp jail I was struck by paralysis; in December my legs refused me. The same month they transferred me to the prison hospital, where Captain Yeremeyeva was in charge of the medical section. While making the rounds, Yeremeyeva

began beating her chest and shouting at me that she is, first of all, a Chekist and only then a physician, that I am "filthy Banderrite scum" and that she would soon have me on my feet. In three days I began to hemorrhage profusely — from the nose and mouth, and in a week, from the right ear. These were the results of all that I had to endure since March 1, 1966, the day I voluntarily placed myself in the hands of the KGB.

They had no choice but to take me to the main hospital in Barashevo Station, No. 385/3, where I was placed in a separate room. In two weeks the crisis passed. Just before New Year's 1969, Doctor (Volodymyr) Horbovy, who was suffering from a heart ailment, was brought to this hospital; as a compatriot, he came to visit me in the ward (I could not walk about — the paralysis was progressing), and someone informed on us. Captain Rusyn arrived and ordered that I be removed from the hospital. If I wished to continue being treated, I would have to divulge the subject of my conversation with Doctor Horbovy. I refused to speak to Rusyn. Within one hour I was placed on a stretcher and carried to the train station, where I was put on a handcar and returned to camp. During this time, my mother was writing complaints and petitions, demanding that I receive treatment and that she be allowed to visit and correspond with me. Between March 1, 1966, and May 12, 1969, I did not receive nor did I have a chance to write a single letter. Major Spirin's official answer to my mother was:

"Your son Terelya, Y. M., is presently in good health and will write to you soon." — Commandant of ZhKh 385/11, Major Spirin.

In the summer of 1969, I was transferred to Camp ZhKh 385/19, where on September 25, A. Radygin, Roman Semenyuk, Stepan Zatikian and I were sentenced to three years of prison regime for allegedly planning to escape. Within a

month we were in Vladimir Prison ST-2. First, they placed us on a reduced food allotment. After two months on this reduced allotment, my ailments began to worsen. The head of the prison hospital, Lieutenant Colonel Yelena Butova, had me placed in hospital ward No. 2, cell 21. The cell was aired before my arrival to the extent that the walls were covered with frost. I was forced to take off everything "warm," and they took away my quilted jacket because it was "out of place" in a hospital. After one week, First Lieutenant N. Obrubov, a representative of the KGB, ordered my transfer from my cell into the common ward because I had not stepped onto the road of rehabilitation. I wrote a protest, addressed to you, with a copy for Secretary General of the CC CPSU, L. Brezhnev.

In that protest, I dared to compare the regimen and diet in German concentration camps with your Soviet ones, as well as with the diet of watchdogs. A watchdog gets, up to the age of one year:

1. 500 grams of white bread
2. 2 eggs
3. 180 grams of sugar
4. 500 grams of milk
5. 20 grams of salt
6. 380 grams of cereal
7. 3 kilograms of meat

Taken from the magazine *Nauka i zbyzn*, 1969.

For this protest, I was turned over for examination by a commission at the regional psychiatric hospital in Vladimir. The commission found me sane but physically emaciated. They again placed me in a hospital cell and began to feed me. A Borys Vladimirovych (he didn't mention his last name) of the KGB told me that I "disgrace" them and that they would feed me until I burst... "Someone" began spreading a rumor in the prison that I was a "KGB agent," that I was a "Carpathian yid" who had wormed himself into Ukrainian affairs. Soon the walls of the lavatory

stalls were marked: "Terelya is a yid," "Terelya is a KGB agent." In a new protest I mentioned the baiting — they began to terrorize me openly, threatening that they would put me on trial; finally, Major Zolotov said that they would mix me in with the garbage. On January 5, 1972, criminal cases No. 33 and No. 34 were opened against me and Zinovy Krasivsky, with Captain Plyeshkov and the head of the investigative branch of the regional KGB, Major Yeseyev, as the investigators, and First Lieutenant I. A. Sydorчук of the Ukr. SSR KGB the translator. Krasivsky was charged with writing a collection of poems, *The Weeping of Slaves*, and a poem, "Satan's Triumph." I, with distributing Krasivsky's works and writing my own collection, *Bitterness*.

And thus, after S. Karavansky's trial in the prison, they began to put the Ukrainian language on trial once again!

In the latter part of July, Captain Plyeshkov said that I would croak in Kazan after a life as a bedridden cripple. My fate was cast, as was the fate of Z. Krasivsky and Yu. Belov. The Serbsky Institute in Moscow judged me to be mentally ill.

"For my Name all will despise you.
And whoever endures to the end, he
will be saved."

(Gospel according to Mark, 13:13)

On December 8, 1972, I arrived at the special psychiatric hospital, Institution ZhKh Ya 0 100/5, in Sychovka.

Atop the exit gate a large sign was posted with these words written in blood-red letters: "To freedom with a clear conscience." This, in a special concentration camp for the mentally ill!!! Five rows of barbed wire, two fences with watch-towers, dogs, exterior and interior guards with automatic weapons. Eleven large, two-story barracks for the "zeks," or, as they also call them, "psychos." Psychos are separated into the politicals and the

criminals — the criminals are those who are on the road to correction, while the politicals are those who still have to be “corrected,” or simply killed. A criminal, a double murderer (he killed a woman nine months pregnant) was released from Sychovka after one year, while “the slanderer” V. Zhuk stayed for five years.

It is night. A blizzard. They are taking us to the automobiles (“ravens”), packing us in to exhaustion. We’ve seen all this before, but somehow here, at this night station, it all seems dark and heavy, void of anything human. One senses the impudence of the soldiers and guards — we are totally without rights! No one is accountable for us, for our lives! In a dirty, bunker-like building (in this building condemned Polish officers awaited their destruction in 1941) we are stripped, and guards take us in threes to the “reception,” and this in the middle of the night. There are five persons inside the room, among them a woman in a whitesmock (Tsaryova, the wife of the sadist Tsaryov) — how out of place they all seem — the rest in military uniforms. Our “cases” are spread before them. I enter and stop by the door.

“And what have we here? A second time under Article 70 (“anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”), two escapes — say you’re thankful that you’re still alive. You should remember that this is a camp for especially dangerous offenders. Subordination to authorities is required without a word.”

I remain silent.

“A Yid?” the first lieutenant asks. I remain silent. “What? You refuse to talk with us? You dirty scum! You want to go to Israel!...” I answer that I am a Ukrainian from the Carpathian Mountains. “A Carpathian Yid, then; a self-respecting *khakhhol* (a derogatory Russian term for Ukrainian) would not undermine the state.” I was assigned to the Tenth Section, under First Lieutenant Yuzek Kazemirovych But. He calls me in at eleven o’clock

the following morning. The “orderlies” (criminal offenders) take me to his office. There are two men in the office. We get acquainted — Ihor Noyevych Kushavkovsky, the chief physician, and Yuzek Kazymirovych But. They ask what ails me and what is my complaint. I answer that I am having problems with my liver and stomach. They interrupt and ask whether I agree with the diagnosis. Yes, I answer, I agree. But grows flushed and screams that they will decide who is what; they will treat me with “kulazin,” (from *kulak*, a fist), they’ll beat my brains out. Get out!

In two weeks my mother and my sister Natalka arrived for a visit. They lead them and warn them: converse only in Russian, nothing about the case, nothing about the hospital; otherwise — “kulazin.”

When I was brought to Sychovka, I weighed 52 kilograms (my height is 173 cm.). We talk, jumping around from this to that; we talk in our native language. The visit is stopped. My mother demands a translator. There is none. He left, for he also services Smolensk (the Smolensk Prison at this time had only one Ukrainian prisoner, Krasivsky). My mother says that she’ll wait for the translator. I receive my parcel, which is thoroughly searched — even pieces of candy are cut in half — and leave. The following morning I find a Finnish knife in the parcel; I report this to the administration. In fifteen minutes, some ten persons — guards and “orderlies” — burst into the section, jump on me, beat me and tie me to the bed, all the time demanding to know whom I planned to kill. I remained tied to my bed a full two months, receiving a nightly “kulazin treatment” from the guards and “orderlies,” who beat me with their boots and keys. I was “released” by KGB Major Shestinsky. As he put it, he was tied to me as a patron, and it was solely up to me when I would become “rehabilitated” and would be able to go home.

(To be continued in the next issue.)

TERELYA'S WIFE SEEKS SUPPORT FROM WPA

Olena Terelya, wife of the Ukrainian political prisoner, Yosyp Terelya, has appealed for help from the World Psychiatric Association, claiming that her husband has been confined in the Dnipropetrovsk Institute of Forensic Psychiatry unjustly.

Terelya, 34, has already spent over 14 years in prison for his beliefs, his latest arrest coming in April 1977, after he wrote a strongly worded indictment against the Soviet Union. On April 28th he was confined in the psychiatric asylum in Berehova, in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine.

On June 10th, his trial began and midway through the month, the prosecutor notified his wife that an earlier decision by the court to have Terelya committed to an asylum had been overturned. The prosecutor explained that the decision was reversed due to a miscarriage of justice at Terelya's previous trial.

He did say that a new trial was being planned, but he added that Terelya will still be sentenced to a psychiatric asylum.

At the beginning of July, a judge told Terelya's wife that she will not be notified when and where the new trial will take place. He said that the law does not require such notification.

Toward the end of the month she was told that the trial had been already held on June 27th, and that her husband was incarcerated in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric asylum.

In her letter to the WPA's committee to review psychiatric abuses for political purposes, Mrs. Terelya wrote that her husband has been a frequent target of political repression for his religious and other beliefs.

Mrs. Terelya, a surgeon, said Dr. Nelia Budkevych, a psychiatrist at Dnipropetrovsk, told her that her husband's only illness was his desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

"I assure you that my husband does not need psychiatric help," said Mrs. Terelya.

Mrs. Terelya asked the WPA to defend her husband and to "do everything possible to help him".



Ukrainian students in Munich staged a protest on May 4-5, 1978, during Brezhnev's visit to Bonn. Informative materials as to the true situation in the Soviet Union were distributed to the general public.

Three Whales and the Phoenix

To the sources of Russia's imperialism

Marx states that the strongest power in the world — is hunger, for, its profit alone, can move the world.

Freud contradicts this statement: no, lust, sexuality — is the world's motivating power.

We could have scarcely found two more differing personages who could have influenced the thoughts of contemporary humanity to such a degree.

But, since the world drifts on these two theories, then a third is easily anchored to them: Einstein and his theory of physical relativity. Contemporary man readily disseminates this theory from a moral point of view. This is understandable: profit and lust are two very relative concepts upon which relative "morality" is based.

Profit, lust, relativity

If we follow these three theories through, then it is not surprising, that those who praise their happiness the loudest, either the free or the rich, persistently fight for the right to be the first to sell a rope for their own gallows. Even the materialistic constructions of contemporary civilisation correspond to this characteristic moral basis.

At first glance — "who resembles this animal?" He made tower-high palaces rise and plunged to the ocean's bottom; he discovered the atom and now is reaching for the heavens, just like the triumphant Tower of Babel.

On the other hand, he exhausts the natural resources and avidly nourishes himself. He found himself at the edge of an ecological abyss and set the A-bomb off under his own feet.

His physical greatness appears simultaneously alluring and unsteady, just like the foundation of morality.

Natural resources, the ecological and atomic crisis place contemporary civilisation before the door of *Death* from which there is no escape. For *Death* — is an obvious *absolute*. Profit, lust and relativity hide in fear of *Death*.

The fear of Death — is the strongest of all subconscious instincts. As a result, all other instincts originate from this fear. Even the idea of posterity is a singular attempt to escape death through progeny.

All other theories which do not focally center themselves on the problem of *Death*, remain erroneous for they are not founded on a deep, primitive and psychological basis. In observing this basis we are immediately met with the problem of the elite. For, even with all its pomp and splendour, the true elite always unite their relationship to death. If, under the threat of death, it is possible to force the pompous non-elite to anything pleasurable, then *the elite person always has principles for which he is ready to die.*

The state and the elite are not synonymous, but do have a definite relationship. This relationship appears in many examples. The state-elite relationship dominated in Rome during the reign of Mucius Scaevola and it seemed that no one could overpower it. When it did disappear, Rome fell and perished. Any society feeds on the emanation of its elite. Moroz truthfully stated: "A nation is alive as long as there are people ready to die for it. People, who are stronger than death itself are like accumulations of the supernatural powers which move this world."

Even the Bolsheviks kept upsetting the world as long as they died for a cause. In Moscow's modern imperium, people wil-

ling to die for communism have almost vanished. Therefore, it is safe to assume that this doctrine is contradictory.

Any incompatible ideology leads a death battle with internal schisms. The ideology attempts to destroy these schisms, however, their presence alone is a display of the vitality of this ideology. If the battle temporarily subsides, then the ideology begins to reek of a cadavre. Apparently, its absolute victory, its absolute solidity is the victory over death.

Therefore, the best example of the decline of Moscow's communism is the almost absolute disappearance of convinced communists among the dissidents in Moscow's concentration camps, as well as the disappearance of faction and anti-party groups. Today Moscow boasts of these two apparent facts. This ideological cadavre quickly decomposes.

Why has the Bolshevik elite remained

a momentary force? Why was it unable to endure these trials in such a short historical period of time?

Why did other elitist groups — religious, chivalrous, and national, survive centuries? Because they carried with them the absolute and eternal values of Spirit, Honour, Family and Nation.

As stated in Greek tragedy — man overcomes everything but death. Until this threatening absolute appears before man, he will search for these eternal values, base himself on them in order to conquer and survive.

And therefore, the indestructible spirit of the phoenix always rises from the ashes of the pompous averages. Such anti-spirit phenomena like Bolshevism always find themselves in the bogs of the criminal pseudo-elite just like the affinitive Mafia and Bolshevism or the scattered "criminals-in-law" in Moscow.



The WORLD YOUTH ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE

hereby confers this certificate
of recognition upon

Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations

for participation and support toward the success of the 8th WYACL Conference held
in the city of Washington, D.C. April, 1978.

"NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS VERSUS COMMUNIST TYRANNY"

Joseph P. Rhee
Chairman

David L. Bunker
Secretary General

Deportations and Transfers of Balts to Russia

Two flows

There is every reason to state that the primary cause of the critical demographic situation in which the Baltic peoples find themselves today is the mass deportations which the Soviet regime organized in the past. Their effects are aggravated by other currently practised methods of transferring Balts to Russia.

Considered separately, the influx of Russians into the Baltic area might in part be regarded as helping the Baltic peoples to restore their economies. It is generally assumed that an individual produces more than he consumes and the difference, at least partly, benefits the country and community in which he lives and works. This is the way in which Soviet propaganda depicts the situation.

However, such views become untenable when confronted with the fact that Balts are being removed from their countries to Russia. Grave harm, economic as well as moral, is thereby caused. Figuratively, one can speak of dismemberment of a living organism.

While not exactly matching each other, the two flows — Balts transferred to Russia and Russians moving to the Baltic republics — are numerically more or less equal. However, there is an important difference between the two. Transfers involve persons who know their country and people, know local conditions and needs, have their place in their native surroundings and often show enthusiasm and unselfishness in the performance of their tasks. By contrast, immigrants are individuals who are unfamiliar with local conditions and people, who at the outset can only do work specifically assigned to them and who can hardly show any ini-

tiative. Therefore an immigrant cannot replace a deportee or person otherwise removed from the native country. Thus the apparent aid to the Baltic peoples actually means irreparable loss of national substance.

Deportations

Here we use this term to denote forcible removal of people from their home country to distant areas. Such transfers affect certain categories, of the population or social groups and are carried on a large scale. Accordingly, they fall under the provisions of the Genocide Convention of December 9, 1948. Deportations, as we see them, have three characteristics: 1) they are carried out forcibly, 2) they are arbitrary actions incompatible with notions of right, they are not covered by legal provisions and 3) in their course people are removed from their homeland. Balts have been deported to the Arctic regions, Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia. Deportees are either kept in forced labour camps or assigned as residence a place which they may not leave and where they have to do any work prescribed.

As regards the past, one can speak of three deportation periods or waves. Each of them has a gravity centre that characterizes the entire action, even if it is not characteristic of every individual case.

The first wave swept over the Baltic countries in 1940—41, culminating in the mass deportations of June 13/14, 1941. The political purpose of this action was to remove population groups whose members had played a leading or active part in the Baltic countries during their independence — in government, armed forces, economic sphere, culture, science

and art. This action was closely followed by deportations or evacuations during the first weeks of the Russo-German war. While the deportations of June 13/14 were directed against certain social groups, the subsequent actions affected persons considered useful in time of war. Normally they were not taken to deportation sites, but were required to serve on the military front or in the rear in Russia. In this way the Baltic countries lost in 1940—41 an estimated 130.000 inhabitants, approximately one-third on June 13/14, 1941. Only a fraction of them were among the living by the mid-fifties.

The second deportation wave rolled over the Baltic area in 1944—45 when the Red Army reoccupied Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. This time, too, the purpose was to remove elements opposed to the Soviet regime. However, no lists of deportees had been prepared and accordingly, one had to improvise. Men of the active age were interned in the so-called "filtration camps". From these screening camps suspects were sent in large groups for work in Russia, in some cases to nearer places. The same fate was reserved for soldiers who had fought against the Russians and for captured patriotic partisans. In the following years, as the regime had collected more detailed information, persons thus detained were either released or tried. Those sentenced were sent to forced labour camps. There only are rough estimates of the number of persons affected by these actions. The total number for all three Baltic peoples might have reached 200.000, mostly men of active age.

The third deportation wave came in 1948—49, in connection with the enforced farm collectivization. To induce farmers to join the kolkhozes "voluntarily", lists of families that might oppose the collectivization drive were prepared. (In general, farms in the free Baltic countries were of small or medium size, and during the first period of Soviet rule (1940—41)

the size of the relatively larger holdings was reduced to 30 or 20 hectares.) As in 1941, entire families were deported, on the basis of special lists. However, this time male heads of families were not separated from the rest of their families. The deportees were mostly sent to kolkhozes in Siberia and Central Asia. The percentage of survivors was higher than in the case of earlier deportations.

The total number of deportees from the Baltic countries is estimated at 500.000 to 700.000. The difference between the two figures indicates that there are no fully reliable estimates. Soviet authorities have done nothing to shed light on the deportation actions. On the rare occasions when Soviet sources refer to them, the term "anti-Soviet elements" is used; it is thus endeavoured to pretend that the regime acted against small groups of die-hard conspirators. Actually, the deportations affected a substantial part of the Baltic population.

No mass deportations have occurred after 1950. Beginning with the mid-fifties, surviving deportees were amnestied. Yet individual deportations go on even today.

Social assignments

This Soviet term denotes labour relationships which combine an element of voluntariness with a specific task or duties. It is said that no task or duty is assigned without the free consent of the person concerned. The performance of the task or duty bestows upon the assignee a certain status and elevates a simple labour contract to the level of valuable services to the community. It should, however, be kept in mind that in the Soviet Union voluntariness is frequently a misnomer.

Very often social assignments are given in the course of recruiting young people for work in major building or other projects. As already stated, such assignments bring Russian labour to the Baltic republics. This method is also used to

engage Baltic youths for work in high-priority projects both within and without their home land. The largest and best-known postwar campaign was initiated in 1954 by Nikita Khrushchev, when he called on young people to go to the virgin lands beyond the Urals. As far as is known, the first group of young workers from the Baltic republics arrived at the Orenburg railway station on April 7, 1954. At a ceremonial meeting all of them pledged to fulfill their task and to remain in the area for good.

To what extent these youths acted on their own free will and how far they felt themselves to be under compulsion, is still an open question. At any rate it is clear that Moscow used the language of orders in this connection. For instance, under a decision taken by the Soviet government and Party on December 25, 1954 (Paragraph 27), the governments, Parties and Communist Youth Organizations of Latvia and Lithuania (as well as of other republics) were enjoined "to select, in the prescribed order, among the personnel of machine-and-tractor-stations, sov-khozes, offices, economic enterprises, etc., independently of their subordination and send for work in the virgin land regions of Kazakhia 111.800 labourers, engineering technicians and employees". Moreover: "The Communist Youth Organization is hereby authorized to continue its work in the systematic selection and despatch for work, on a voluntary basis, of an additional 100.000 young men and women to the virgin soil areas". These figures refer to the Soviet Union as a whole, yet subsequently they were raised several times. After the virgin soil areas came other projects: power stations, industrial plants, road building and the Far East.

How many youths the Baltic republics lost as a result of these actions, cannot be reliably ascertained. At any rate they number several tens of thousands. In a report, published in connection with an

anniversary of the Communist Youth Organization, we find the following reference to Latvia: "Together with youths from other republics, members of Latvia's Communist Youth Organization took part in the reclaiming of land in the virgin soil areas. Some 5.000 young people of our republic went to Kazakhia on travel orders of their organization, and a year later 165 members of the organization proceeded to Kuybyshev, where a hydroelectric power station was being built. One meets representatives of our republic even at building projects in other regions of our country".

Soviet "patriotic" drives are publicized in the press. However, labour in the Baltic republics is recruited even in other ways: through advertisements and labour administration offices. The best possibilities for recruitment are seen in Lithuania. Some 10.000 persons are sent to work outside it every year. The Party considers this to be a positive phenomenon. A. Voss, 1st Secretary of the Latvian CP, addressing the 24th Congress of the Soviet CP, stated among other things: "It is difficult to value too high such an important moment in the interrelations of the Soviet peoples, as the exchange of cadres. It has become an objective necessity."

In this way, can only speak a man who is completely Russianized and prepares the same fate for his people.

What we have said above does not nearly cover all the means by which Baltic Youths are removed from their native countries. Military service, to cite one example, is important. Most ex-servicemen return to their republic. However, there are exceptions and often their return is delayed. After their discharge, the authorities try to engage the youths in various other tasks and to keep them under their direct control as long as possible. Yet even the two-year absence from their country, has a harmful effect — the numerical balance of male and female youths is upset.

Those called up for military service must attend informative meetings. In a report on one of such meetings, we read: "Every one of them has just one thought: where will I spend my service years. Soon they will know it. Maybe in the distant snow-covered Arctic regions, torrid Central Asia, in the wide expanses of Siberia, the

Far East or elsewhere. Yet everywhere they will be met by new friends, representatives of the numerous Soviet Peoples." They did not dare to say that all of them would prefer to stay in their native country.

*From the book **Persist or Perish**, by Arturs Landsmanis, Latvian National Foundation, Stockholm, c. 1976.*

PEOPLES' SILENCE

Although unmentionable
At conference table,
The hushed-up story
Of an unfair tale
Will not go stale.

Crushed by the Russian bear
Eager for Baltic honey,
Plundered by the West —
Wilson has given away
Baltic money —
When does the fate of the Baltic States
Get a mention at UNO?

Where are the Baltic States?

In a peoples' coffin
On a mountain of peoples,
Chained by declarations
Of the right of human movement,
Snowed under, suffocated,
By declarations of the freedom to breathe,
Out of the way,
On Siberian labour camp ice,
The very face forgotten.

But ingrowing silence
Will condense and shatter
The iron cage
Of high-level conspiratory chatter
And break the stranglehold.

Truth will break out.

Velta Snikere

The present report is based on the careful analysis of the situation in Bulgaria as it appears from testimonies of Bulgarian refugees and tourists, visitors and officials on missions to the West, from messages arriving from unofficial sources inside Bulgaria, from radio monitoring of Bulgarian and Soviet broadcasts, from the review of the current Bulgarian, Soviet and Yugoslav information bulletins, dailies and other periodical publications, as well as from studies on particular topics published in Bulgaria and abroad.

The past two years have been marked by a series of events in Bulgaria which ought to be taken into consideration by any serious attempt to scrutinize the situation in Bulgaria today and may be summed up as follows:

a) Economic difficulties delayed the application of the 1976—1980 Five Year Development Plan and the completion of major industrial projects. These were the results of the inherent defects of the communist economic system, and were exasperated by the increase in prices of Soviet oil and of Western technology, which were also at the basis of the continuing food shortages aggravated by excessive exports of agricultural produce both to the USSR and to the West, aimed at re-equilibrating the adverse balance of payments of Bulgaria. The regime in Sofia tried to cope with financial and economic difficulties by intensifying the exploitation of the population through a series of administrative measures such as obligatory labour in market gardening establishments, after office hours for all white collar workers, or the introduction of a new system of salaries and wages, curtailing in practice the incomes of about 2 million bread earners and by dismissing about 50.000 state employees who must seek jobs as workers in industrial plants.

b) The popular discontent of the above economic sacrifices was added to the existing restlessness of the population, tired by years of austerity programs carried out on a discriminatory basis according to Party or non-party membership. When the unrest of the intellectuals and the students antagonized by the regime in Bulgaria is summed up too, it becomes clear that opposition feelings in Bulgaria are spreading to new layers of society. Stepped-up ideological propaganda, anti-religious campaigns, drastic increases in auxiliary police forces were undertaken to cope with widespread enmity to the regime.

c) Despite communist efforts, political and ideological instability is permeating Bulgarian youth and the Bulgarian army. The communist mass organizations were soon blamed for the malfunctioning of the brainwashing mechanism and of the failure to mobilize the masses and extract further benefits from their labour.

d) These political, economic and social problems lacking solutions also provoked some drastic changes at the top, which rocked the leadership of the Union of Communist Youth (DKMS), the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its Politbureau, as well as the Council of Ministers. The party secretary and head of state, Todor Zhivkov, used these changes and the process of further sovietization of the Bulgarian Communist Party which it engendered, to introduce more members of his family to new government posts and in doing so, exposed the regime to new popular criticism and internal struggle for privilege among top ranking party officials.

e) Another problem which did not find any solution during the reviewed period was the situation of the Bulgarians living in Macedonia, though there are developments to be taken into consideration. In

the autumn of 1976 and during the winter of 1977 a secret instruction was circulated and read at Bulgarian Communist Party meetings throughout the country. The line sustained in it was that the population living in Macedonia is of Bulgarian ethnic origin, has the same language and culture and is historically part of the Bulgarian nation. It is difficult to say whether this initiative was a consequence or a reaction to increased Yugoslav pressures coming directly or, through the Soviet Union. The main centres of the propaganda in favour of Bulgarian national feelings on the Macedonian issue are the Bulgarian Army Propaganda institutions (political commissars, schools, research centres, publications, etc.); the Young Communist Union (DKMS); the Union of Bulgarian writers; the Ministry of Culture (headed by the daughter of Todor Zhivkov, party leader and head of state); and certain members of the Presidency of the republic. Thus while these centres continue to spread and encourage the interest of officers, young people and the whole nation in the plight of Bulgarians living in Macedonia and the Bulgarian historical monuments there, the Soviet Union is pursuing its double game supporting in turn Bulgaria or Yugoslavia, according to the requirements of the Soviet foreign policy of the moment. The Macedonian problem is particularly urgent since it may have not only repercussions limited to the Balkan area, but also, grave consequences for the whole of Europe, in the "After Tito" period, which does not belong to the distant future. The disappearance of Tito will put in question the very existence of the artificial federative structure of the Yugoslav state. Lately there have been more signs of the strong centrifugal pull of the nationalist forces in Slovenia, Croatia and of the national minorities of Albanians, Hungarians and the rest of the 18 nationalities kept under Yugoslav tutorship.

f) During the past two years the organized and spontaneous resistance of the Bulgarian people to the communist regime in the country took on a variety of forms, repeating the existing practices of passive opposition, defections to the West, etc. but also evolving into active manifestations.

In January 1977 a unique fact occurred in the whole Soviet Bloc: an issue of the NARODNA MLADEZH daily, which carried a bitterly critical review of the regime, by the dissidents Radoi Ralin and Boris Dimovski, was confiscated only after a large number of copies, more than 60.000, had been sold. During the latter part of 1976 and the whole of 1977, the government of Sofia tried in vain to impose the new system of salaries and wages so as to obtain a reduction of income of the toiling people. The regime met with increased absenteeism, slow-down actions and pilferage, and was thus obliged to apply the new system only in a few state enterprises on an experimental basis. This delay is a major success of the passive resistance methods of defence of the people against the various measures of economic oppression introduced recently by the regime. Another such manifestation was the unofficial and illegal (for the regime) miners' strike in the autumn of 1977. For four days, work at the pits stopped, as a spontaneous protest against the administration's attempts to reduce wages (through a provisional application of the new system of wages and salaries on "an experimental basis") and resulted in mass arrests, beatings of the presumed leaders of the strike and the temporary suspension of the application of the new system of wages.

During the past two years a form of popular protest which had disappeared for a time from Bulgarian realities made a triumphant return: there were writings on the walls all over the main cities in Bulgaria and they were all decidedly anti-Zhivkov. Graffiti reading "We can do without the boss but not without beef!"

appeared on the walls of buildings in the center of Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas, Varna, Pleven and in some smaller towns.

The additional extraction of free or low paid labour out of the over-worked population, called "Voluntary Brigades" in which office workers, soldiers, school-children, university students and teaching staff are organized and obliged to give up to 53 days of slave labour per year, meets with little response from the Bulgarians despite propaganda and repressive measures to secure the much needed seasonal workers free of charge for the communist state.

Another step along the escalating opposition tensions between the regime and the population was the general black-out that plunged the whole of Bulgaria into total darkness and stopped all industrial activity, on the night of January 13, 1978. This is now considered the most spectacular act of sabotage perpetrated in the Soviet Bloc. Several power stations are still out of order as a result of the energy black-out.

The main permanent centres of mass resistance to the communist regime in Bulgaria are still the Bulgarian Moslem communities in Northern Bulgaria near Shumen, and in Southern Bulgaria in the Rhodope Mountains. The Bulgarian Moslems are stubbornly defending their faith and traditions against all government administrative, and repressive measures to do away with Islam in Bulgaria. Dismissals, exiles, arrests, prison and death sentences have had, so far, only marginal effects since the popular resistance has deep social and cultural roots. There remains only one danger for the Bulgarian Moslems, that is the carefully prepared isolation of Mohammed believers from the outside world. The

Moslem believers in Bulgaria are presently lacking any information media and this may prove to be the decisive factor for a final communist success. The 1.200.000 Bulgarians of Moslem faith are now the strongest buttress against communism in Bulgaria, since they are the most compact and homogenous.

The reviewed events in the 1976—77 period have been chosen for their importance in the given context, but they do not exhaust the chronicle of Bulgarian resistance in the said period. They also help us to understand that the image of Bulgaria as a tranquil Soviet Satellite is a false one. This false image of Bulgaria is a projection of the guide lines of the policy making bodies of the Western powers, based on historical and modern conjectural factors and it is maintained through an insufficient penetration of the Western information media in Bulgaria, coupled with a frequently recurring incompetence of self-styled experts on the Bulgarian question whose opinion is held as an authoritative one.

The reviewed sequence of events also helps to understand why Bulgaria, being repeatedly the victim of Tzarist Russian and Soviet imperialism, has a population with a strong anti-Russian and anti-Soviet undercurrent of thoughts and feelings, despite all the years of official propaganda in the opposite direction.

Therefore, the task of Todor Zhivkov and his communist team to sovietize Bulgaria will not be a quick and easy one. Hence, a direct annexation of Bulgaria by the Soviet Union will be a clear sign of the incapability of the regime to crush the resistance of the Bulgarian people by other means and it may prove to be a grave political mistake for the Kremlin.

For Complete Separation from Russia

Below we present excerpts from a statement entitled: **RUSSIAN PROBLEMS**, made by Igor Sinjavin and supported by Peter Boldyrev and other likewise-thinking Russians.

Igor Sinjavin and Peter Boldyrev represent those Russians from the newest political emigration who support the Captive Nations selfdetermination and complete national independence.

Russian problems

The chief problem facing present-day Russia is liberation from the evil which enslaved her in 1917. This fundamental problem is inseparably linked with others: with the problem of nationalities, with the problem of new ideas and goals, and with ways and means. It is the new ideas and goals which could catalyse a union between the disparate forces opposed to the Soviet regime.

Within the opposition to the Soviet regime there are two diametrically opposed approaches to the problem of nationalities.

One group contends that Russia is a great state, which in the process of organic historical development took up natural geopolitical boundaries. Further, the Russian empire had been a source of benefit for all peoples entering its sphere. This state, it is argued, progressed by all parameters: the economy was strengthened, cultural life broadened, and the individual was provided with all the important rights and opportunities. Now, however, the Bolsheviks who inherited this huge state could bring about its undoing. They have sapped its inner spiritual strength, stifling the individual, manhandling the economy and retarding its development. This way of thinking asserts the necessity of being liberated from the Soviet usurpers, but nonetheless

would retain the integrity of "Russia"*. The wholeness of "Russia"* should be preserved, they say, inasmuch as within the framework of this grand consolidation, as it is easier to secure the welfare of all its members. They maintain that the various international powers have set their sights on the destruction of Russia, which was, and continues to be the primary obstacle to these powers. In the event of Russia's collapse, the non-Russian nationalities would fall under foreign subjugation. Russia's own freedom then, and the well-being of the surrounding peoples can only be secured in the context of a revitalized Russia liberated from the Bolsheviks.

To others, Russia is a plunderer-empire which has enslaved and continues to make slaves of the nations it conquers. The root of the evil is precisely national oppression. With its undisguised imperialism, the growingly decrepit pre-1917 monarchy was unable to keep a steady hand on centrifugal tendencies. The need arose for a revitalized state ideology, and the old, dried-out sponge of an ideology soaked up the moisture it found in a new source: an even more hypocritical ideology of Bolsheviks. That is why it is necessary to strive not for a change in ideology or regime but it is imperative to chop at the very roots — to undermine the empire itself.

For those who side with the "unified and indivisible" view of Russia, the integrity of "Russia"* is the uncontested primary axiom. Consequently, their proposal for the reorganization of Russia fall to pieces like a house of cards as they collide with a fact that even a child can understand: today the vigilant guard of

* Russian Empire (Ed. note)

Russian unity and indivisibility is the Soviet power. Not only have they not given away any land, but they have set up loyal satellites along the western frontier and have widened Russian influence on international politics.

Isn't it risky to struggle with the modern Soviet government? Isn't it true that during the break-up of the regime Russia herself could become unravelled? History gave the "unified and indivisible" partisans a chance at this question during the civil war. Is it possible that they lost because the "unified and indivisible" watchword had frightened away the non-Russians?

So it appears that the "unified and indivisible" supporters are not the anti-thesis of the Bolshevik regime. Not without reason, Shulgin, when he returned to the Soviet Union, admitted that the Bolsheviks had indeed built that Russian empire for which he had gone to war in 1917.

In spite of diverse political and other views, the non-Russians in their pursuit for national self-determination and independence, have been able to unite themselves around one goal: the fight for national liberation.

Naturally, among the supporters of a unified and indivisible Russia, the majority is overwhelmingly Russian, while all non-Russians are for national independence.

Both these wings within the opposition cannot find a common point of contact. It turns out that the Soviet authority is the only winner in this argument. Its sturdiness is due not so much to inherent strength, as to the weakness and division of the opposition.

What then is the unifying solution of the nationalities' problem? Not so long ago, there was a call for a nation-wide repentance. But what is the point of spreading crocodile tears over one's face? Russians must not repent, but must take pride in their great state, into the construction of which they had poured their own sweat and blood. Finally, incredible suf-

fering persuaded them that the burden had become unendurable, and that the great empire had not brought any good to the Russian people. Evil befell Russia no less cruelly than it hit other nationalities. National culture was destroyed, tens of millions of the finest Russian people perished. The native Russian ethnic type had almost disappeared. Muscles are already wearing from shouldering forced weight. It is time to breath freely, to break away from Marxist missions thrusting from without. The missions have as their goal the possession of the individual and human society. No single nation can presume to decide the fate of all mankind. Russians are already beginning to understand that if they do not throw off the back-breaking load, then they will vanish like phantoms, just as the Romans.

The Russian opposition needs to acknowledge the right of all nations to self-determination without conditions, without reservations. And only when Russia admits the complete independence of the non-Russian nations will they be able to shake hands with them. At that time they will be able to join forces in solving a problem which is no longer strictly Russian, but of general concern: liberation from Communism. Those peoples within the sphere of the Soviet Union will meet half-way only after they can assure themselves that Russia's repudiation of imperialistic attractions is sincere. These countries will be satisfied only after seeing Russia's actions, and verifying that there is no new snare lying in wait, not one unlike the snare of Leninism.

Without a similar solution to the problem of nationalities, Russians cannot hope for either comrade-in-arms status with neighboring nations, or for future friendship with them. What sort of collaboration will arise among newly freed nations — this they themselves will decide. It is not our place to make conjectures or to foretell the future.

As long as all the nationalities enslaved by Soviet Russia are unable to find a common language, Communism will reign triumphant over the land. The individual living in Russia, as in other Communist countries, will remain a slave. In Ukraine,

Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, etc., — he will continue to wear a double yoke: national and political.

An editorial commentary in reference to the above article will appear in the next issue of ABN Correspondence. Ed.

Peter Boldyrev

Russians for the Abolition of the Empire

An address delivered at a public meeting devoted to the national problems in the USSR, in New York, USA, on December 18, 1977.

Permit me to expand on some principal points of our position regarding the nationalities problem in the USSR.

At present, our position is only one of the trends within the general current of the liberation movement in the USSR, which has been going on for two decades already and has been inspired, undoubtedly, not so much by narrow political and narrowly national obligations and aims, as by moral, religious, and spiritual search.

And in this sense, we and our position are not something of an anti-national exception. As Mr. Sinyavin has stressed, we are not dissenters, not renegades who have lost our way or our bearings. On the contrary, while remaining in the ranks, we are merely trying to make the next step which inevitably follows from the preceding ones. Therefore, Alexander Solzhenitsyn's appeal for repentance and confession, i. e. in fact for moral reappraisal of our entire historical path, the appeal directed above all to us, Russians, we also extend to the problems of relations between the nationalities, to the nationalities' problem as it has shaped itself in the territory of tsarist Russia and of the present-day USSR as a result of annexations and conquests carried out under different flags but always imperialist.

We are not professional politicians, although we happened to engage in political activities within the ranks of the dissident movement in the USSR. By profession, Sinyavin is an artist and a writer, and I am a religious philosopher. And generally speaking, we do not consider politics, which in one way or another includes a considerable dose of cynicism and deceit, a determining force of human relations. We believe that there are other, higher and stronger values than political power, and struggle for it by any means available. But it is precisely because we are not politicians that we do not seek any personal gain, we do not have any axe to grind but simply wish to state our views, to expose them openly to the judgment of history and of the people. We are simply Russians who are genuinely and deeply worried about the fate of our people which has found itself in such a tragic dead end. Nor do we propose any ready-made remedies. We are looking for a way out, and appeal to anyone who sincerely wishes well the Russian and the neighboring peoples, to take part in this difficult but vitally necessary search.

The great Russian thinker, Vladimir Sergeevich Solovyev, used to say: "It is impossible to improve the life of the people without a severe criticism of the people's life." Yes, self-criticism is necessary; but today, for us, Russians, it is no longer sufficient. Over the 60 post-revolutionary

years so much evil has been added and accumulated in Russia that its Augean stables can be cleaned now only by a truly nationwide repentance embracing the entire nation. This includes repentance for the imperialist fascinations of the past and of the present.

We Refuse "One and Indivisible" Russia

It is often said that throughout Russian history the central power has never expressed the interests of the Russian people. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is precisely the Russian people who have served as the most reliable support of the central power and who have been most intensely exploited by that power for its hegemonist and expansionist aims. It is their physical might and moral lack of willpower that have served and continue to serve as the main instrument in the hands of the ruling clique. One might ask: who else then, apart from the people themselves, is responsible for the actions of their rulers, including their crimes against humanity and other peoples? The people cannot be excused by the statements that, allegedly, these crimes have been committed against their will. What is the sense in the popular will if it is not manifested openly, if the people do not protest but, keep silent? By this very fact they cover up everything, and unwittingly participate in the actions of the ruling criminals. Moreover, they strike themselves out from the list of historical nations, for speechless, irresponsible people have no place in history. They are always only passive material used for various, most frequently alien to them, but often simply criminal purposes.

This is true for the Russian people as well. Only by raising its voice, the voice of its national conscience and historical wisdom, can it restore its historical significance and purpose, and do it not under the ugly mask of Asianized "Russian

autocracy" or Europeanized "proletarian internationalism." No, the return to its historical destiny, and through it to the general human, brotherly family of nations, is possible only through a return to its own national sources, it requires revelation and enlightenment of its own national face.

From this point of view, we cannot agree with some approaches to the general Russian nationality problem in our contemporary liberation movement. Thus, for example, we reject as morally unacceptable the position of the so-called "one and indivisible" (Russia) adherents — from the democrats to the monarchists inclusively. They assert that Russia must remain an imperialistic state, i. e. one and indivisible, and the Russian nation must retain its dominant position of an overlord.

For the Law of Morality

How can such an approach be termed otherwise than national egoism? Even if it is justified by a whole series of the so-called "rights of priority" of the Russian people — from the right to self-preservation to the right of conquest. This does not change the essence, however: the right of force, which in our times is becoming increasingly obsolete, is everywhere proclaimed in fact as the basis of relations between states and between nations.

But, as a matter of fact, in our nuclear age, when any, even local conflicts, may escalate into a war suicidal for mankind, the stubborn attempts to cling to the right of might are not only anti-historic, they are simply madness. They lead nations into an impasse from which there is no way out. Injection of another principle which would become dominant in the life of the international community is necessary like air, for international relations. This principle is presently being groped for, although timidly and hesitantly, and with great difficulties it has begun to be

implemented in political practice. That principle is the principle of justice, the *law of morality*, as the basis of relations not only between individuals but also between different states. Some courageous people, such as President Carter in the USA and Alexander Solzhenitsyn in the USSR, have begun to talk openly about that law. The adherents of the "one and indivisible" on the other hand, becoming ossified in their conservatism, denying the right to self-determination equal for all nations, defending the primacy of force in relations between nations, thereby refuse to reckon with the demands of history and, moreover, find themselves in fact in the same ranks as the most gloomy, the most sinister dictatorships of our time, including, in the first instance, the Communist dictatorship.

Repudiation of Blind National Egoism, a Switch to the Positions of Reasonable National Altruism — this is the only way to a political and national rebirth of the Russian people, and as a matter of fact, of any other people, including all the nations and states neighboring with the Russians.

National Idea Against Anational Conglomerates

There are no grounds to fear that such a turn in the Russian national self-consciousness may lead to the downfall of the Russian nation. On the contrary, it is precisely such a reappraisal of our historical destiny that is the only and reliable guarantor of our future, of true well-being and glory of the Russian people, of a sincere, and not based on fear, respect for it on the part of other peoples. If we, Russians, as a truly great nation, find in ourselves the strength and selflessness of spirit to repudiate our great-power pretensions, sincere gratitude and selfless friendship, assistance and support of the same nations which until now have been forcibly,

only by means of military and political, as well as ideological compulsion, harnessed by our central power to the Russian imperial chariot, will always and in all our trials be assured us.

However, rejecting the ultranationalism-imperialism of the "one and indivisible" Russia adherents, we do not accept the other extreme. I have in mind the position of those technocratically minded dissidents who are inclined to deny the category of the nation altogether. Those people think that the historical existence of nations approaches its end, and that technocratically managed anational conglomerates are bound to replace national states. We consider such an approach a dangerous illusion threatening not only national individuality, but also leading to the downfall of such unshakeable foundations of human existence as religion, culture, and the state based on law and family.

It is only by national personality that the historical significance of all these concepts is determined, for the developing modern technology itself is by no means an end in itself. It is only a necessary and useful means for the manifestation and flourishing of all the national as well as individual potentialities. Therefore, leveling down of national differences, bringing them under a common denominator of the technical progress, deprives above all this very same progress of any historical sense.

Healthy National Existence is a Necessary Condition for the Normal Development of Both the People as a Whole and of Each Individual.

For Granting National State Independence to All the Nations Subjugated in the USSR

It is precisely the unhealthy distortions of the national idea — either its hypertrophy, or, to the contrary, its belittlement — and with it also that of the national existence of the peoples that have been

part of firstly the Russian, and then of the Soviet empire — that have brought about a situation where this territory has become presently one of the tensest knots of international contradictions in the world. This Gordian knot can be cut only in one way — by granting national State independence to all the nations constituting the USSR, including of course the Russian nation, moreover, *without any preconditions*.

In this respect, we cannot agree at all with those representatives of the democratic wing of our liberation movement who, without denying in principle the right of nations to self-determination when applying it to the USSR, for some reason restrict it and hedge it with a whole series of preconditions. And the most important among these preconditions is that the so-called “nationwide plebiscites” be held in the present-day Union Republics. We cannot understand what in this position is more prevalent: intentional political demagoguery to satisfy, for instance, the adherents of a “one and indivisible Russia,” or is it a failure to understand the main principles of democracy? For it is absolutely clear that only an existing, strong and stable democratic state is capable of carrying out a full-blooded plebiscite and avoiding its substitution by appearances and profanation. Only a democratic state, by its very nature, will not interfere in the voting process, in the manifestation of the popular will, limiting its functions only to the procedural, purely technical tasks and their execution. For all the other types of states, and for the dictatorships in particular, plebiscites (polls) are merely a method and a convenient screen to justify and realize its own, far from popular aims. However, there is no hint even at democracy among any of the peoples which are a part of the Soviet empire. Least of all among the Russians. History has not worked out any democratic insti-

tutions or mechanisms in Russia. One may ask, what kind of plebiscites will they be, even if they are carried out already after an overturn of the Communist regime?

Plebiscites are all right in states with developed, established and confident democratic traditions. In all those unstable political formations which will, apparently, arise on the ruins of the former Soviet empire, however, various forms of authoritarian regimes will most probably prevail. They are absolutely unsuitable for holding plebiscites, all the more so regarding such an acute and vitally important question for every nation, as its national state self-determination.

“Russians for the Liquidation of Their Empire”

Now we can give a preliminary formulation to some fundamental principles of our position. In general one may define it as “*Russians for the Liquidation of Their Empire.*”

This aim, after the downfall of Communism, may be attained by the following measures:

1. *Immediate Dissolution of the Empire Through a Decree, National Self-determination of All Former Union Republics Without any Preconditions.*

2. *Formation of a Russian National State and Other National States on the Territory of the Former Soviet Empire within Reasonable, Historically and Ethnographically Justified Borders.*

3. *Prohibition by Way of a Constitutional Provision of any Imperialistic Expansion on this Territory, its Transformation into a Peace Zone.*

These are the main points. Maybe one ought to envisage one more constitutional provision for the Russian national state. I have in mind prohibition by law for the Russian government to grant requests about the return of any former non-Russian Soviet-ruled peoples to Russia.

All the peoples on the territory of the Soviet Union must first recuperate after centuries of colonialism and decades of Communism, to win and then to strengthen their national independence. After that will come genuine friendship and trust between free peoples who have previously known national strife and mistrust, infringement of national rights, great power pretensions, and national subjugation.

May I, finally, repeat what has been said. The political aim of the liquidation of the great power, the Soviet empire, its transformation into several equal and sovereign national States, cannot be attained by purely political means, by the traditional methods of old politics based mostly only on force, impudence, perfidy and lies. Only a switchover to new politics,*) introduction and strengthening of the law of morality in it, of the principle of justice in international relations, give a certain hope that the nationalities problem

*) Ed. Note: "switchover to new politics" — the speaker believes that this can only be possible when force is exerted by the opposition within the Soviet Union.

in the USSR will one day be successfully solved.

For who and when, one may ask, has postulated as eternal truth that morality must necessarily be a sign of weakness? Is it not quite the contrary? Is not morality, especially religious, precisely that force before which sooner or later all the others, including the political force, bow in homage? This has happened many a time in history already. An example is the proud and almighty ancient Rome, that bit the dust before the outwardly quite weak, and armed only with religious morality, and therefore free in spirit, early Christians.

There is no freedom in might, but there is might in freedom!

Ed. Note: Without national liberating revolution, it is impossible to liquidate the Russian Empire and communist system, and to restore national independent states of the subjugated nations within the USSR.

The Roman Empire, which was deteriorating from within, was destroyed by Germanic warriors. Empires were always destroyed by the weapons of the subjugated nations, with their just ideas.

East German Victims of Expulsion

I am involved in the eastern Germany concern in asserting that the expulsion of 17 million eastern Germans from their homes in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, the Sudetenland and other areas, violates international law and the provisions of the Hague Land War Convention (Haager Landkriegsordnung). I also assert that the USSR should furnish exact information concerning the whereabouts of German ethnic groups, such as the Volga Germans, and the fate of German prisoners of war who have been detained in the USSR. The voluntary repatriation of the eastern German popu-

lation to its native land and the release of all Germans who wish to emigrate from the USSR and its satellite states would contribute to a tangible, global relaxation of tensions.

If normal and healthy relations are to be restored, this grave injustice which has been perpetrated against the refugees must be rectified.

The entire extent of casualties among the civilian population, which, according to recognized international law, must not be subjected to annihilation in war, is monstrous. It demonstrates the failure of the good intentions with which the USA

attempted to sanctify the Second World War as a crusade for the salvation of justice and humanity. The number of those who have fallen victim to expulsion has never been brought to public attention either in the East or in the West. Even in Germany, it is known only to a small circle. It has not been publicized or disseminated through the mass media, as the extent of nazist atrocities has been. The statistics and documentation on this subject have remained shrouded in darkness.

The West German Federal Office of Statistics (Statistisches Bundesamt) has applied meticulous methods in the investigation of casualties among refugees, as befits the scientific methodology of this highly responsible office. The following information has been excerpted from "Die deutschen Vertreibungsverluste" ("German Refugee Casualties"), published by the Federal Office of Statistics in Wiesbaden and Stuttgart in 1958:

"The German civilian population in the East was increased by the 2 million women and children who were evacuated from bombarded cities in Western Germany. However, in the last months of the war, it diminished, because of the number of able-bodied men and youths who were called upon to construct fortifications and assist in the war effort. When the Russians invaded and refugees began to break out into open flight in ever increasing numbers, many families were already torn apart. On the farms of the open plain, French prisoners of war, as well as French, Belgian and Dutch civilian workers, were the only men, besides the able-bodied elderly, who were able to organize and direct the flight of the refugees. A state of panic had been induced by news reports and the reports of eye-witnesses of the atrocities which the Russians had committed in the Goldaper district, which German troops had temporarily reconquered. The panic intensified as Russian troops forced their way further west.

"According to the careful calculation of the Federal Office of Statistics in Wiesbaden, the population of Eastern Germany was estimated at 17 million. 2,280,000 persons lost their lives as a result of flight, expulsion and deportation. This figure does not include the loss of approximately one million eastern Germans who died serving the German army. Thus, the 2,280,000 casualties were incurred primarily by women, children and men who were no longer fit for combat. They were either struck down by enemy forces or died as a direct result of hunger, cold, exhaustion, contamination and infection on the miserable trail of flight and expulsion. Some perished en route to the work camps in the East or in the camps themselves. This annihilation of a personally innocent civilian population took place primarily during the several months which began in early 1945 and reached its climax during the harsh winter of 1945—46.

"The total of 2,280,000 who perished in flight or expulsion was geographically distributed among the eastern German population as follows: 1,338,000 came from within the former borders of the German Reich (including East Prussia, East Pomerania, East Brandenburg and Silesia); of these, 229,000 came from East Prussia, 364,000 from East Pomerania, 207,000 from East Brandenburg, and 466,000 from Silesia. There were 866,000 deaths among the ethnic Germans living in settlement areas outside of the German borders of 1937, including the Memel area, Danzig and the Sudetenland. 51,000 died in the Baltic states and in the Memel area, 83,000 in Danzig, 185,000 in Poland, 272,000 in Czecho-Slovakia including the Sudetenland, 57,000 in Hungary, 135,000 in Yugoslavia, and 101,000 in Rumania.*

"We were unable to give the figures according to cause of death. We do not know, with statistical certainty, how many

* victims of the Red Army.

of the dead were murdered, starved, froze, died of contamination and infection, or perished in forced-labor camps. It is, however, certain, that only half of those deported survived the journey to the forced-labor camps.

"The loss of life in Czecho-Slovakia, including the Sudetenland, (270,000) is not to be traced to the atrocities of the Red Army, and it can only be attributed in a small measure to deportations to Russia, since the war had already come to an end when Russian troops breached the frontier. The deaths in Czecho-Slovakia can be traced back to the inhuman vengeance of the Czecho-Slovakian civilian population, the Czech militia, and to the so-called Svoboda Army, which perpetrated the first frenzied expulsions and murders against the German civilian population. The Germans in Yugoslavia suffered an especially cruel fate, in so far as they could not escape by flight. Of the 220,000 who were unable to flee Yugoslavia, only 85,000 survived. 135,000 were killed.

"The urban population used in their flight, the railroad as far as this was possible. This, however, required bureaucratic planning and written travel authorizations. Successful flight by foot was possible only for short distances to the next refugee center, or when fronts remained stationary for long periods. In March 1945, only the Oder Front was sufficiently stationary to permit successful flight. A marine rescue action was begun in early 1945, in the aftermath of the cutting of the railroad lines from Stettin to Danzig and from Danzig to Koenigsberg. This marine operation concentrated primarily on rescuing the masses of refugees who had crowded into the Baltic seaports and the evacuation of wounded and disabled German soldiers. It was a heavily supported effort under the direction of the Navy, 1.6 million refugees and 700,000 German soldiers of which 500,000 were wounded, owed their

rescue to this operation. The navy used all of its remaining ships in the rescue operation, deploying a total of 790 ship-units in the action. This included 2 battleships, 2 ships of the line, 4 cruisers and armored vessels, 9 destroyers, 13 torpedo boats, 27 mine-sweepers, 15 speed boats, 13 hospital ships, and various other vessels. The entire available German merchant fleet was mobilized, which amounted to a total of 475 ship-units, with a total of 1.4 million tons. The operation began in January 1945 and lasted until May 9, 1945.

"The embarkation of refugees took place in the seaports of Memel (10,000), Koenigsberg (40,000), Pilau (291,000), Danzig (119,000), Gotenhafen (316,000), Hela (247,000), and Elbing (4,000). Later, as the Russian army reached the Pomeranian coast, the operation was extended to Stolpmuende (32,000), Reugenwaldermuende (5,000), Kolberg (116,000), and Swinemuende (68,000). Later rescues took place in West Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Warnemuende, Stralsund, Sassnitz, and Rostock. Many ships were lost in port and on the open seas, mostly as a result of air attacks, in which 49 ships were damaged. However, loss of life remained astonishingly small in the sea transports. These figures amounted to only 20,000 persons, or somewhat more than one percent of those transported, despite the aerial attacks and sinkings."

Despite the fact that they constituted only a very small fraction of the total of 2,280,000 refugee and expulsion victims, it is precisely these losses at sea, that have remained most vividly in memory, because they indicate the possibility of mass annihilation, and also because the sinking of ships always occupies our thoughts in a special way.

4,000 refugees drowned on January 30, 1945 in Stolpmuende, when the "Wilhelm Gustloff," a 25,000 ton ship of the Hamburg-Sued Line, was torpedoed by a

Russian submarine. 5,000 drowned on May 3, 1945, when the "Cap Arcona" was sunk at Neustadt. 5,900 died when the small but overloaded ship "Goya" (5,300 tons) was sunk on April 16, 1945. 3,000 died in the sinking of the "General Steuben" in the middle of February 1945, and about 2,000 died when the small ship "Thielbeck" (2,800 tons) was sunk at Neustadt on May 3, 1945.

"To enumerate in detail the deaths suffered by east German civilians at the end of the war would be to recount an endless chain of ill fortune. The ship sinkings were almost humane, because the quick drownings allowed only a short period of suffering and anguish. The longest torment was endured by those who were deported to the forced-labor camps in the East to succumb to exhaustion.

"This destruction of the civil population at the end of a war whose military

outcome was already decided, surpasses the capacity of people, for political and moral understanding — as this understanding has developed in the occident until the two world wars, and as it had been militarily and politically consolidated in the 18th and 19th centuries. One must search far back into the past — back to the Mongolian invasions, to certain phases of the barbarian invasions, or to the ancient wars of annihilation — in order to encounter evidence of similar genocide of a defenseless population at the end of, or even after the end of an armed conflict."

I believe that, after 32 years of occupation of our east German homeland, the justice of revenge should be ended, and the rightful owners of this land should be allowed to return.

Germany must be reunited within its former boundaries. May God grant this.

Horst Uhlich (East Germany)

APARTHEID IN THE USSR?

The Meskhetians are an Islamic people whose homeland is in southern Georgia, on the Turkish border. On 15 November, 1944, they were all deported to Central Asia and Kazakhstan. It is reported that 30,000 of the (approximately) 200,000 deportees died of cold and hunger. Unlike other national groups deported by Stalin, they were not accused of collaboration with the Germans, and it seems that Stalin wanted them removed from the sensitive border area because of his wartime designs on north-eastern Turkey.

Merab Kostava, a Georgian Christian, who has been held without trial since April 1977, and was sent to a psychiatric hospital last November, is one of those

supporting the Meskhetians in their battle to return to their homeland. The Soviet Government granted this right on paper in 1968 but, despite their mass desire to return and numerous delegations to Moscow, the Meskhetians have been prevented in every way from resettling.

Kostava learned that the ancient Greeks knew of the Meskhetians and, according to Greek tradition, Pythagoras studied with them. In the 16th century Meskhetia was annexed by Turkey, and over three centuries the Meskhetians were Islamicised. In 1829 Meskhetia reverted to Georgia and became part of the Tsarist Empire.

The Right to Believe, No. 1, 1978

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union a Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation of the USSR 60 Years Ago)

FROM LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Board of the Centro per la Difesa dell' Occidente (Center for the Defence of the West), in its meeting of November 6, 1977, in Rome, discussed the Italian political situation in connection with the future entrance of the Communist Party into the Government. A debate was held on how the "historical compromise" between the Catholic and Marxist organizations in Italy, so-far hidden behind the scenes, is now official.

It was also debated how seriously the liberty of the Italians is now endangered; how the Christian Democratic Party has once more deceived its electors, by leaving the Nation in the hands of marxist organizations, and helping the Communist Party in its road to power; how the daily assaults of communist armed groups against Italian anti-communists are left unpunished by the Government; and how the Italian National organizations are conducting a severe fight for the freedom and independence of the country.

The Board condemned the present political persecution (which the Italian Government wants) against the National and anti-communist organizations.

The Board also decided to ask all international, anti-marxist and traditional organizations, that they ensure that everybody in their own country be informed about the political situation existing in Italy under the present Catholic-Marxist régime.

An invitation was issued to all friends in the world to express, in all possible ways, their dissent to the Italian Embassies in their countries.

Some facts on political persecution in Italy:

— 1974: the political organization "Ordine Nuovo" (New Order) was dissolved by an act of the Government, its members arrested and their properties confiscated; some of them left the country, and now live in exile. Trials based on

political opinion, end up in heavy imprisonments for these people.

— Members of the "Fronte della Gioventù" (Youth Front) are constantly persecuted, discriminated against, assaulted and arrested in all towns of the Republic. Cases of torture are reported. Over one thousand people are in prison for political reasons, and they all belong to National and anti-communist organizations. Most of them have been in prison for two or three years without a trial.

— A huge trial is being run at the present time against the members of the "Fronte Nazionale" (National Front) headed by J. V. Borghese (who died in exile in Spain) and S. Saccucci (the only member of a European Parliament in exile).

— Local political elections, which should have taken place in November, have been cancelled and postponed "sine die", due to the fact that they were dangerous for the Government and the Communist Party.

HELP the fight for liberty in Italy.

TELL your friends about the above facts.

WRITE about them to the Italian Embassy in your country, to the Italian President (Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, Italy), and to the main newspapers in your country.

ASK that the hundreds of Italian political prisoners be freed.

ASK that Italian political exiles be allowed back home.

WRITE accordingly, to the European Economic Community, to the United Nations and to Amnesty International.

ASK that S. Saccucci be allowed to return back home, and to his Parliamentary seat.

YOUR help can be fundamental for hundreds of Italian political prisoners.

HELP them. Help us.

Unity For National Freedom Against Communist Aggression

Joint Communique of the 11th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, Washington, D. C., April 30, 1978

The 11th General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) — held in the US capital on April 28-30, 1978 and attended by 440 anti-communist fighters from 68 countries and 30 international organizations — demonstrated the great unity of world forces for freedom. The conferees extensively examined the current international situation and worked out political manifestos as well as concrete measures for WACL's stepped-up joint endeavor to bring about and assure national freedom, human rights, peace and prosperity for all mankind.

The WACL Conference has noted the following characteristics of the world today:

—Because of their continuous multi-front expansionist moves, the communists are making it ever clearer that they have not changed and will never change their goals for world communization and human enslavement.

— Communist ideologies, political systems and ways of life are being vehemently abhorred and opposed to by more and more people.

The Conference participants have reaffirmed that multipolar power politics cannot bring about durable equilibrium and that man should not rely alone on nuclear strength as a major factor helpful to the preservation of freedom and security. Instead, the leading motivating factors are the determination to remain free, the desire for national freedom and human rights and the quest for progress and happiness.

In order to guide global developments in a corrective direction, the Conference adopted "*Unity for National Freedom Against Communist Aggression*" as the theme of WACL's perpetual endeavor. At

the same time, the conferees resolved to call the world's attention to the following immediate steps:

1. That the United States of America be requested to formulate a new global policy in order to meet the urgent need for the common security of free nations. Aware that the existing bilateral defense ties of free nations are not sufficient to maintain free world security, WACL therefore urges that free nations should enhance regional cooperation to further their common strategic, political and economic interests. And that the US be urged furthermore to consolidate her friendship with allies in order to implement the global policy more effectively.

That positive efforts be made to strengthen the island chain of defense in the Western Pacific area; and that the US enhance her treaty relations and defense arrangements with the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of the Philippines, Japan and other free nations of Asia. It is also urged that the US continue its strong deterrent power in the Republic of Korea for peace and security in that part of the world.

2. Free nations should not indulge in the illusions that the Chinese communist regime may change their basic policy for the communization of the Free World. At their 11th Party Congress last July and recent Fifth "National Peoples Congress," the Chinese communists reiterated their stand for "revolutionary diplomacy" of the proletariat, and clearly laid down their anti-US attitude in the "Constitution." The Peking and Moscow regimes similarly treat the US as a major enemy and are racing toward the same goal of world communization.

Any US attempt to win the Chinese communists over as a checkmate against the Russians can only cause irreparable damage to the Free World. Free nations therefore should refrain from moves towards so-called "normalization of relations" with that regime. We hope that the forthcoming visit of Mr. Brzezinski to Peiping would not be detrimental to the defense treaty obligations between the US and the Republic of China. On the other hand, the Free World should clearly note the strong desire of the enslaved Chinese on the Mainland for a true democracy and encourage, in every way, their aspirations.

3. The human rights campaign is a source of great encouragement to the captive peoples under communist rule and therefore must be promoted vigorously behind the Iron Curtain. A surging tide for freedom and civil rights then can rise throughout the world. The US and other free nations must apply a rational uniform yardstick with regard to human rights and take joint steps against all the communist regimes of the East and the West that are true enemies of humanity and human rights.

4. The Soviet Union should be strongly condemned for sending Cuban troops and heavy armaments to Africa for expansionism at the cost of African lives. The free nations of Africa must guard themselves against communist schemes to fan racial strife and utilize the so-called "third world" for division and conquest. The free Africans furthermore should promote cooperation with free peoples elsewhere for their advancement. The WACL observes with grave misgivings the policy of the Sovietization of Africa and the lack of a positive counter position by the United States.

5. WACL condemns the international communists for their infiltration and united front maneuvers against free Latin American countries. The struggle of anti-communist Cubans against the communist Castro regime must be positively supported.

The free Latin American nations and peoples that are engaged in heroic battles against communist and leftist forces should be commended and assisted. Efforts should also be made for the implementation of effective measures to assure the common security of free Latin Americans.

6. Because the interests of the Middle East are joined inseparably with those of free nations elsewhere and because freedom and security are indivisible, vigilance must be further heightened against communist attempts to utilize the complicated Middle East situation. In order to halt the advance of communism in the Middle East, the free world in general and the US in particular are urgently requested to declare their full support of the following principles:

Condemnation of foreign aggrandizement and implementation of UN Resolution No. 242 stating withdrawal from the occupied territories and the recognition of the right of all peoples in the area to full self-determination and the right to have their own independent states.

7. The Russian obstinacy at the Belgrade Conference regarding the human rights issue brought another serious failure from the West's viewpoint. Western nations should take legal, political, economic, journalistic and other necessary steps to make it mandatory for the Russians to observe the stipulations of the Helsinki Agreement about respect for human rights and lifting the Iron Curtain. WACL condemns the Soviet Russian policy of the mixing of peoples with the aim of creating an artificial "Soviet people." WACL considers the restoration of the national independence of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian empire and the satellites, and the abolishment of the communist regime as an inevitable prerequisite for the implementation of national and human rights.

8. Acting in accordance with congressional resolutions concerning captive na-

tions, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Croatia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia and others, the US Government should make support to the captive peoples' independence and human rights campaigns part of its foreign policy, thereby pressing Russia and its satellite states into abolishing concentration camps, releasing political and religious prisoners, and halting all acts of suppression and persecution against writers, artists, scientists, etc., so that those peoples, after the restoration of their national independence can of their own accord contribute to human civilization and social advancement.

9. Quite commendable are such recent developments as the French election victory over leftist elements; the growing Japanese opposition to the signing of a peace accord with the Chinese communists; and the establishment of WACL's African regional organization. WACL urges all free nations to provide support and encouragement to

these and other similar efforts so that the growth of freedom forces in all world regions can be accelerated.

The participants in this successful WACL Conference in Washington, D.C., all being determined defenders of freedom, have decided to hold the 12th WACL Conference in Asuncion, capital of the strongly anti-communist, Latin American state of Paraguay, at an appropriate 1979 date to be announced in due time. This decision is another reflection of the growing WACL movement for man's freedom and world peace.

All the participants from abroad appreciate the hospitality extended to them and the arrangements made in bringing success to the 11th Conference by the WACL US Chapter — the Council on American Affairs. This conference will be recorded as the beginning of a new phase of redoubled WACL effort in unity to attain its lofty goal.



(From left to right): Dr. B. D. Lichi, Dr. C. Podesta, Dr. A. C. Alum, and Dr. J. M. Foutres of the Paraguayan Delegation; Mrs. S. Stetsko, Ukraine; Dr. F. Barbieri, Brazil; Mr. D. Martin, Great Britain; and Mr. T. Lysenchuk, Ukraine.

News and Views

COMMENTS ON THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

The opening session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe began on October 15, 1977. The preparatory meetings were held during the summer of 1977, and after two weeks of talks, an agenda was decided upon, and the conference was to reconvene in October.

Thirty-five nations were members of this conference. However, Ukraine, which is the second largest country in Europe, did not have any legal status or a voice in matters decided upon at this conference.

The CSCE took place in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia. As hosts to the conference, the Yugoslavs had a very important role to fulfill. They had to take into consideration the wishes and demands of both the United States and the USSR. This was especially noticeable when the question of press accreditation arose and the rights of the press were questioned. During the preparatory sessions it seemed that all press would be accredited on the basis of their delegations' word of reference.

In October, all press correspondents were reconfirmed, except for the Ukrainian Central Information Service (UCIS), as was stated by the member of the US delegation, who was in charge of Press. The reason for this was that, although the UCIS had previously been approved by both the British and USA delegations, it was not given accreditation later because the Soviet delegation raised questions concerning its existence, and the USSR was not convinced that the UCIS would not cause trouble. Since neither the British nor the USA delegations wanted to concern themselves with the Ukrainian problem, they felt that instead of making the Soviet

Russians even more angry, they would just blame the Soviet Russians and Yugoslavs for the UCIS not getting the accreditation, thus removing themselves from the situation. It was the Soviet Russians who had complained directly to the hosts; and so, the Yugoslavs were the ones who informed the British and US delegations of the complaint.

This attitude can be interpreted as being fortunate and unfortunate for Ukrainians, in the sense that it is nice to see who your true friends are, if any. It is valuable to know what the real positions of the various delegations are when confronted with a problem directly. We are very sure of the position of the USSR in regards to Ukraine, but we tend to be over-optimistic when it concerns the position of the countries we have lived in for over thirty years, and almost believe that they are our allies one hundred percent.

It must never be forgotten that every country's main concern, naturally, is their own security; all others are secondary.

Since the conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was the "brainchild of the Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev" as stated in the March 6 issue of *Newsweek*, page 22, and "was seen by the Soviet Union as a means to lock Europe into its postwar borders and ratify Moscow's interpretation of detente", we should seriously consider the Ukrainian position in this situation. The article goes on to say: "but in Belgrade the discomforted Soviets have watched what was intended to be an exercise in Russian propaganda become a forum for exposing Soviet-bloc misdeeds: their confiscation of documents spelling out Soviet violations of the Helsinki

Accords, and the Czecho-Slovakian crack-down on the dissident group, Charter 77, and the continuing arrest of soviet dissidents.”

Although this statement is anti-Russian, not a blessed word is said about Ukraine and the efforts of Ukrainians both in and out of the USSR. This is unfortunate, because a Bonn correspondent for *Newsweek*, who was present in Belgrade and spoke with Ukrainians, agreeing with their plight, found it not necessary to mention this problem in *Newsweek*, or rather his editor found it unnecessary. Why?

The article further states that the final communiqué will do little more than state that the conference had taken place. But some diplomats contended that Belgrade can, nonetheless, be judged a success. This has been an unhappy, painful experience for the Soviet Union, said one US official. The final statement in the article forecasts the results of the Conference in 1980, so “Whether it will achieve any more than the Belgrade talks did, is another question altogether.” We now know that this statement has come true. First of all, nothing more was said at the end of six months of talks except that the conference had taken place. Not even Human Rights were mentioned.

This last statement should be of great importance to Ukrainians living both out of and within the Soviet Union. First of all, all those in Ukraine who took the Helsinki talks under consideration seriously, were severely punished and looked down upon by Moscow. At this point, it is to the benefit of the Soviet Union to make sure that the conference in 1980 reaches at most, a stale-mate, hence one should approach the conference with this in mind. It is the duty of all Ukrainians in the West who feel any sort of obligation to those who suffered because they organized themselves legally within the clauses signed in Helsinki, and called themselves the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Imple-

mentation of the Helsinki Accords, to speak of their bravery publicly and to make their plight known.

The presence of Ukrainians and our effect upon the CSCE held in Helsinki in 1975 was minimal. More attention was paid to the International Women’s Year (IWY) conference held in Mexico City that year. This conference, by the way, was also implemented by the USSR through the United Nations so as to, in the words of *Newsweek*, “exercise Russian propaganda”. Again the successes were not very great for any side, and talk about the women’s conference has more or less died down.

(At this point, it might be beneficial to note that as cited in the book “KGB”, the largest number of Soviet agents of the KGB are in the Soviet Union, the second largest number is in New York City, and the third largest number is in Mexico City, with Lima, Peru running a close fourth. Interestingly enough, the first IWY conference was held in Mexico City.)

CSCE in Helsinki was also an offshoot of the United Nations, and was convened upon a proposal brought forth by the USSR. This conference on the other hand, has not died down, but has backfired. Little has been achieved. Much money has been spent, Belgrade has a new conference center, small countries who receive foreign aid will need more, and the USSR still has its walls and prisoners. After over 100 days of assembling from mid-October to March of 1978, only a half-day, if that, was spent in total on the Ukrainian problem. Questions about persecution of religion and destruction of Ukrainian churches and cemeteries in Ukraine were raised by the Vatican. Humanitarian issues were raised by the American and Canadian delegations. Considering the fact that Ukraine, both territorially and by population, is the second largest country in Europe, and has been a victim of deliberate violations by Soviet Russia in all

three major baskets of the CSCE, a ridiculously unserious amount of time has been spent in discussing such a vast and serious problem. More time was spent, as previously stated, discussing the problems of unemployment and racism in the United States, which is not a European country, and is not abusing any European country.

This is a very typical ploy of the Soviet Union. They tried something new, it backfired, and now it is time for the Soviet Russians to spend more time so as to continue bluffing their way out of situations, lying and cheating so as to keep their empire. However, everyone knows there were injustices within the Soviet Union prior to this conference. No one was willing to bargain how far the Soviet Russians would be pushed, in order to account for their crimes. The representatives of the US, Canada, and a few others, spoke out a few times, in regards to these problems, but nothing was worth the risk of causing a major confrontation.

As far as the United States are concerned, they have done their job. For, as stated by reporter James Reston in the *Herald Tribune*, the US thought they had been attending a Human Rights conference. Jimmy Carter won his elections on the basis of promoting his ideas on Human Rights, so why not jump on the bandwagon in gaining world popularity, and talk about Human Rights? Great, lets attend a Human Rights Conference.

What happened to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe? There were at least two other baskets to be discussed. Also consider the fact that since Pliushch and Sakharov were not allowed to come to Yugoslavia to testify in defense of Human Rights, a real Human Rights Conference was called together in Rome in late November. If that was the real Human Rights Conference, then what was going on in Belgrade for the past half year? Was it just another meeting to make

the world feel that something genuine was happening, when all that was really happening was a guarantee of a status quo? If so, then what will really be achieved in Madrid in 1980?

Maybe this time, a "Lviv group to guarantee rights signed for in Belgrade" will be formed. Its members will get ten or twenty years in a labor camp, and then *that* can be discussed in Madrid. Then everyone will be happy that a particular delegation mentioned that a new ...enko or ...chuk of the Lviv group is suffering. Ukrainians will write about them in their western press and the fact that some western country mentioned they exist, and will say to the Ukrainian public, who sits at home and reads the newspapers and judges our political situation on the basis of these newspapers, "look at what we have accomplished"!!!

Both the Helsinki and the Belgrade conferences have to be analyzed and discussed thoroughly. There is no point in going from conference to conference and referring to rights that do not exist. We laugh when someone cites an article from the Soviet Constitution and says that, on the basis of such and such an article, I have the right to do the following. Then along comes a representative of the Police, or in other words, a spokesman for the KGB, and states "you have no rights, you are under arrest, with a decade or two of imprisonment". So, according to the Helsinki Agreement, people actually cited rules and formed legitimate groups, based on principles agreed upon by thirty-five different nations. These are just meaningless pieces of paper as long as no one is held responsible for what is printed on them and upholds their signatures.

The *Herald Tribune* of March 6, 1978, published an exclusive interview of Tito by James Reston. On the basis of this interview, one can come to the conclusion that nothing was ever even meant to be

achieved in Belgrade, which soon will be the capital of a state run by the military — which is predominantly run by the Communist Party. (Please locate this interview for a clearer understanding of the situation, or contact the UCIS for a copy.) It is too late to repair Belgrade — possibly Madrid will not be too late.

Because the Soviet Union has a stalemate in mind, it is also important to make note of the various roles the delegations begin to play, and their attitudes at a conference which lasts as long as this one did. Generally speaking, Belgrade does not happen to be Europe's most "swinging" capital. It was a time of year when Yugoslavia's most cheerful area and beach was closed because it was cold. Every person, no matter how serious, can get bored and homesick in a strange place, let alone Belgrade. I suppose for the Soviet delegation and its journalists, this sort of thing just fitted into their way of life and was probably a great change, considering Soviet cities. After all, Belgrade does have Scadarlia (a New York Greenwich Village, or London Chelsea type atmosphere), and the beautiful Hotel Yugoslavia, which has no television, and is illuminated with fluorescent lights. Even the Metropol, which boasts of a strip-tease act and cabaret, and is classified as a four-star hotel, has beige walls, with beige bedspreads and beige rugs, no television or radio, and is also illuminated with fluorescent lights. Besides a few good restaurants and some movies which played in the WEST at least two years previously, one really has very little to do in the way of entertainment. There is not one nice place for shopping or touring, if that is what one cares for in his spare time. The Hotel Moskva, which

housed the US delegation, has a string quartet which plays Strauss waltzes and every evening is frequented by a few elderly ladies and tourists. This hotel does not have fluorescent lighting and is a little more atmospheric.

I suppose no matter how intelligent and imaginative a person is, being in Belgrade, in my opinion, is just about comparable to being under house arrest for almost three-quarters of a year. Under these conditions, a person begins to psychologically weaken. The Soviet Russians are used to waiting, so they sit in this exciting city and wait and wait for the West to finally give in. Picking Belgrade to discuss the terms of CSCE, which were reached in Helsinki, was a very wise choice. It gave the Yugoslavs something to do, it made life easier for the Soviet Russians, and the West had an opportunity to experience the way of life in Eastern Europe, and also Soviet Russian pressure, non-stop.

Diplomats and journalists met daily in the beautiful new Sava Center, which was forbidden to everyone but themselves, and thus they had each other's company to enjoy day after day. It seemed to be a tug of war, who can wait out the longest and participate in endless empty dialogues the most. Many countries naturally, complained that financially they had reached the end of the rope, but somehow they managed to stay to the end.

There were no winners or losers present at this conference. The winners will be the ones who break the law and the losers will be the ones who uphold the law on the basis of what the "distinguished" diplomats agreed upon in some strange city.

Tamara Huk

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

**FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED
BY BOLSHEVISM**

Resolution adopted at the 11th WACL Conference in Washington, D.C., April 27-30, 1978.

WHEREAS, each nation in the world has a right to independence and sovereignty, according to God's and human laws, including generally accepted decisions by different international forums; and,

WHEREAS, the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian Colonial Empire — USSR, and satellite countries attested their will for national independence and sovereign life on their territories by the blood shed in the liberation struggle and by millions of sacrificed lives, and have never ceased to continue this fight; and,

WHEREAS, the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations for their independence and human rights is in the interest of all freedom loving mankind, and because throughout decades, it has held back, and is still holding back the Bolshevik hordes away from the still free parts of mankind; and,

WHEREAS, the human rights of the individuals of the subjugated nations can never be realized (as the history of all empires of the world proves), as long as the prerequisite, namely, the independence of the nation with a democratic system is not realized; and,

WHEREAS, the Belgrade Conference ended in complete failure for the Western governments, not only because the immutability of the boundaries obtained by Russian Communist aggression in Europe was recognized by the Western Powers in the Helsinki Final Document, but also because even the mention of not only national rights, but also of human rights was excluded from the final communique of the Belgrade Conference;

NOW, THEREFORE, THE 11TH WACL CONFERENCE RESOLVES:

To urge the Western powers, according

to the United Nations Charter, the UN Declaration on De-colonialization from 1960/1972, and Articles VII and VIII of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to take legal, political, economic and any other necessary steps (as the USSR has done with its tanks and "Cuban aid" in Africa), in order to enforce the de-colonialization, i.e., the dissolution of the Russian Empire — the USSR; and,

To urge the Western powers, according to the United Nations Resolution from December 1976 on the legality of any support for military struggle of subjugated nations against the yoke of colonialism, and the agreement in Geneva in June 1977 on equal treatment of soldiers belonging to insurgent armies fighting against foreign colonial invaders, and of soldiers belonging to regular armies, to apply the same standards to the nations behind the Iron Curtain; and,

To urge the United States government to observe Public Law No. 86-90, adopted by the United States Congress with respect to the Captive Nations on July 19, 1959, by which the US Congress committed itself to encourage the liberation of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, North Caucasia, Cossackia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia, East Germany, Albania, and all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism such as Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, Cambodia and Laos, and to identify itself with the restoration of their national independence and freedom; and,

To appeal to the United States President and to the US government, that concepts of national and human rights should be as integral to US foreign policy as Marxism-Leninism-Communism is to Soviet Rus-

sian operations and planning. National and human rights must be a political component of American foreign policy, not a humanitarian program; and,

To emphasize that, in the present era of dissolution of empires and of the formation of new national states throughout the world (as evidenced in the United Nations itself, whose membership has increased almost five-fold since its foundation), the last colonial empire — the USSR, cannot and must not be maintained; and,

To consider the liquidation of the Russian Empire and of the Communist system as an inevitable prerequisite for the

implementation of human rights and fundamental liberties; and,

To urge all Free Nations to use all means possible in exerting pressure on Moscow to bring about the abolition of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons; the release of all political and religious prisoners; an end to Russification and to national, political, social and religious oppression; an end to collectivization and state control of all aspects of the economy; and above all, the withdrawal of Russian occupational forces and of the communist terror apparatus from all enslaved countries, thus enabling them to restore their national independence and democratic order.

Book Reviews

I FOUND GOD IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Noble, John; I Found God in Soviet Russia; Zondervan Publishing house, Grand Rapids, Michigan; 6th printing, September 1976, c. 1959.

The following book review is taken from the book's *Introduction* by Reverend Billy Graham.

Not long ago, John Noble crossed the border of East Berlin into the American sector. Haggard and gaunt due to nearly ten years of Soviet imprisonment, this American citizen reappeared after being swallowed up in the Russian zone of Germany shortly after V-E Day in 1945.

John Noble has brought back a remarkable story. It is not just a bleak account of the terrible things that happened to him during that decade in the concentration camps of Muehlberg and Buchenwald, in prisons all the way from Dresden to the Arctic, but an amazing account of the survival of Christian faith in the communist prisons and camps he has known.

Here is a still-young American Protestant layman telling the world for the first time of the valiant heroism of Christian laymen and clergy whom he found among his fellow prisoners in the slave labor camps and especially in the dreaded camp of Vorkuta. It is a story of Lutheran pastors from Latvia and Estonia, Catholic priests from Lithuania and Poland, Orthodox priests from Ukraine and Russia, and Baptist leaders from all over the Soviet Union. It is a story of thousands upon thousands of laymen and women who remain loyal to Christ and by their example gain converts in the very place where Christianity has been most bitterly persecuted.

John Noble tells us, too, of the Russian people whom he met, the so-called "free workers", and the supervisors of the mines. He describes the deep inner hunger he found among them for a faith that offers more than the dead end of Marxist materialism. He tells us that even members of the elite Soviet police, hardened Communists all, are

disillusioned with the system they serve and are searching for a better way of life.

The thing that the Russian people are missing is faith.

Noble shows us, in keen unforgettable citations of specific fact, how the Russian people felt this lack of contact with the eternal values of Christ in their everyday lives. He has returned not with bitterness but with love and understanding in his heart for those at whose hands he has suffered so much.

Throughout the world, in America, in England, in India, in Australia, there is a new spirit moving, a new search in the hearts and minds of men seeking God. We are indebted to John Noble for bringing us word from the Church behind Barbed Wire that the religious revival in our time is, by God's grace, reaching even into the most distant and isolated areas of the world, the concentration camps of the Soviet Union.

Here is a story that will inspire every Christian! It is one of the great testimonies of our time, given by a man who himself experienced personal conversion while in solitary confinement in a Communist prison and who has seen in his own life the power of God to answer prayer.

He brings us word of fellow Christians holding aloft the torch of faith in an area where its gleam has been darkened. He tells us of the unconquerable faith that can win Russia, even as it rose from the lion pits of the Coliseum to sweep Rome.

Let us pray for God's blessing upon those from whom John Noble has brought word to the free world; let us pray that their steadfast faith will convince Marxists of the error of worshipping men and material things alone. Let all who read this story be inspired to place their faith in Jesus Christ, as John Noble has placed his, to the end that mankind will triumph over the forces of godless tyranny.

NATION oder KLASSE

by

WOLFGANG STRAUSS

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A History of the Resistance Movement in the USSR

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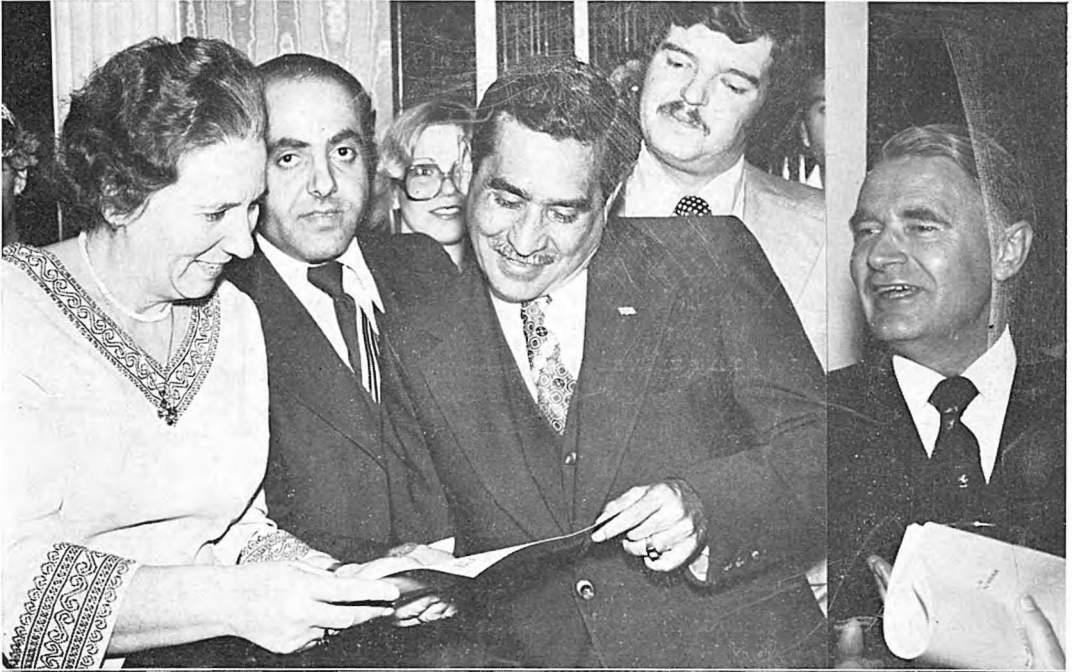
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*(Top) Hon. Sandoval Alarcon, Vice-President of Guatemala, presenting recognition award for ABN support of WYACL to Mrs. S. Stetsko. Looking on is Mr. J. Aguilar, WYACL Secretary-General. (Top Right) WACL Chairman Prof. R. Pearson.
(Center) Ukrainian Youth Ballet Corps, New York City, and (bottom) Ukrainian Bandura Ensemble, Detroit, performing at WACL Conference banquet.*

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Throughout Germany, numerous national groups, especially of the subjugated nations, protested Brezhnev's visit to Bonn, May 5 and 6, 1978. The above photographs were taken in Bonn during a mass protest rally during which demonstrators, including Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, and members of German organizations supporting the realization of human rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, carried national flags, banners and placards.

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Human Rights: A Question of Morality

I want to discuss today the subject of morality in foreign policy with particular attention to the human rights campaign of President Carter. No aspect of American foreign policy has received as much attention in the Western press. And certainly anti-communists should welcome any program truly designed to advance respect for human rights.

But there is a nagging fear by many that a double standard will prevail, that certain countries will be singled out for condemnation while tyranny in other — perhaps more dictatorial countries — will be condoned.

There is, I believe, justification for this fear. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights, for example, has adamantly refused to look into the heinous violations of human rights in Uganda while almost gleefully condemning the far milder violations in rightist countries.

If human rights is to be a dominant theme of American foreign policy we ought to set forth what we mean by the term. Last year, I introduced legislation which described the basic components of a free society. My goal was to introduce some objective standards into the discussion of the issue.

The first principle, I borrowed from Thomas Jefferson. It is the concept of “consent of the governed” as the basis of governmental legitimacy. Second, I suggested that the rule of law provides a bulwark against government by terror. I also included “individual freedom” which includes freedom of religion, freedom of speech, independence of the media from government control, freedom to choose among educational systems and occupations, freedom of movement, freedom to obtain private property and operate in the market freely, freedom to join private organizations of choice.

Finally, I included national rights: the right of national, ethnic, linguistic, religious and other groups to preserve their traditional values and culture.

I realize that few governments in the world today respect in actual practice these basic human rights. These standards are high, but they are not trivial. They appear in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and in the constitutions of most countries.

When judged by objective standards, the state of human rights is not too encouraging. The problem today is not that countries fall short of our ideal. It is that in far too many countries the goal of government is not an open, free society, but a Marxist dictatorship. My colleague, Senator Moynihan has pointed out that the newly independent countries of the 1940's and 1950's almost unanimously tried to establish the institu-

tions of liberal democracy. Today, the model proclaimed by country after country is totalitarianism. The fact that some of the vocabulary of freedom is still used makes it even more important that we examine the standards of freedom I just mentioned.

Consent of the governed, as evidenced by freely contested, periodic elections and the right of opposition parties to operate without hindrance or some form of broadly based power sharing is increasingly rare. It is non-existent in any communist country.

The rule of law, by which I mean due process and fair trials by an independent judiciary which is able to decide against the government, is the strongest instrument for protection against arbitrary imprisonment and torture. The rule of law is the antithesis of rule by terror. This too must be included in any consideration of human rights.

The extent of individual freedom, including freedom of religion, and the others which I have already cited, is itself a measure of how much freedom a government allows its citizens, and must be emphasized in any evaluation of human rights.

The rights of subjugated nations are the standards by which human rights should be measured. They are the basis of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights which was unanimously adopted.

I have no illusion about how the world is run. I know how rarely these values are heard at the United Nations.

I am aware of the effort being made to invent human rights standards by which totalitarian regimes look better than open societies. It cannot be done except by the perverse standards which exalt life in any well run penitentiary over freedom.

In jail you get free medical care, free housing, adequate food and equality.

Sometimes we concentrate so much on the imperfections in the anti-communist countries that we forget Communism is the real threat. Vladimir Bukovsky, when asked how many political prisoners there were in the Soviet Union, replied 250 million — the entire population.

Communism combines oppression of people under its control with an expansionist obsession. Every conflict is exploited.

The Communist threat in the Middle East and Africa will continue to grow with each delay in establishing an Arab-Israeli peace agreement. Continued conflict between the Arabs and Israel hurts both us and them. The only winner is the Soviet Union.

But, the Arab-Israeli conflict has overshadowed another major threat to our security — the increase in Communist influence to the south of the Arabian Peninsula. Saudi Arabia is already feeling the pressure, particularly from South Yemen — or, as it is officially called, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Controlling the major naval and air base at Aden, the Communists can continue to exert a territorial threat to the

barren southern border of Saudi Arabia. The recent oasis air clash — where South Yemeni MIGs shot the obsolete Saudi Lightnings out of the sky illustrates what we can expect as communist dominance of the Horn of Africa enables the Aden regime to concentrate its renewed efforts on Saudi Arabia and Oman.

Incidentally, the Saudis indicated to me that the F-15's they expected to buy from us will be based *south* of their capital city of Riyadh. This illustrates how serious they view the Communist threat from the south.

The dangers are great and the massive Soviet military build up means that the years ahead will test our resolve. But, we must not overlook the inherent advantage every open society has over Communist regimes, the freely given support of citizens.

It is not the anti-communist countries that have to build walls to keep people from fleeing their homeland — in that tragic plebiscite of the twentieth century, the phenomenon of people voting with their feet, the traffic has all been one way.

Dean Rusk once said that America is strong because it rests on 200 million pillars. Communist power rests on the KGB and Gulag and re-education camps and extermination. And that will prove its fatal weakness.

Editor's Note:

The excellent remarks of Senator James A. McClure have one deficiency.

Senator McClure did not take into consideration the basic idea of our epoch: without the actualization of the idea of national independence for the subjugated nations, actualization of their human rights is not possible.

To think about human rights of the subjugated nations, without the downfall of the Russian colonial empire, the USSR, is self-deception and a deception of all mankind.



ABN Delegation to the XIth WACL Conference, April 27 — May 1, 1978, Washington.

Will "1984" Come Sooner?

One just cannot stop wondering. While the 60th anniversary show of the Revolution is staged in Moscow, communists or rather former communists are predicting the end of communism. Wolfgang Leonhard depicts it as a class system with lawlessness, social poverty and national oppression prevailing at the bottom, on the one hand, parasitism and decadence at the top, on the other: "The Soviet Union cannot even supply enough food for its citizens". Milovan Djilas, Tito's fellow fighter, announces a fatal crisis: "a crisis we have not yet experienced throughout our history". Industrial feudalism allied to "classical Russian imperialism" and a "totalitarian rule of the Party bureaucracy" are stifling national life. Djilas does not believe in remedy through reforms. As he sees it, the colossus is infected by decadence, hatred, and revolutionary germs. "The crisis is apparent in all strata of Soviet society".

The judgment of both ex-communists hardly meets with opposition in the West. Even gazettes advocating convergence and "détente" agree to the generally held view that the Soviet system is doomed to disintegrate. Russia is ready again for a revolution, as the "Guardian" (London) stated on November 7, 1977; even Lenin, if he were still alive, would have to arrive at the same conclusion.

Theo Sommer, editor-in-chief of "Die Zeit", who still is a spokesman of the Brandt Party, considers the USSR a "miserable world power, a lame giant" (Sommer: "The country shoots missiles to the moon but is unable to satisfy the demand for shoes of good quality"), a colonial empire undermined by the non-Russian nations' striving for independence (nearly one half of the total population).

Sommer quotes from Marquis de Custine's comments on Czarist Russia: "In a nation ruled the way Czarist Russia is, passions live long before they burst out". On November 4, 1977 Sommer concludes: "Today they are already in the process of boiling, the dissident movement being only a symptom. Andrej Amalrick's question whether the Soviet Union might live to see the year 1984 would soon have to receive an "explosive answer" according to Sommer's predictions.

Bureaucratic speculations? Western Kremlin astrology? Wishful thinking of inveterate "anti-communists"? Not at all. The predicted "disintegration" is confirmed by objective facts. Moscow's colonialism is getting into a crisis, due to the spiritual and political offensive force which the nationalism of the oppressed constitutes.

LITHUANIA

On October 10, 1977, spontaneous nationalist mass demonstrations broke out in Vilnius, Lithuania, during a Lithuanian-Russian soccer match. The sports event turned political when the crowd began shouting anti-imperialist slogans; military vehicles were overturned; and arrested demonstrators were freed by other protesters. A few hours later, a "state of siege" was proclaimed in the city by the terrified regime.

In 1976 two nationalist type underground organizations came into existence in Lithuania, aiming at the recovery of national independence: the "National Liberation Front of Lithuania" which demands separation from the USSR and the "Lithuanian Public Group Promoting the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords" which strives for the annulment of the annexation of June 15, 1940.

UKRAINE

Despite the fact that the majority of the leading members of the Kyiv Helsinki Group have been arrested (among them O. Berdnyk and L. Lukyanenko), the group continues to be active.

In summer 1977, at the peak of the pogrom wave this public initiative group issued Memorandum No. 5, asserting the right of Ukraine to national independence and referring to its national struggle and its prototype heroes fighting for liberty in the past centuries. Ukrainians would not yield to repression and would rather choose death than suffer servitude, the authors maintain. It is high time for the Ukrainian nation to become master of its country.

ESTONIA

On February 25, 1977 Estonian fighters for independence hoisted the prohibited Estonian flag on administrative buildings, courts of justice and Party central offices. Until 1940, February 24 had been celebrated as a national remembrance day to commemorate the proclamation of independence of 1918. Nationalist students also hoisted the blue-black-white flag on the theatre building of the ancient University city, Tartu.

GEORGIA

In Georgia the nationalist fire is smoldering despite persecution. On April 7, 1977 the founders of the Georgian Helsinki Group were arrested in Tiflis. In February 1977 Vladimir Shvanya, a young worker supported by the intelligentsia, students and Christians as a symbol of the Georgian national liberation struggle was sentenced by the Supreme Court to be shot. Shvanya was executed by foreigners. This young nationalist was a member of an underground movement, which between 1974 and 1976, attempted to dynamite the seat of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

RUMANIA

In August and October 1977 the Ru-

manian coal-field of Petroseni was in uproar when 35,000 miners stopped working. This was the first general strike in Rumania since 1944! Finally, Ceausescu personally had to betake himself to the strikers to promise them better living conditions: exploitation, underpayment and police terror had assumed intolerable dimensions. In order to appease feelings, the minister in charge was replaced by another man.

Hatred, fury, determination to fight and bravery must have been immense, based on an unparalleled solidarity. The pitmen spontaneously set up strike councils and had the mines occupied. In the industrial towns Lupeni and Hunedoara worker militiamen fought bloody street battles; furious workers captured the Minister of Labour, Gheorghe Pana, and locked the hostage up. The Transylvanian Schil valley was in a state of siege, and until the end of 1977 this area was declared prohibited. The insurrectionary committee addressed an appeal to the West stating the following: "There will be further strikes, and perhaps we will have no other possibility than to provide for justice ourselves — by means of axes and spades. This is the situation of human rights in the Socialist Republic of Rumania!"

POLAND

At the beginning of October 1977 workers of five major shafts in the mine fields of Upper Silesia staged strikes due to underpayment, inhuman working conditions, food shortage, corruption, parasitism and Party despotism Poland has been flooded with underground magazines, for instance "Glos" (Voice), "Opinie" (Opinion), and "Rabotnik" (Worker). For the first time many workers participated in hectographing and spreading of that literature.

According to a statement made by a confidant of Cardinal Wyszynski in November 1977 "not the representatives

of the Church but the workers are considered to be the most serious danger to state security". Various circles, committees, leagues, fronts etc. represent the true power countering Gierek's dictatorship. Apart from the Committee for the Support of Workers (KOR) which was founded after the massacre of Radom on June 24, 1976, the Committee of Social Self-Defense and the Movement of the Polish Convention of Independence (PPN) are active in the same direction. After the assassination of Pyjas, a student from Krakow and KOR assistant, Polish university students set up the Independent Student Union comprising about 60,000 members today.

In October 1977, 110 intellectuals signed a national-democratic manifesto requesting the restoration of national state sovereignty (i. e. withdrawal of Russian troops) and democracy (i. e. free elections). In the name of the "Democratic Movement of Poland", the intellectuals demand liberation from Moscow's hegemony, freedom of press, of thought and of teaching, freedom of strike, of organization and of coalition.

When in January 1978 in Warsaw the successful peanut farmer from Georgia twaddled with the worker butcher of Radom about the "general obligation to maintain peace", the Catholic Church of Poland raised its national voice. In a pastoral letter the bishops warned of "national suicide" by means of legal(!) abortion and contraception (the "red pill"). Herewith the courageous national Church deeply rooted in the national tradition reasserted its claim to represent a moral-ideological counter-power in communist-occupied Poland — besides workers and students, the third pillar of modern anti-communism in Eastern Europe simultaneously represents anticolonialism.

Unless enough children are born, the Polish nation will have to die out — the

Church warned. This will be the case, if the communist family model with one or two children is followed. "The young Poles seem to forget that they are responsible for the life of Poland...", the nationalist pastoral letter of January 1978 states. "Unless the birth rate increases, the Polish nation will have to wither as has happened to other nations in the past. If villages are deserted they will soon no longer be able to feed the people... God, the Father of all nations, demands that we love our fatherland on earth and contribute to its development. Without feeling responsible for the fate of one's own nation one can never be a Christian..."

EAST GERMANY

In 1977 builder's labourers went on strike in the East Berlin district of Marzahn, metal workers in Chemnitz. On October 7, 1977 thousands of young people demonstrated in the center of Berlin with the slogans "Demolish the Wall", "Russians get out", "Germany, Germany" and "Freedom". Street battles were fought around the Alexander Square. The special detachments of the People's Police were shocked by the fanaticism of the young Germans — the scene recalled the revolutionary struggles of Budapest in 1956. 200 people are said to have been wounded, five killed — a young girl demonstrator and four policemen.

"Nations must shed blood for their freedom. What else should people live for, if not for defending their ideals? — Milovan Djilas, formerly Tito's deputy, commented on the Alexander Square battles two weeks later.

Concerning the German question Djilas said: "It is my firm conviction that one day Germany will reunite, for I do not believe in such nonsense as the creation of a so-called socialist nation as is now propagandized in the East. Never did an ideology produce a nation, and I am convinced that Leninism cannot produce

a nation either. I am confident of the German future. But the nations must of course be ready to fight for their ideals and, if necessary, to also shed blood." (quoted from "Die Welt", October 29, 1977.)

More than 50 percent of Germans aged 18 or more are in favour of reunification. From December 15 to 22, 1977 the West German Institute Wickert surveyed (by direct distance dialing) 650 citizens of the Republic of East Germany, 52 percent of whom were in favour of reunification. Among those aged less than 30 even 60 percent advocated reunification, as compared to 47 percent of those aged more than 50. Only 19 percent were against reunification, while 29 percent refrained from giving their opinion. The Institute had posed the following question: "Erich Honecker was in Korea and advocated reunification. Do you think that what he said should apply to all divided nations?"

What is particularly admirable is not only the courage of the people who answered the questions (the state security service overhears all lines), but above all their emphatic assertion, that in case of reunification they would by no means like a "socialist Germany" with a state capitalist system as they have known so far.

STRANGE COMMUNISTS

Recently a manifesto comprising thirty pages — or "thesis paper" — issued by the obscure "League of Democratic Communists of Germany (BDKD)" has been circulated. Besides pillorying the "dictatorship by one party", the "caste of bureaucrats", the "dictatorship over the proletariat" and condemning the economic misery, parasitism, the death wall and the concentration camps — these objections must be considered almost cogent — what is remarkable and novel in this manifesto is its openly nationalist tone in connection with the problem of reunification. For the first time in the history of the internal

party strife, the Soviet Union has been charged with being "imperialistic" and "reactionary". The SED-chiefs are called "governors of the Red Popes in the Kremlin... who take advantage of their positions primarily for their personal enrichment... at the cost of the workers of the Democratic Republic of Germany".

Somewhat mysterious are the passages referring to intermediate, upper and younger SED functionaries supposedly organized in small secret cells. The anonymous authors of the manifesto claim to speak on behalf of some "democratic communism". Communists who do away with Marx's holy cow, i. e. the "dictatorship of the proletariat", are definitely lacking credibility.

The writer Wolfgang Harich living in East Berlin considers the manifesto "completely incredible". Professor Harich who was a lonely courageous oppositionist in the stormy year 1956 and who had to suffer for remaining faithful to his convictions by long term imprisonment — now a bitter cynic, a "philosophic stalinist", very pessimistic as to the future — commented as follows: "This is not communist language, neither as regards its content nor its style".

REUNIFICATION IN THE FIRST PLACE

It is certain that on principle the authors of the manifesto utter the same demands as those made by the unarmed workers, peasants and citizens on June 17, 1953, i. e. they request free elections, separation from Moscow, withdrawal of the occupation forces, an all-German constitution an all-German parliament, and the reunification of Germany. The national question ranks first in the eyes of these strange communist oppositionists and it is understood and postulated as the German question of to be or not to be. And this — as Harich rightly maintains — is by no means a communist position from the

standpoint of classical Marxist internationalism.

The principal chapter of the manifesto deals with German politics. Pointing out that hitherto all struggles for power in the Politbureau had become inflamed by the national question, the oppositionists demand an "offensive national policy" based on a conception that "aims at the reunification of Germany". They state that the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the withdrawal of both German component states from military blocs are the prerequisites to such a policy. In the long run a uniform German currency is aimed at, which in turn is a prerequisite to the demolition of the wall and the mine fields, the authors maintain. Finally, the oppositionists advocate the constitution of a national assembly, the drafting of an all-German constitution and a gradual adaptation of the respective laws. "The Soviets have not yet attained their goal of perpetuating the German division...", the authors of the manifesto emphasize. Delimitation policy and two-nation-theory have failed as well.

NATIONALISM AS MOTIVE POWER OF HISTORY

It is apparent that in Eastern Europe nationalism involving struggle against imperialism and against colonialism is one of the main driving forces of pre-revolutionary development. It is a permanent ferment of internal disintegration and a constructive element of the New Order of tomorrow. It is the No. 1 motive power of history.

Modern nationalism of the East European peoples comprises many elements: primacy of the national idea (reunification!), spiritual and ethical renaissance of the nation, national identity and statehood instead of assimilation and internationalism, government by the people instead of party rule, national solidarity instead of class struggle and social anta-

gonism, historical consciousness instead of historical alienation, return to national, religious and ethical traditional values and their reactivation, symbiosis of national and social striving for freedom. This democratic nationalism is *not* identical with the sham nationalism of communist satellite chiefs (Gierek, Husak, Ceausescu) who, under the cover of patriotic pathos, camouflage their anti-popular marxist dictatorship.

No Eurocommunists or "national" communists, but rather anti-communist nationalists are deadly enemies of Moscow's communist imperialism. More than once the Kremlin leadership admitted this to be true. As became known from Russian dissidents in December 1977 — in a special meeting the opinions of the USSR leaders differed considerably as to how human rights should be handled in the future — in the eyes of the rulers a tactical, not a principal question. In the discussion the "doves" (Brezhnev, Shcherbytski) and the "hawks" (KGB Chief Andropov, Defense Minister Ustinov, chief ideologist Suslov) held opposite views.

Andropov is said to have declared:

"Russian fighters for civic rights will be expelled, while Ukrainians and other nationalists will be annihilated".

The growing importance of nationalism in Eastern Europe is admitted by intelligent western parliamentarians. But there are few who are far-sighted. On December 22, 1977 Gerhard Kunz from Berlin, Christian Democrat Member of the German Bundestag, asked the Soviet Russian ambassador Falin in a letter to plead for the confined Ukrainian fighter for independence, Vyacheslav Chornovil. Chornovil had been arrested in 1972 and was sentenced a year later to 7 years of prison and 5 years of exile in Siberia. He is one of the intellectual nationalist leaders of the Ukrainian nation ranking fifth as to population in Europe.

NOTES FROM A MADHOUSE

(Continued from previous issue.)

In Sychovka there are close to 300 political; there are 24 in the Tenth Section, with the remaining 70 being criminals.

1. Kryuchkov, an Evangelical Christian from Kaluga, a Russian, sentenced in 1941 to be shot, sentence commuted to 25 years, taken to Sychovka in 1956 for "treatment."

2. Elim Makhayev, a Chechen, born in 1942, an orthodox Moslem, leader of the United Party for Freedom of Caucasia, sentenced by a court in Grozny in 1969.

3. Bohdanas, a Lithuanian, Catholic, a citizen of Germany; from 1945 to 1948 held in a preventive custody camp near Volohda; transferred in 1948 to the Norilsk camps; was in a special camp for foreigners (8,000 prisoners). People of various nationalities — scientists, engineers, officers of various armies — were pressured to become Soviet citizens and work for the state. The "recalcitrant" were shot; only 300 prisoners remained in 1951. Bohdanas was transferred to a central hospital, from there in 1953 to a psychiatric hospital in Kazan, where he was held until his transfer in 1962 to Sychovka.

4. Vitaliy Zhuk, a Russian, thrown into a special psychiatric hospital for "fabrications and slander directed against the organs of the Government."

5. Leonid Kotov, a Russian, a practicing Orthodox, first sentenced in 1939. Sentenced a second time in 1945 to be shot, the sentence later commuted to 10 years, which he served until 1955 in the camps of Gorky and Mordovia. In 1956 he was seized again by the KGB and sentenced to 10 years. Of the 40 years of prisons and camps, Kotov served 20 years in special psychiatric hospitals. In 1975, he was murdered in Sychovka. May we always remember him, the son of Christ!

6. David Yakovych Boss, a Scot, Catholic, for wanting to return to his homeland, he was sentenced in 1945 under Article 58. He was released in 1953 and exiled to the Tadzhik SSR, where in 1956 he was again seized by the KGB, again for wanting to return to his homeland; pronounced mentally ill and placed in a prison in Kazan, and in 1962 transferred to Sychovka. Released in October of 1975 and sent into internal exile.

7. Mykhaylo Klishch, a Ukrainian, Uniate (Catholic), born in 1941, sentenced under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"); transferred in 1973 from Vladimir Prison to Sychovka for his drawings and poems; in 1974 he was tortured for drawing the portrait of T. Shevchenko (Ukrainian poet) — tied and "treated" as one who had not stepped onto the road of rehabilitation.

8. Dmitriy Yurlov, a Russian from Kirov, sentenced in 1972 under Article 190, transferred to Sychovka for a riot in camp.

9. Yevhen Kudryavtsev, a Russian from Smolensk, sentenced under Article 190 and for making and stealing weapons; spent 7 years in special psychiatric hospitals in Chernyakhov and Smolensk.

10. Anatoliy Volodin, a Russian, (sentenced under) Article 190 in 1971; transferred from Vladimir Prison for "slandorous fabrications"; hanged by the guards in his cell in 1975.

11. Ivan F. Lom-Lopata, a Ukrainian, first sentenced in 1942 under Article 58, paragraph 10; that same year he was pronounced mentally ill. Without a sentence and without any documents he was sent to the Tayshet camps, where after 8 years a camp court sentenced him to 25 years.

In 1968, for "insulting an officer" in camp center No. 11 in Yavas Station he was sentenced to two years, with a change of regime, as a repeat offender. In 1969 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison for a collection of poems, and in 1970 he was brought to Sychovka. A poet, he writes in Russian.

12. Mykhaylo Kukovaka, a Byelorussian, brought to trial by the Vladimir Region KGB under Article 190; a Marxist.

13. Bondarenko, a Ukrainian, a practicing Orthodox, former secretary of the Regional Committee in Dnipropetrovsk; repressed in the late 1930's, sentenced in 1949 by a camp court to 25 years for evangelist propaganda. In 1951 he was transferred to Sukhovo-Bezodny Camp in Gorky Region, and from there to a special psychiatric hospital in Kazan Prison. In 1961 he was transferred to Sychovka, where he was tortured to death by the administration of Section Three, as witnessed by D. Ya. Boss. May we always remember him, the son and servant of Christ!

What is Sychovka? It is what would have been the envy of Dante for characters and description of scenes from hell...

The orderlies would beat and otherwise mistreat the "psychos" for any reason at all, especially the Jews. From 1972 on, secret persecution, mistreatment and beatings of Jews were sanctioned by camp and prison administrations. If we, Ukrainian nationalists were until recently considered "spies", we now became "Yids", for "Yids" want only the "destruction" of the country (?). Parcels sent to the "psychos" were confiscated. For laughs, they would force the sick to eat live frogs. They raped the sick and thus satisfied their own sexual needs — and all for laughs!... In 1965, the brigade leader of the orderlies of Section Three killed Surganov, a patient, with a hammer because he had asked for permission to go to the lavatory... And what happened? The murderer was transferred to another camp. In the spring and the

beginning of summer of 1973, under orders from Yelena Leontyeva, the head of Section Nine, Smirnov, a patient, was tortured for two months: "orderlies" beat him every night until he died. It must be noted that 40 percent of the guards are Ukrainians, but if you were to speak their native language, not one would be able to serve as a translator. A few guards were Jews, and they would be especially brutal toward their coreligionists, lest the authorities say that they sympathized with the "Israelites"; in the sadist Tsaryov's Section Seven, a Georgian Jew who had been pronounced mentally ill for seeking to emigrate to Israel was tortured to death.

The head of Section Four, Lev Zelyenev, one of the three sadists in the camp, drove Dakers, a patient, to a state that in a fit of despair and self-preservation he grabbed an ax and hacked two orderlies; this was used by the administration to initiate a reign of terror in the entire "hospital." On July 21, in the forbidden zone they shot to death a young "zek," Litvinov (an escape attempt took place that day, in which Litvinov had taken part); he lived another four hours (all this happened before my eyes), but the head of the Operations Section, First Lieutenant Tilka, would not permit an operation because he had not yet collected information about the escape. Tell me, in what other country do they shoot the mentally ill? Nowhere! But this is the norm in the USSR. The third escapee, Kabanov, by the way, was also shot and wounded; returned to the camp, he was horribly beaten — that is what you represent!

The political prisoner Yuriy Belov, who was involved with me in case No. 34 and in Z. Krasivsky's case No. 33, was systematically tortured, given constant treatment and threatened with the "bed for life." Under the threat of punishment, Belov was forbidden any contact with me or with political prisoner V. Titov. Political prisoner Volodin, a Russian artist,

was hanged with the knowledge of the Operations Section and the head of his section, Tsaryov, and rumors were spread throughout the camp that he committed suicide.

Tsaryov constantly terrorized the Ukrainian political prisoner, artist Mykhaylo Klishch. Between 1963 and 1973 a total of 475 Sychovka inmates were killed or tortured to death — that is the number that died in Sychovka (for verification you can check the registration book for those coming to the “supply warehouse,” where in a column in line with all their names you’ll see one word: “died”). What can I say? Only this: it is terrifying and disgusting to be a citizen of a country, where man is merely a footstool for the attainment of the goals of domination, autocracy and hegemony.

On April 7, 1976, I was released and... O, paradox! On April 26, issuing me my internal passport, they proclaim me eligible for military duty — a replay of the case of the well-known political prisoner Bukovsky. They would not let me live at home. My wife, Olena Terelya, was thrown out of work a month before my release; they cancelled her residency permit as “unlawful.” Tell me, could a residency permit in the Soviet Union be illegal? When some of my relatives who live abroad raise their voices, “It cannot be! Can the Russians be that stupid?!” my uncle Ivan Fales, who was forced to emigrate from Bratislava to the US after the “Prague Spring,” advises them to come here, to look around and experience firsthand the “Soviet system.” You laugh and say that this is the most radical propaganda. But whoever felt — if only once — Moscow’s boot at his throat will never forget it. And all this concerns you. Everything that I have been made to suffer was from the hands of the KGB, that is, from your hands also. And how loathsome it is to be approached by people (intimidated by the KGB) and hear from

them that the KGB is interested in knowing what kind of attitude Yosyp has toward the KGB. What kind of attitude can one have toward murderers? What kind of attitude can one have after 14 years of prisons, camps and special psychiatric hospitals? What?

Why, only in Sychovka I, “mentally ill,” was assigned three KGB agents as my patrons — can you understand that?! — patrons Major Shestinsky, Captain Stankevych and First Lieutenant Sezonov. So who is sick? I or the KGB? They demanded from me a confession and a repudiation of all my beliefs, a “psycho,” according to the Soviet diagnosis. Can a mentally ill person shake the foundations of the Soviet state? How unsure of itself must this state be when it considers all who have their own ideas either “mentally ill” or enemies of the state. In Sychovka, I was punished for paper and pencil — they broke fingers, they tied me up as one who was agitated — to write was forbidden! Have things changed now that I am enjoying so-called freedom? No! Even now I am not permitted to write, to study, to be published; I am seriously ill and have no money for treatment; I am denied this opportunity by the KGB and the militia. Meanwhile, my stomach and liver ailments and the radiculitis keep getting worse.

And so today I, one of the victims of the KGB, say: “Come to your senses!” Even though I be a voice crying in the desert, I know that all things must have an end. You may say that all this happened in the camps, but is it any different now in “freedom”? During the first five months of this gratuitous “freedom,” I have thrice changed my residence (currently I really have no residence; because of the persecution by the militia and the KGB, I run around Ukraine as a harried deer). Everywhere they tell me, “Get out of our region!” Interesting? Why “our”? Where can I go? Just recently I was told: “It’s easier to kill you than to jail you; but

understand, keep hanging around with the Yids and we'll kill you..." The opportunity was there, but they didn't kill, they only beat me. Who? Why, you did — the young men of your company. You have made me physically unfit for life, and still you continue to try to finish me off. What are you, then? I have the right to say: killers. You can only stay silent and repent, if you still have a conscience...

In August of 1976, I wrote a request, addressed to the Vinnytsya Eparchy, about the possibility of being consecrated a priest. On September 16, 1976, I received an official reply, signed by the secretary of the Eparchy, Rishka, that this was out of the question. On September 20, however, I received a telegram, signed by Bishop Agafangel himself, stating that I should come to his office on September 21. Here is the text of the telegram:

Sept. 20 1250

Telegram

Vinnytsya 50/29 16 20 1125

Komsomol, Kazatynsk (District), Vinnytsya (Region)

Terelya, Yosyp Mykhaylovych — It is imperative that you come to Vinnytsya on Tuesday, September 21 — Bishop Agafangel.

My wife and I left for Vinnytsya on September 21. I arrived at the Eparchy office at ten in the morning and was met by Bishop Agafangel. We greeted each other and the Bishop told me that the Eparchy reconsidered its "no" and decided to consecrate me a priest, after which I would be sent for a period of study to Leningrad. For this, however, I would have to go to the Head of the Church Council of the Vinnytsya Regional Executive Committee, Sobko, and talk with him. That is what had been decided by the regional authorities and if Sobko and those who stand behind him say "fine," there should not be any further delay in my case.

In Sobko's office there were some other

men present, who did not give their names, but — as Sobko said — I could speak in their presence. After a lengthy discussion, all problems concerning my consecration were resolved and official consent given. From there, I went to the Bishop and informed him of the conversation. The Bishop, His Excellency Agafangel told me that I should officially become a psalmreader at the Church of St. Heorhiy and undergo practical training with Father Nykolay as a clergyman in the village of Kozemyn, which I accepted. And that in a month I would be summoned to Vinnytsya, where I would be consecrated and at the same time I would, for a certain period, gain knowledge that is an absolute must from the bishop himself. We said farewell and I went outside. As I walked out through the gate of the Eparchy office, a young person, about 30 years old, walked up to me and asked me if I was Terelya, to which I replied yes. He then informed me that I should stop at Sobko's for about 10 minutes, because it turned out that some issues remained to be resolved. We got into a black passenger automobile and rode off; along the way, three other persons got in. I grew anxious. It was getting dark, and I was still being driven somewhere. Everyone was silent. After a while, the one with the fat mug asked where my family came from. I answered. They began to ask me why I had gone to the bishop, when I was released, and so on. Then they said that it would be better if I left the region and went home. I answered that I had been hounded out of there. Then they started threatening, that I shouldn't go to church with my wife: "Don't make a Jesus Christ of yourself, all that is nothing but Yid fabrications." They began to threaten me, that if I don't stop the "propaganda" of hallucinations among the intelligentsia and honest workers, we'll kill you, you scum." I replied that I would go to church as I had before, that God's will is in everything and they

should do whatever they wanted. It was nighttime when we drove into some cemetery. They took me out of the car. All around us — graves, crosses, silence...

Someone hit me in the side and I collapsed. Blows rained down. I came to from the cold; something was cutting into my hand, someone was wheezing and cursing. They were tying me to a cross. My mouth was gagged with some cloth (a scarf). Having tied me, they said that I should think over everything that was said. Meanwhile, they would go to wet their throats.

From the night of September 21 to the night of the 23rd I was tied to the cross in a thicket of the cemetery's bushes and trees. On the 23rd, my tormentors came and untied me. They led me to the car; they started to beat me so that I wouldn't look around. The driver and two of those who had been on the 21st were the only ones in the car. I was warned to keep all this to myself, for if I were to tell anyone,

I would be put into a psychiatric hospital, where a "marathon" would be held. What that was, I didn't ask. They warned me once again to get out of Vinnytsya Region.

A week later, I went to see Sobko in Vinnytsya (the bishop was not in; who could know that the KGB would so abjectly use a Christian bishop for its black purposes?).

At Sobko's, I told about everything. He asked if I had told anyone else — I said no. Then Sobko asked whether I had been treated in psychiatric hospitals, to which I replied that everything was clear and got ready to leave. To this Sobko answered that I shouldn't get excited, that his name wouldn't figure in anywhere, that I should wait while he calls the KGB office and we would talk everything over, that I was a "smart" boy, and what was the reason for getting excited. I refused to talk to a KGB representative, after which Sobko said that at 11 o'clock Tuesday a repre-



Ukrainian Delegation Members and other participants of the 11th WACL Conference, Washington, D. C., April 27-May 1, 1978. (From L. to R.): Dr. M. Kushnir, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation; Eng. V. Hladkyj, Chairman of the Ukrainian Division of AF-ABN; Dr. S. Halamay, Chairman of the Delegation; Mr. I. Zvarych, Member, Ukrainian Delegation to WYACL.

sentative of the regional KGB office would come to see me and that everything will be as it should. No one came; instead, on November 2, I was arrested at work by police captain Tymoshchuk, literally stolen out and taken to the regional psychiatric hospital in Vinnytsya on the basis of a denunciation by the same Tymoshchuk.

I was placed in the First Section, where Ivan Vasylyovych Slichny was in charge. They put me in with the aggressives. Interesting? Do you know what it is like to drink water from a "little spring" or a "streamlet"? What are those? It's the toilet bowl, and though the patient senses that something is not quite right, his thirst forces him to take a drink. Think about this! This was not a prison. But the system speaks for itself.

On November 23-24, I appeared before a commission; they pronounced me sane and warned that I could be held responsible for my actions in court. And again, for whichever time: Go home!!!

The repressions started again after my arrival in Komsomolske. Thus, on December 15, Captain Tymoshchuk summoned me and the head of the hospital, Rozbitsky, to the village council, where Tymoshchuk stated that Rozbitsky was my "chief," whose word was the truth, and that I should report everything to him, and if on a Saturday or Sunday I go off somewhere by myself, I should say ahead of time to where I am going, so that he could forewarn the police, so that they wouldn't search for me.... Interesting? Where and in which laws, which provisions is it determined that a citizen — even if in a country where no rights exist — should have to report to an agent what he is to do and where he is going? That same December 15, representatives of the district KGB office began to "collect materials" on Terelya: a KGB man dictated what he needed and three doctors — people whom I don't know at all and with whom I never conversed — "testified." The fourth

one to testify was my "chief" Rozbitsky. What was all of this for? In the words of a KGB man, "We must warn Yosyp..." Warn about what? Prison? Camp? A killing? All of this was tried out more than once, and nothing will force me to forget that I am a human being.

At the same time, repressions rained down on my family. A month ago, my mother, Margareta Terelya, was dismissed from the staff of a member of the district committee and dismissed from the leadership of the union at a factory. That's what the face of your kind of reality looks like!

Will Tymoshchuk and those who stand behind him be punished? I think not. Before my release I had been warned that nothing about Sychovka should come from my pen, that in freedom nobody would reproach me for having been there. And, as you see, I "kept" my word, and for this they wanted to quietly get rid of a witness and their victim. After everything that I was subjected to in the camps and prisons and that which awaits me in the future, I say "No!" It is a crime to be a citizen of the USSR. It means that I am as one with you, with that association which calls itself the KGB. I am forced to leave my native land only because it has been plundered by alien exploiters. There is no place for me here, because I am not the way that the KGB would like to see me. But I believe that we will return to Ukraine, a Ukraine that is free and hospitable to all who wish her well-being and prosperity.

December 21, 1976

(signed) *Yosyp Terelya*

Instead of an address: As a result of repressions, and because they are getting ready to arrest me, I have quit my job and left my family, forced to wander and hide with relatives and acquaintances. I am very ill, without the opportunity to receive treatment and all this is because of the KGB and the police.

WYACL as Leader of World Youth Endeavor

Address by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman, World Anti-Communist League at the Opening Ceremony of the 8th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League, Washington, D.C., April 27, 1978.

The international situation remains volatile, but alerted freedom forces are rising gallantly while the Red bloc is split and confused. It is at this important juncture that the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL) is holding its 8th Conference here in the US capital to further encourage the endeavor of young people everywhere, who stand for freedom and oppose enslavement. WYACL is thus discharging its sacred duty as a vanguard of freedom. This is a truly encouraging conference. My hearty felicitations are for all of you participants.

New Free World Anti-Communist Developments

In the two years since WYACL held its last General Conference, there has been a further turn of the trend in favor of the freedom camp's opposition to Communist forces. Through their continuous aggression, infiltration, expansion and hegemonist race, the Communists have so unblushingly exposed their unchanged schemes of world communization and human enslavement that free nations are now increasingly aware of the pressing need to safeguard their national security and freedom. Instead of dwelling in dreams about coexistence, they have been actively seeking effective countermeasures against the Communists.

Appeasement, neutralism and other obstacles still exist, but a new situation of joint free world opposition to Communism and the Communists is shaping up. A new

era has dawned, as can be seen from the following points:

First, free nations are well aware that independent national survival and durable world peace are not possible unless Communist aggression and expansion are checked.

Second, free nations are keenly aware that free democratic political systems and life patterns cannot be assured unless Communist infiltration and subversive moves are smashed.

Third, free nations are poignantly aware that outstanding cultural traditions will end and mankind will be denied freedom and a happy life unless Communism, as a source of scourge, is uprooted.

Demand for Security Spurred by Red Aggression

Free nations have indeed been roused from slumber by Communist crimes against humanity and human rights. The international Communists have taken aggressive expansionist moves on many fronts and are posing further serious threats to the free world and mankind.

In Asia, the Communists have been positively expanding their military might, threatening the security of Northeast Asia, the Taiwan Straits and the rest of the Western Pacific, kindling armed insurrection in free Southeast Asian countries, and vying for hegemony over South Pacific waters. Red expansionist attempts have been made on many fronts. The entire Asian-Pacific region is thus exposed to dangers of subversion and communization.

In Africa, Russian Communists have created racial strifes and international turmoils. Cuban intruders have been sent across the ocean for a series of spreading wars on that continent which urgently requires peace for development efforts. The

Communists have been attempting to make use of Africa's strategic value to control the sea passages linking the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific, so as to enhance the Red bloc strength.

Mulling over an ambitious long-range plan, Russian Communists have been using Cuba as their base for the infiltration of free Latin American countries and the pointing of a ready spearhead at the US proper. This satellite Communist state is a major spring-board against the security of the Americas.

In Europe, the Communists have strengthened the offensive capability of the Warsaw Pact bloc — a fact that constitutes grave threats to the safety of NATO nations.

All these uninterrupted moves of intimidation and aggression have made free nations pay close attention to their own defense arrangements.

Vigilance Against Red United Front Schemes

As we analyze the global communization strategy of the Communists, we can see that the drive has been persistent from the days of emphasis on "Encirclement of the cities of the world by the rural areas of the world" to the present application of "third world" tactics.

Tactics having to do with the "peaceful coexistence" slogan are used for the breaking up of the free world anti-Communist camp, and for prompting free nations to follow neutralist and non-alignment policies. Individual defeat of these nations is thus being sought.

Economic and trade baits are used to trick developed nations into providing scientific and technological know-how, foodstuff and foreign exchange, all for the enhancement of war preparedness.

The Communists also have been using their silver bullet offensive to win over developing nations so as to control vast manpower and natural resources.

Parliamentary struggles are waged for infiltration into the political structures of free nations. The approaches are legitimate but the goal is seizure of political power.

Attempts to poison the free world are continued. Narcotics are used to paralyze free world youths and put an end to the up-and-coming strength of free nations.

Schemes behind these battles away from the battlefields have been exposed. Free nations therefore are vigilant and striving to preserve themselves by checking and defeating Communist inroads.

New Concepts for Joint Endeavor of Freedom Forces

I must point out here and now that the present age is characterized by stepped-up Communist persecution of the youth. This, therefore, is an age of test for young people. But the split and contradiction among Communist powers and within each Red regime are aggravating. This is a crucial moment for us. One issue of foremost importance for those engaged in anti-Communist struggle is to bring together the will power of isolated individuals and forge consolidated strength for the launching of joint steps. Particularly important is that the youth today should grasp the trend of time and history's direction and fulfill their mission as vanguards of anti-Communism. We sincerely hope that the young people of this age will bring forth their strength and take the initiative to urge free world governments and peoples to accept and establish the following three concepts for joint anti-Communist endeavors:

First, place national security over and above economic interests, then bring together and promote the common interests of free nations so as to smash Communist united front schemes in the economic field.

Second, place collective security over and above individual security, then enhance common defense and foil all Communist schemes of division and conquest.

Third, place human freedom over and above world peace, then pool the strength of all those who stand for freedom and against slavery to bring about lasting world peace.

If free nations and peoples strive together in line with these new concepts, a great unity of forces for freedom and justice will certainly be achieved. Communist forces will then be defeated once for all.

WYACL's Historic Mission and Direction of Efforts

Delegates — my young friends: The winning and assurance of world peace and human freedom require strenuous endeavor over a long period of time. Because of the direct and indirect expansionist and aggressive Communist moves, mankind has had to face the miseries of life behind the Iron Curtain, and those of the younger generation have had to suffer the most. All the young people of the world therefore must rise together and start fighting ever more gallantly against Communist forces. Such efforts by the youth are not just for the saving of themselves from holocaust. They also are for the preservation and enhancement of freedom and human rights for the rest of mankind. With special emphasis, I therefore would like to point out my expectations for you leaders of the WYACL Movement.

— We hope WYACL will make the youth of the world further realize the wicked nature of Communism that goes

against humanity and the flow of time, bring forth their heaven-endowed wisdom, reject materialism and other Communist theories about class struggle, etc., and give full play to the strength of freedom thought in a forceful ideological combat against the Communists.

— We hope WYACL as youth leader of the world will strengthen anti-Communist youth organizations of various countries, establish regional WYACL organizations so as to form a truly strong global anti-Communist united battlefront of young people, and wage an unremitting organizational struggle to end totalitarian Communist rule.

— We hope WYACL will effectively urge young people behind the Iron Curtain to rise determinedly against Communism and tyranny and join hands with their like-minded free world counterparts for the tearing down of Communist tyranny from within and outside.

Young friends: Nothing can stop the main current of the age or the anti-Communist strength of you members of the up and coming generation. As it grows bigger and stronger, the World Youth Anti-Communist League will certainly make further important contribution to man's freedom and happiness. Let us combine the WYACL Movement tightly with the WACL Movement and strive on as one in steering the world's new anti-Communist trend toward the goal of final victory!

Distant motherland, what words will bridge for us?
You bring tears and signs of war in dreams.
Drunk with your tears, I rush at cliffs —
It is like hitting against death, when I reach out for you.
Armfuls of martyrs you are called to cradle.
My distant motherland, to me, what are you?
Heaven to rise into, burden to bow down under,
Rites of purifying thunder before I may die.

Andrejs Eglitis

From the XIth WACL Conference

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 27 — MAY 1, 1978

Dr. Sanguine You (Korea)

Belief in a Peaceful Korean Reunification

The Republic of Korea has a small territory and is one of the most densely populated countries in the world, with scarce natural resources which we can depend on. We have to pay a heavy defense tax to build reliable strong defense forces to prevent any North Korean attack and challenge. Our allies, such as US and Australia, have assisted us since 1945. We are thankful for that. At this point, American troops in Korea are planning gradual withdrawal because of their own internal commitments. As of last year, they have restricted importation of some of our Korean products. We are becoming aware of the cold reality of the future and we have to prepare for it.

Our Korean peninsula is technically under an armistice accord since 1953, but North Korea has never hesitated to violate this accord and has been continually instigating flare-ups at its frontline. Since the 1953 Armistice accord, casualties of the Korean and UN Forces members have reached over 4,000, as of the end of 1977. The Communist North Koreans even dared to send an assassin to Seoul, whose target was to be the President of the Republic. Instead, we tragically lost our First Lady on the 15th of August, 1974.

We know that Koreans are living in the most dangerous area, militarily and politically, in the world. In other words, we may say that militarily and politically we are in the coldest season of winter. Therefore, we have to wear warmer and thicker winter clothes, such as some uncomfortable

political restrictions, and heavy armaments for military purposes, so that we could withstand any sudden and unexpected attacks which would certainly destroy our lives and properties.

During 1977, under very difficult conditions and circumstances, we were able to export \$10 billion of goods, and successfully harvested the largest amount of grain in our history. As rice is our main diet in Korea, it was usually imported from overseas every year, but in 1978 we exported surplus rice to Indonesia. Again, however, we Koreans are faced with many hardships and difficulties in international politics, and military and geo-political situations. We need your assistance through your prayers and the understanding of national press and communication media.

Korea has a long history which we can trace back five thousand years. At the beginning of the 20th century, Japanese imperialists invaded Korea; their occupation lasted more than 35 years. Patriots and leaders of Korea fought in and out of the country for our independence, and the victory of the Allies in 1945 assured us of a long-awaited and fought-for independence. Thus, it was possible to establish an independent government of Korea through free and secret ballot in 1948. Unfortunately, however, Russian-supported North Korean Communists refused to participate in the election of the unified Korea, denying our proud culture and tradition and allowing communist colonialization. These North Korean communist invaders suddenly attacked South Korea

in the early morning of June 25, 1950 and the Korean War lasted more than three years. At that time, Australia, the USA, and 14 other allies; Great Britain, Canada, Turkey, Thailand, Philippines, Netherlands, France, Greece, New Zealand, Columbia, Belgium, Ethiopia, Luxemburg, and the Republic of South Africa, sent troops to establish and strengthen the UN forces in Korea. Their strong support and assistance made it possible for Korea to regain lost land and to sign a cease fire accord, although we could not re-unify the other half of the country.

The government of the Republic of Korea initiated talks with the North Korean authorities in 1970 and on July 4, 1972. As a result, a joint communique was issued signaling the beginning of further discussions between the South and the North in order to pursue a peaceful and democratic reunification of our divided Korea. This was welcomed by all peace-loving people of the world. However, as soon as the North Korean communists realized that, contrary to their propaganda and belief, the South Korean economy and internal cohesion was so strong, and that the North is 20 years behind economically, compared to the South, they issued a statement to stop the talks without any justifiable reason whatsoever, on August 28, 1973. As of this moment, the talks between the North and South Korea have not yet resumed.

This 20th century has been, in a way, a tragic period for Korean people. From 1945, at the end of World War II, to 1933, right after the armistice of the Korean War, more than 5,300,000 North Koreans chose freedom and escaped to South Korea. For more than 30 years, they lost all contact with their families and relatives in the North. But we have never lost our hope, nor have we been disappointed.

The population of the Republic of

Korea, as of the end of 1977, was approximately 37 million, while that of North Korea was around 16 million. The number of Christian churches registered is 21,765, as of the end of October 1977, with 27,656 clergymen. The number of Christians registered is 6,096,320, of which more than 5 million are Protestant. Since 1973, we have held annual Gospel revival meetings at Seoul's Yeo-i-do Plaza, in which more than one million Christians participate. In Korea, we have one of the largest churches in the world. Rev. Cho, Yong-ki's Full Gospel Church in Yeo-i-do, Seoul, is attended by over 50,000 members for Sunday services each week. We believe that in the near future, our nation will be reunified peacefully, and we are doing our best to ensure that this comes about.

Almost all of these Christians are strongly anti-communist. They deny communists who do not accept God's presence in our life. Furthermore, I strongly believe that 99.9% of all Koreans in the South and the North are anti-communists who suffered under communism and witnessed poisonous communist suppressions. But we know well that the communist strategy is somehow attacking and contaminating our young generation. These are the danger sing we have to reckon with.

We should be able to overcome these communists' aggression and must prevent the decay and contamination of young minds with all our possible efforts. We have to work harder and cooperate together to strengthen worldwide networks of anti-communist programs which can produce a strong impact on these young people.

The most important happening in the world today, as Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge says, is the resurgence of Christianity in the Soviet Union, demonstrating that the mighty effort, sustained over 60 years, to brainwash the people into accepting materialism, has been a fiasco. In the long

run, governments, however powerful, fall flat on their faces before the Word, which 2,000 years ago came to dwell among us, full of grace and truth. In other words,

absolute power collapses when confronted with absolute love.

There is no such thing as darkness; only a failure to see.

Cesar Selema (Cuba)

Cubans that Triumph in the USA

If there are some merits deserved by the Cubans, they are due to the great spirit of determination to improve themselves. They are distinguished by the high standards of living they achieved in the short time of living in this country. We must consider that the only thing the Cubans had when they came was the clothing they were wearing, and a destroyed soul due to the loss of their homeland.

What characterized their disposition and progressive capabilities was evident upon their arrival in Florida. The City of Miami was in an economic depression. As a resort, its principal source of income came from tourist dollars during the four winter months. At that time, hotels and public places of entertainment opened their doors; stores and other businesses were able to benefit from tourism. When the winter ended and summer arrived, Miami was once again a dormant city, once again awaiting the protective wing of another winter.

The Cuban exiles, upon establishing themselves in that city, were given a very cordial welcome by the American people, as well as initial aid by the government. They immediately incorporated themselves within the working force, but jobs were scarce and the language barrier created an additional problem. Laborers, as well as college professors, engineers, medical doctors, lawyers, and other Cuban professionals worked as dishwashers, selling newspapers, picking tomatoes, pumping gas, doing domestic work and other jobs in order to earn a living.

Shortly after their arrival, they began to open small businesses. Some began farming, others went into the retail business and created the beginning of different industries. Later on, even banking institutions were established by them. Cubans were responsible for the acceleration of the greater part of the construction now going on in that region. They developed construction enterprises, buildings, apartment houses, hotels, etc. Among the largest of their industries is the Suave Shoe Corporation, which employs over 1400 workers.

Miami was converted into a bilingual city, this being the reason why other Latin-Americans have migrated to that city. Cubans that lived in other states began invading the beaches and hotels during the summer months, thus creating an additional tourist season which brought in extra income for all of Miami's businesses, which otherwise would have been closed.

Miami's boom was so evident, that many investors created businesses that would not have been considered in the past. Due to its key geographical position, Miami promises to be the focal point between the Caribbean nations, Latin American countries and the USA, as social and commercial activities increase.

Miami University President Henry Stamford, referring to the prolific labor realized by Cubans in that city, which helped it to an economic and cultural expansion to the extreme of making enriched Miami one of the largest cities

in the area, said "Castro is the best thing that ever happened to Miami".

In reference to the economic future, Florida's senator George Firestone recently said that in the next decade, this state will be identified throughout the world as the Switzerland of the Occidental Hemisphere, the financial capital of north, central and south America, due to the interests of large banks that want to operate in Miami. He also added that this is due to the efforts of the Hispanic-Americans, particularly the Cubans.

More than 3500 Cuban teachers are now employed in different schools throughout the United States, more than 300 are college professors. Out of 2800 medical doctors in exile, about 75% have revalidated their degrees, amongst them are many renown specialists.

Hundreds of lawyers, dentists, engineers, pharmacists, veterinarians, accountants, chemists and other professionals are now working in their field of study, after having gone through a barrage of tests to earn their titles again. Others work in their fields of study under legal supervision.

Some Cuban educators have published text books in exile that are being used in bilingual schools throughout the USA. Others have had their texts included in the school systems of different Latin-American countries. Cubans have also published books in philosophy, economy, sociology and history. Cuban journalists have had their articles published in various newspapers and other means of printed media in the Americas. Newspaper, radio and TV enterprises are being created in the US, in Latin-American countries and Hispanic republics. It must also be mentioned that poets, painters, sculptors, actors and actresses in the theater and TV have reached international fame, and choreographers, scenery and artistical directors have established theatrical groups.

In the towns where Cubans have settled, institutions of patriotic, social and cultural

character were created. Their goal is to maintain patriotic flame and traditions, and also to incorporate themselves within the civic and social activities of the communities where they live. Cubans have been accepted as members of Masonic lodges, Lions clubs, Orden Caballeros de la Luz, Rotary clubs, JAMA, Bar associations and other professional institutions.

Cubans not only contributed to the enrichment of the city of Miami, where they own approximately one-third of the retail businesses, and about 60% are homeowners, but they have also been successful in business in other states such as New York, New Jersey and California, to name a few.

In Puerto Rico, where more than 20,000 Cubans live in exile, they have established big construction companies, industries and other businesses. You will find teachers, professors and technicians in the government. In South and Central America, besides the above mentioned activities, they are involved in cattle ranching, canning operations, and agricultural farming (rice, citrus, cotton). We can say without reservations that Cubans, in the few years of exile, have advanced in progress in a way similar to that of their homeland, prior to its present regime, during the few years it was a Republic.

We Cubans are grateful to all the countries that welcomed us because of our integrity. We did not want to become a social burden to those that have treated us so well.

In our patriotic beliefs, we will not abandon the fight to liberate our enslaved homeland. We are aware that if we make our dreams a reality and liberate our motherland, we will not only have regained our country, but will have also contributed to the fight against communist advances in the American continents, a catastrophic shadow that many governments refuse to accept.

National Forces and Communist Aggression

The image the free world is offering in its struggle against communist imperialism is in no way encouraging. Since the last annual Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) in Taipei, we had to register new changes in the whole international policy, which aggravated the positions of the Free World.

In the Far East, Thailand, which was left alone to face the communist danger after the American capitulation in Vietnam, is now undergoing a concentrated and constantly stronger pressure on all its frontiers, exerted by its communist neighbours. In South Korea, the decision taken by President Carter concerning the retreat of the American ground-troops, that are stationed in this country, has created unrest among the people and officials. They fear that the North Korean troops could be swept in by the military vacuum that would be created by the American retreat, and that they would be tempted to invade the South of the country, with Soviet-Russian and Red Chinese support.

In the Middle East, the admirable peace efforts of Egyptian president Sadat, are menaced to be torpedoed by PLO and Israeli interventions, playing into the hands of Moscow.

The advancement of communist parties is more and more audacious in Western Europe. The situation is becoming so critical, especially in Italy and Spain, that we must expect the formation of a government of the Popular Front. The consequence would be the disintegration of the Atlantic Alliance.

Cuban and Soviet-Russian forces are operating in Africa without any resistance from the Western World. As a result, numerous new states are losing their in-

dependence, which they only recently obtained, and are becoming Soviet-Russian colonies. Up to now, Soviet-Russians have disposed of three operational bases in Africa, these are: Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia. They are hoping to conquer Rhodesia too, after liquidating the present regime.

In Latin America, the White House and Soviet-Russia are both exerting pressure, on account of the civil rights issue. This pressure is endangering the internal structure of those states, which were miraculously and literally saved, at the last moment, from becoming an experimental field for marxist terror.

In view of the constantly bolder communist expansion, whereas the bulwarks of the Free World are falling one after another under the domination of Moscow, a re-evaluation of the existing program and strategy of the anti-communist forces is imperative. As I pointed out last year in my report at the WACL Conference in Taipei, it isn't enough that we come together, organize conferences, pass resolutions and then separate. It is absolutely necessary that we supplement the debates with a collective action of the national forces in the field of practical policy. We must envisage the creation of a kind of organization-system at the international level, which will yield an agglutination and co-ordination of all the forces at our disposal. The Romanian Freedom's Front understands that the moment for realization of a vast coalition of all the national forces at a world level has come, if we are willing to save ourselves, we, who are still free. Through national forces, I mean first of all, the states of the Free World, then all the anti-communist political formations, and last but not least, all the personalities

and institutions, who are sharing in the ideology of individual and national liberty.

Why is it necessary to create this united Front of all the nationalist forces? The reason is that communist aggression, while attacking a single country or regime, is never operating alone or isolated. Behind the single communist aggression, there is a whole subversive apparatus of the communist revolution, the Soviet Union at its head, as the center of this apparatus. All the countries of the communist bloc and all their conspiracy networks are falling on the country which was chosen to become a victim of marxist terror. Unfortunately, no single national state, no single national movement, no single political formation is able to resist this tremendous pressure, in which all the visible and invisible forces of international communism are participating. The recent example of Spain is significant. Franco governed Spain for 40 years and succeeded in preserving national sovereignty and independence. But Spain needed only two years of assault by the communist forces to be on the way to being blown up as a national entity.

Being conscious of the somber perspectives that are casting their shadows over all humanity, and that will lead to a collapse of the Free World, supposing the decline is not stopped in time, the Romanian Freedom's Front is proposing the elaboration of a new strategy, based on the following principles:

1. Abandonment of the defensive policy in the struggle against communism and adoption of offensive tactics. Everybody knows that the best defense is the attack. We must counterattack communism where ever it is appearing in the sphere of the Free World. But this is not enough: we must discover its weak and vulnerable points and regain the terrain previously lost.

2. Considering that communism has at its disposal a world-wide organization for realizing its aggression, an organization

that is carrying a permanent war against the Free World, we have to oppose it with a coalition of the same force, and also on a world-wide scale. This anti-communist task-force should be in a permanent state of mobilization.

3. In all the countries under a democratic regime, pressure or lobby groups ought to be built up, consisting of local anti-communist forces, who would try to exert their influence on the governments of the Free World, in order to determine them to take a firm position against communism.

4. After realizing this front, co-ordination of efforts among all the national forces of the world is necessary. The aim should be the following: where ever communist aggression is beginning, no matter at what point on the earth, the whole anti-communist front would move in and repel it.

Under the condition that these principles are followed, we are convinced that the containment of communism would be successful, as against the vain efforts of the last 30 years. But more than that: communism can, under this condition, be defeated.

Communism wishes to dominate the whole world. When its advancement towards this ambitious goal would be barred by the compact front of the national forces, it will begin to disintegrate from within. The enslaved peoples would be encouraged by the Free World, would take their revenge, and would drive away their tyrants.

At the moment that the national forces would succeed in becoming conscious of their solidarity concerning their destiny, in accordance with the logic of the actual WACL-Conference, which adopted the watch-word "Unity for National Freedom Against Communist Aggression", communism would be virtually defeated and humanity will be saved from this terrible danger.

How Portugal is Resisting Communism

The revolution launched in Portugal four years ago by communists was well prepared years before. They tried systematically to ruin the country in every way, in order to dispose of it more easily. Very somber days fell on Portugal, bringing our country to the very brink of an almost total destruction. Eight hundred years of a rather glorious history, with a worldwide projection, would seem to come to an end. Our people were taken by surprise, not realising how subversively its so called *liberators* were conducting the *revolution of the flowers*. When it finally became clear how wicked the intentions of the leaders of the April Revolution were, our people rose up in a heroic effort to avoid complete enslavement planned by the Portuguese Communist Party, openly supported by the USSR, with the complicity of the Socialists.

This general awakening took place not only in the mainland, but also in the Atlantic islands; the Portuguese of Macau also joined in most gallantly. Even in the former Portuguese territories of Africa there is an increasing resistance against the standing regimes, since they are under Russian and Cuban sway. For instance, in Guinea and Cape-Vert, the population rebelled very quickly against the impending threat from the PAIGC. Those regimes soon resorted to all kinds of cruelties. In a very short period of time they put to death around five thousand people, mostly among *the Fulas*. The very same thing happened in Saint Thomas and Prince. There, even quite recently, the people on the streets caused the most trouble for the ruling regime. How far reaching the consequences of these rebellions were is not clear, because of repressions and press censorship.

The so-called independence of Angola turned out to be servitude imposed by Russia, with the aid of Cuban troops. The independence of Angola is thus supported by the army of a foreign country. But a sound reaction took place there, too. In the north, in the Cabinda settlement, about two-thirds of the area was recovered by the FLEC. On the other hand, the vanguard of UNITA forces advanced from the south, to not far from Luanda, under the command of Dr. Jonas Savimbi and Daniel Chipenda. The Luanda regime of Agostinho Neto is now said to be confined to the capital and a limited area around it.

In Mozambique the situation of FRELIMO is not bright at all. Samora Machel can be said to hold sway only in the area directly around Beira and Maputo, while most of the territory is under arms against the communist ruler. *The Macuas*, for instance, who live in the Center, hoist Portuguese flags almost everywhere. A general upheaval took place on September 7, 1974, which was suppressed only with the support of the communist regime of Lisbon.

The case of the former Portuguese east Timor may be the most cruel. Indonesian forces landed at Dili just to prevent the establishment of one more communist regime there, led by FRETILING under the blessing of Lisbon. The war is still raging, the invading forces being opposed not only by the communist terrorists but also by a great part of the population which is extremely attached to the Portuguese administration. Thus, much blood is being shed. It is our conviction that the more the Indonesian authorities will prove their sincerity, leaving those populations a real free choice as to their political

future, the sooner will they get decisive support for the final suppression of the communist threat.

One can thus say that from Europe to

Africa and the Far East, in all the former Portuguese territories, communism is being confronted with a very sound and crushing resistance.

Support for Croatian Independence

WHEREAS the Croatian, Bulgarian and Albanian people have been forcibly incorporated into Communist Yugoslavia, where the Croats, Bulgarians, Albanians and other peoples are denied basic human rights, the national right to self-determination and the right to develop their national culture and identity;

WHEREAS since 1945 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has received \$7 Billion in US military and economic aid, part of which the communist government has used to strengthen its oppressive dictatorship and the balance was used to promote communist subversion in Africa, Asia and Latin America;

WHEREAS the Yugoslav Communist dictator Josip Broz Tito with his double-tongued and hypocritical "national communism" is virtually the founder of so-called "Eurocommunism", which provokes minimizing the real communist danger in Europe;

WHEREAS Tito and his delegates in international meetings have diligently worked to undermine US and western policy in the whole world, supporting always pro-communist and anti-democratic positions, undercovered by so-called "third world" and "not-alignment" policy;

WHEREAS currently the Belgrade Government is supporting Cuban and



Dr. Ante Bonifacic, President of the Croatian Liberation Movement, at the 11th WACL Conference.

Russian military intervention in Ethiopia and assisting Cuban and Russian efforts to communize Angola and invade its neighbour countries;

WHEREAS the Soviet Navy is regularly supplied in Yugoslav harbours in the Adriatic Sea, and the Yugoslav territory is being used to move weapons and other Soviet supplies for its communist allies for the further arms build-up in the Middle East;

WHEREAS during and after World War II, in the name of Soviet alliance, integral Yugoslavism and unconditional Western support to their Communist war allies, the Croatian Nation was subjected to an unprecedented, genocide during which about one million Croatians were slaughtered by Communist Serbs, who were opposed to Croatian self-determination and national independence;

WHEREAS Croatia must constantly pay tribute to the Communist ruler because it did not participate in the partisan guerrilla warfare, because it is anti-communist and because it was and is against being absorbed into Yugoslavia;

WHEREAS under the Yugoslav Communist Government there are proportionally more political prisoners than in any other European Country, the Soviet Union included, most of them are Croatians, followed by Albanians from Kosovo and Bulgarians from Macedonia;

WHEREAS because of the widespread internal dissatisfaction, Yugoslavia is in a constant state of turmoil and in a latent state of civil war, which instability continually threatens European and world peace.

*Therefore the 11th Conference of the
WACL Resolves*

TO CONDEMN the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

for the suppression of liberty, the continuous brutal violations of human rights and its colonial domination in Croatia; as well as of Bulgarians, Albanians and other peoples and national minorities;

TO DENOUNCE that Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Authorities encourage international terrorist activities, by giving in their territory sanctuary to the Venezuelan terrorist Carlos Ilitch Ramirez and others, thereby supporting various subversive communist movements in Africa, Europe and Latin America, undermining the Western peaceful policy in the world;

TO DECLARE that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, this artificial creation of Versailles and Yalta, should be substituted by free, independent and democratic states of Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro and Serbia, guaranteeing to the Bulgarians of Macedonia and to the Albanians of Kosovo unification with their homeland;

TO RECOMMEND to the Serbian political ruler, that recognizing the national right of self-determination, to proceed to separate peacefully the component nations inhabiting Yugoslavia and establish their sovereign states which can stabilize the situation in that part of Europe and will give the Serbian people prosperity and permanent peace with its neighbours;

TO SOLEMNLY EXPRESS its total and unconditional support of the Croatian, Bulgarian and Albanian peoples and other nationalities subjugated in Communist Yugoslavia, in order that their right to self-determination and their struggle for freedom and national independence would be conquered by all possible ways and means.

Washington, D.C., April 30th, 1978

On the Independence of Byelorussia

WHEREAS the All-Byelorussian Congresses of March 25th 1918 and of June 27th 1944 established the Independent Byelorussian Republic;

WHEREAS the Russian Communist Governments on both occasions crushed and forcibly annexed Byelorussia to the so-called Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics under their domination;

WHEREAS the Russian rulers have never formally abandoned Lenin's doctrine — which is the basis of the Soviet Constitution and recognizes not only self-determination for the nations which make up the USSR but also their right to secede from it;

WHEREAS the Soviet Government refuses to honour or apply those principles internally but cites them constantly in condemnation of other Governments of whom it disapproves;

WHEREAS the Soviet goal of world domination is still their paramount objective and talk of peaceful co-existence, renunciation of force and prohibition of nuclear weapons is merely a smoke screen to conceal their real intentions;

WHEREAS the Soviet Russian policy of genocide by mass deportation and liquidation has reduced the Byelorussian population during the last war and some years after by 25% (from 10,5 million in 1939 to 8,054,600 in 1959); the losses for the whole period of the Russian occupation of Byelorussia lie in the region of 7 million;

WHEREAS Byelorussia has a seat at the United Nations, but has no national voice independent of the Russian communist overlords;

WHEREAS despite freedom of religion guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution, all churches, monasteries, synagogues and their property have been confiscated, some destroyed or defamed, nearly all clergymen

deported or liquidated, and only about 5% left open mainly for propaganda purposes;

WHEREAS the Russian Communist Governments are not only in conflict with the non-Communist world but with their own people, for whom they need concentration camps and lunatic asylums;

WHEREAS all people who have experienced a communist regime dream only of ridding themselves of it;

WHEREAS Western broadcasts penetrate to a wide audience of captive peoples within the USSR — despite intensive and expensive jamming, and exert a powerful influence;

THEREFORE THE XIth WACL CONFERENCE RESOLVES:

1) To intensify condemnation of Russian communist imperialism and colonialism in world councils and especially at all sessions of the European Security Conference;

2) To demand that the UN take more positive action to implement resolutions concerning:

a) Russian tyranny in the USSR and the East European Satellite Countries;

b) The granting of self-determination and independence to Byelorussia and all peoples under Russian communist occupation within their ethnic boundaries;

3) To denounce cultural and linguistic russification in Byelorussia and throughout the USSR;

4) To demand the release of all political and religious prisoners in the Soviet Union and protest against continuing arrests and deportations;

5) To urge Free Governments everywhere to renew and re-double their efforts to liberate all nations within the Russian communist empire and remove the Berlin

Wall, barbed wire and all other physical manifestations of Russian communist oppression;

6) To urge the Governments of the Free Nations to broadcast to Byelorussians and

other nationalities of the USSR in their own languages thus giving them moral support, and some hope and encouragement to survive the darkest decades in the history of mankind.

SEMINAR ON LIBERATION-NATIONALISM

In the absence of Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, the scheduled chairman, the seminar was chaired by Dr. Stepan Halamay. The program consisted of a keynote address, entitled, "The Road to Ideological Victory Over Marxism and Bolshevism" written by Hon. Y. Stetsko and presented in his absence by Dr. Stepan Halamay.

A brief question and answer period followed, during which the concept of nationalism was more clearly defined, distinguished from other concepts, and presented as the single most dynamic force in the contemporary world. Furthermore, Dr. Halamay elaborated upon the struggle for national independence by the

subjugated nations in Eastern Europe, especially the Ukrainian nation. Other matters which were addressed included the Byelorussian, Laotian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Turkestani, Czech, Slovak, Serb, Croatian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish and Cuban. The participants included, among others, various representatives of nations presently under communist domination. In addition, the seminar stressed the naivete of American policies towards the policies of the Communist Russian regime and recognized that American efforts on behalf of national movements throughout the world have been inadequate.



(Left to Right): Dr. J. Kosiak, Chairman, Byelorussian Delegation; two members of the Byelorussian Delegation; Dr. K. Drenikoff, Chairman, Bulgarian Delegation and Dr. C. Barbieri, Chairman, Brazil Delegation.

WYACL urges release of Ukrainian political prisoners

WHEREAS World Youth Anti-Communist League stands for justice, freedom of individuals and for independence of all nations;

WHEREAS the aim of Communist Russia has always been and is world domination through military conquest, tyranny, deception and subversive methods *AND WHEREAS* Ukraine and the other captive nations have already been subjugated in pursuance of that aim;

WHEREAS Communist Russia is continuing the russification of Ukraine and the persecution of Ukrainian patriots, cultural and religious leaders and proponents of national and human rights;

WHEREAS Communist Russia is in violation of countless treaties and in particular the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and more recently the Helsinki Accords of 1975;

WE THEREFORE, the Eighth Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League, upholding "national human rights against communist tyranny,"

1) *STRONGLY URGE* the Free World to unite in the destruction of the Communist Russian Empire and to replace the same with independent national states based on their respective ethnic boundaries;

2) *CONDEMN* Communist Russia for the illegal occupation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations *AND DENOUNCE* Communist Russia for her policies;

a) of russification of Ukraine by obliterating Ukraine's heritage, culture and language, and

b) of the eradication of the Ukrainian identity by genocide and ethnocide;

3. *DEMAND* that Communist Russia *IMMEDIATELY RELEASE*:

a) Yuriy Shukhevych who is extremely ill while serving his third

ten-year prison term for refusing to denounce his father, General Roman Shukhevych Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) assassinated in 1950;

b) Mykola Rudenko, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukianenko, Oles Berdnyk, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Nina Strokata, Oleksa Tykhy and Oksana Meshko, who are the members of the Kyiv Public Group to Monitor the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords;

c) Valentyn Moroz, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychny, Ivan Hel, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Vasyl Stus, Mykhalo Osadchy, Vasyl Romaniuk and Iryna and Ivan Kalynets and all other Ukrainian political prisoners in the thousands of concentration camps and prisons in the Communist Russian Empire;

4. *DEPLORE* the use by Communist Russia of physical, medical and pharmaceutical means of torture on Ukrainian political prisoners as well as committing sane people to psychiatric institutions and hospitals merely because they refuse to renounce their national and religious beliefs

5. *COMDEMN* Communist Russia's systematic destruction of Ukraine's churches and the persecution and extermination of Ukrainian clergy and followers of the Ukrainian Church;

6. *DEMAND* that Communist Russia adhere and comply with all treaties signed by her and in particular the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords of 1975.

WYACL for Liquidation of Soviet Russian Empire

The 8th WYACL CONFERENCE urges the United States government to observe Public Law No. 86-90 of the United States Congress on Captive Nations on July 19, 1959, by which the US Congress committed itself to encourage the heroic liberation struggle for national independence and freedom of Ukraine and of all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism.

The 8th WYACL CONFERENCE appeals to the United States government that the concepts of independence of subjugated nations and human rights should be as integral to US foreign policy as Marxism-Leninism-Communism is to Soviet Russian operations and planning. National independence of subjugated peoples and human rights should be a political component of American foreign policy, not a humanitarian program.

The WYACL considers the liquidation of the Soviet-Russian Empire and of the entire communist system as an inevitable prerequisite for the implementation of national and human rights and fundamental liberties.

The 8th WYACL CONFERENCE whole-heartedly supports the recently

written request sent to the President of the United States by imprisoned Ukrainian cultural leaders such as Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Hel, Lev Lukianenko, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Ivan Svitlychny, and many others, to grant them American citizenship and to enable, by all means, the persecuted Ukrainian cultural leaders to emigrate to the Free World so that they can freely continue their Ukrainian cultural creativity which is in the interest of the cultural progress of all mankind.

The 8th WYACL CONFERENCE urges all Free Nations to use all means possible in exerting pressure on Moscow to bring about the abolition of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, which are the shame of the 20th century; the release of all political and religious prisoners; an end to Russification and to national, political, social and religious oppression; an end to collectivization and state control of all aspects of the economy; and above all, the withdrawal of Russian occupational forces and of the communist terror apparatus from all enslaved countries, thus enabling them to restore their national independence and democratic order.



(L. to R.) Dr. I. Docheff, Bulgaria; Mrs. S. Stetsko, Ukraine; Mr. T. Zarins, Latvia.

OCCUPIED EUROPE JOKES AT BREZHNEV

Political jokes are high explosives that may become dangerous to those inventing them, listening to or spreading them. Jokes about Hitler and Stalin were perilous and whoever got involved in such jokes was extremely fortunate if he could meditate in a forced labor camp just for a few years. Nowadays, judgment has become more liberal, but it is nevertheless advisable not to tell "malicious" jokes about leading Party members, ministers and industrial bosses. Jokes are meant to apostrophize the potentates as kind, sympathetic and, last but not least, witty sovereigns. Even today within the Soviet Russian sphere of power an editor would not dare to publish a disadvantageous joke about Brezhnev or his colleagues, nor to have their figures or deeds caricatured. Nevertheless, many jokes are circulating in Soviet Europe on behalf of or against the sovereigns of the respective countries.

At a reception held on the occasion of Brezhnev's visit to Luxemburg the Prime Minister of Luxemburg introduced all his colleagues to his distinguished guest from Moscow. When the turn of the defense minister came, Brezhnev burst out laughing. "What is there to laugh at, Mr. Brezhnev?", Prime Minister Thorn asked. "Excuse me, I cannot but laugh with all my heart! How come a country like Luxemburg needs a minister of defense", the guest replied. "That's not very nice, Mr. Brezhnev, that you are laughing. When I was in Moscow I did not even smile when you introduced the Soviet Russian minister of justice to me!"

A rifleman made an attempt upon Brezhnev's life, but without success. The perpetrator was handed over to the MVD colonel in charge of the case. After checking the gunman's documents the astonished colonel said: "I do not quite understand!

According to your cadre sheet you are a distinguished marksman. How is it possible at all that you missed him?" "Comrade colonel, how could I possibly not have missed him? I was pushed from the right and from the left, and from all sides they were crying — Why don't you shoot? Don't hesitate! — Can you possibly remain calm and take aim in such a situation?"

President Carter and Marshal Brezhnev are flying to Africa together in order to make peace. They ask Kadar to join them since they have heard that he has good relationships with many countries. Kadar accepts the invitation. Over Ethiopia the airplane is shot down and the three peace angels are taken to a savage chieftain of a tribe. "Who are you?", the chieftain asks Carter, quite unfriendly. "I am the President of the richest country of the world, the USA". "Never heard of it! Take him away and make goulash out of him!" Then he turned to Brezhnev: "And why do you tremble? Who are you and what do you want here?" Brezhnev: "I am the first soldier, the leader of the greatest military power of the world, the Soviet Union".

The chieftain to his companions: "Take him away and make beef soup out of him! He must be cooked for a while to become soft and eatable!" Then he turned to Kadar: "And who are you, pale-face?" Kadar: "I am the First Party Secretary of the Hungarian Labour Party. I am from Budapest." The chieftain grinning: "From Budapest? I remember quite well. My twelve sons have been studying there at the University for years. Friend Kadar, be my guest and welcome to my country! Besides, what do you wish to eat tonight, goulash or beef soup?"

On the Red Square, Brezhnev perceives a man wearing only one shoe and asks him:

"You lost one shoe, didn't you? Is that the reason for your being bare-footed?" "Oh no, comrade Leonid, I found the other shoe."

Brezhnev takes his daily walk and sees many people queued up and waiting patiently in front of the Kremlin. Trying to play the role of the sympathetic "Father of all Russians" he friendly turns

to the first man: "What are you waiting for, comrade?" "I want to see Stalin".... Brezhnev surprised: "Where are you living? Stalin has been dead for a long time... Go home." On his way back Brezhnev sees the same man standing at the same spot and says: "Don't you understand? Stalin died a long time ago!" "Certainly, I do, comrade Leonid; but I love to hear it over and over again!"



ANCIENT HISTORY OF MACEDONIA FALSIFIED

Below we are reprinting excerpts from a letter from the Central Committee of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization of the US and Canada, "to the Respected Ministers of Foreign Affairs of All Countries that Participated at the Conference in Helsinki".

The Central Committee of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization in the United States of America and Canada follows with great concern the debates and decisions to be taken during the Conference held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. We were deeply moved and inspired by the agreement on Human Rights reached at the Conference in Helsinki, Finland.

At the time, our Organization presented a Memorandum, supported by various historical documents, and writings of prominent professors and scholars, attesting to the historical truth that the Slavs in Macedonia are Bulgarians. Our Memorandum urged you to consider the plight of our brothers and sisters in Macedonia, especially the territory occupied by Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, these same Bulgarians, who comprise the majority in Macedonia, have been deprived of the basic human right to speak, write, and pray in their own Bulgarian language. This intolerable situation has existed since 1912.

The denial and denationalization of the Bulgarians in Macedonia continues today as it existed under the former kingdom of Yugoslavia. The ancient history of Macedonia is totally falsified. The Bulgarian names of the people, the Bulgarian literature and language has been systematically and deviously changed to reflect what has erroneously been labeled the "Macedonian" nature of the people. Bulgarian churches and schools, founded centuries ago during the Ottoman Empire, were renamed Macedonian churches and schools.

We find it extremely difficult, as do the many national groups in Yugoslavia, to understand why Belgrade was selected to host this second conference on Human Rights. We emphatically believe that the agreements of Helsinki must also be applied to Yugoslavia. There is no democracy in Yugoslavia, only one communistic party. Thus, it is an evident conclusion that Yugoslavia is not a state created by the free will of the people, but by the power of a dictatorial government. There is no free expression permitted in Yugoslavia, no free election, nor any cultural or social association without approval of the government. Books and other publications are at the relentless mercy of the censor and are forbidden if they reflect any dissent or disapproval of the government.

We wish to briefly describe a few examples of the inhuman treatment and grave injustice rendered against our people in Macedonia under the rule of Yugoslavia.

During 1977, a young girl, a student from the city of Shtip, Macedonia, Pliska Manasieva, was arrested and imprisoned for 18 months. Her father, Todor Manasiev, an attorney, received a prison term of three years and six months. Their crime: the police found books in the Bulgarian language in their home. We are forever grateful to the office of the United Nations, whose timely intervention was instrumental in effecting the release of the young student. However, her father remained in prison until he became so ill that the prison doctor advised the authorities to release him. He died shortly thereafter. He lost his life because he was a Bulgarian, a fact he never denied.

The truth is that all Slav people in Macedonia are Bulgarians. Tito's regime has changed their names, their nationality,

and given them the geographic name of the country. Yet this change has affected only the Bulgarians in Macedonia. The other ethnic groups retained their original names, i. e., Albanians, Turks, Jews, Rumanians, etc.

In 1972, a high school teacher, Peter Zacharov, was publicly denounced in the front page of the Serbian newspaper, "Politika". This occurred in the October 31, 1972 edition, with the headline, "High School Teacher Arrested for Anti-government Activity and Propaganda". Yes, Peter Zacharov had the courage to question the historical truth of the so-called "Macedonian nation, language, and culture". In a lengthy report of his "crime", this newspaper explained that Professor Zacharov received a prison sentence of eight years for openly declaring that Macedonian Slavs were Bulgarians.

These punishments were given according to Article 118 of the Yugoslavian Law for Civil Crimes. In any free and democratic country, the opinion expressed by Peter Zacharov would be accepted as part of a free discussion on the subject.

If the great and renowned political leaders such as Otto Von Bismark, Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, and others were alive today, they would not be welcomed in Yugoslavia. Such men declared the truth regarding the Slav population in Macedonia — that they were Bulgarian.

In 1974, a young poet of Macedonia, Dimitar Janovski, was sentenced to a prison term of eight years. His "crime" was the publication of a poem entitled "Without a Title", printed in the September 1974 issue of the literary magazine *Contemporary*. Dimitar Janovski made the statement, "There is a very sad situation today in

Macedonia". Such a remark led to prison for this talented poet.

In January, 1977, the Macedonian authorities arrested and placed in prison an 82-year-old man, Lazar Krainichanec. He was found with a few Bulgarian books in his possession. One was a brochure from the Bulgarian Academy of Science, containing much historical information about the Bulgarians in Macedonia. The other book was the memoirs of a well-known writer, literary critic and former Ambassador of Bulgaria to Bucharest, Brussels, Washington and Ankara, Mr. Simeon Radeff. In his memoirs, Radeff wrote of his days as a youth in Macedonia, and that he was a Bulgarian, born in the city of Ressen.

The possession of such books in Yugoslavia is more dangerous than the possession of firearms, etc. Another citizen of Skopie, Macedonia, Angel Petrov, was sentenced to five years in prison for possession of two Bulgarian books.

If such events were to occur in a free country, the local citizenry would register strong protest against the police and the courts. But in Yugoslavia, these are common and frequent occurrences because there is neither freedom nor justice.

We shall look with keen interest upon the development on the exchange of ideas and the decisions on Human Rights that will come forth from Belgrade.

Past history is scattered with the remains of international agreements that promise to hold inviolate the rights of man.

There is no enigma to human rights. There can be no compromise with human rights.

LITHUANIAN AMERICANS URGE RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR BALTIC STATES

We, the Lithuanian Americans, assembled this 12th day of February, 1978, at Cicero, Illinois, to commemorate the restoration of Lithuania's independence, do hereby state as follows:

WHEREAS: February 16, 1978, marks the 60th anniversary of the restoration of independence to the more than 700 year old Lithuanian State; and,

WHEREAS: the Republic of Lithuania was forcibly occupied and illegally annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940, in violation of all the existing treaties and the principles of international law;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED

That we are deeply grateful to Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg and Senator Robert Dole for drawing the attention of the participating States at the Belgrade Conference to the denial of the principle of self-determination to the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia;

That in expressing our gratitude to the United States President and Congress for their firm position of non-recognition of the Soviet occupation and annexation of Lithuania, we request an activation of the non-recognition principle by stressing at every opportunity, also in the United

Nations and other international forums, the denial of freedom and national independence to Lithuania and other captive nations;

That we request to exercise pressure according to the Human Rights principles for the release of all political and religious prisoners from Soviet Russian jails, concentration camps and psychiatric wards;

That in searching for security we maintain that restoring of the sovereignty of Baltic States is an important part of healing the wounds of World War II and can not be excluded from progress in humanitarian matters and Human Rights;

That for all captive people, we uphold the Human Rights principle of pursuing real individual happiness — to lead a peaceful and prosperous life in their own, independent, self-governed State;

That copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States of America Jimmy Carter, to the Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, to Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg and Senator Robert Dole, to Senators from Illinois Charles H. Percy and Adlai E. Stevenson, to Congressman from district 6 Henry J. Hyde and to the news media.

Jozo Orec Murdered by SDB Agents

Warrants for the arrest of Vladimir Pavlic a 36-year old secret agent for the Yugoslav Intelligence Service "SDB" and Branco Cucukovic (30), a motor mechanic were issued in late December, 1977.

Pavlic was given the special task of eliminating Mr. Jozo Orec, a Croat anti-communist fighter whose mutilated body was found in a plastic bag at Vereeniging, South Africa in December, 1977.

Jozo Orec was born in Visnjik, near Derventa, Yugoslavia, on April 13, 1937.

His hatred of Communism and all it stands for came from having witnessed the murder of his mother when he was only eight years old. He later joined an underground movement and fled the country. In 1971 he took part in an attempt to assassinate the Yugoslav ambassador in West Germany, which failed. As a result, the Yugoslav secret service offered a large reward for his capture "dead or alive", which was later changed to a demand for his death.

AN INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION IN THE USSR

As is already known from press reports, a group of workers has established an independent union — "The Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union". This new Trade Union is independent from the official union as well as from Communist Party control, and aims to defend the interests of workers in the Soviet Union.

After the Charter of the Free Trade Union had been proclaimed, the KGB immediately attempted to liquidate it by arresting, terrorising and threatening the prominent members of the Union. As a result of this, many workers have been arrested, some incarcerated in prison psychiatric wards, some have disappeared without trace, and others are being pressured to "liquidate" the Union themselves.

The Charter of the Free Trade Union is printed below:

CHARTER

of the Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union. (Valid from the 1st of January 1978).

SECTION ONE

Membership of the Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union

1. Every worker and civil servant whose rights and interests are illegally suppressed by administrative, party and judicial Soviet organs, has the right to be a member of the Free Union of Workers.

2. A member of the Free Trade Union has the right to:

a) freely discuss all the affairs of the Union; to introduce propositions; to openly express and defend any motions presented to the Free Trade Union;

b) personally participate in Union meetings concerning the activity or character of the Union;

c) wage an incessant campaign for peace and friendship among nations;

d) increase his political consciousness;

e) abide by the Charter of the Free Trade Union;

f) fulfill the social assignments of the Union.

3. A member of the Union has the following privileges:

a) he receives sound legal aid;

b) he receives moral and material aid as far as is possible;

c) he receives help in seeking living quarters, and if possible, helps his friends in this.

4. Membership into the Free Trade Union is voluntary, but based upon the condition that the candidate contemplate this decision for one week to ensure that he is aware of the consequences of his membership of the Union.

5. The decision to accept someone as a member is taken at general meetings.

SECTION TWO

The Organisational Structure of the Free Trade Union of Workers

6. This is based on the principles of democratic centralism, which means:

a) everyone, from the lowest rungs to the highest, is elected by the members and submits reports to them;

b) all Union matters are resolved in accordance with the Charter;

7. An open and thorough discussion of the plans of the Union is an important principle of internal union democracy. On the basis of internal democracy, criticism and self-criticism, activity and initiative on the part of the members develops and strengthens concerns and conscious discipline.

8. The basic principle of the Free Trade Union is the association of members, which was established by "The Forty Three".*

* "The Forty Three", first organised in November 1977 by Vladimir Klebanov, a coal miner, are the initiating and founding group of the Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union.

9. The duties of the Free Trade Union are as follows:

a) to fulfill obligations on the basis of collective decisions;

b) to encourage workers and civil servants to become members of the Free Trade Union;

c) to implement the decisions of the Union concerning the defence of rights and justice;

d) to educate the members of the Union to oppose shortcomings, manifestations of bureaucracy and deceit, poor management of the economy and spending, a careless attitude to national wealth.

SECTION THREE

The Funds of the Free Trade Union

10. The funds of the Free Trade Union are composed of:

a) a six-monthly payment of membership dues and contributions from the unemployed within their means;

b) not more than one per cent of the total wages received; donations accepted without limit;

c) the fees of non-members of the Free Trade Union for legal aid, for the printing and composing of complaints — which is not to exceed the national tariff;

d) donations from professional, foreign trade unions.

SECTION FOUR

The Rights of the Free Trade Union as a Legal Body

11. The Free Trade Union of Workers in the USSR is a legal body.

As soon as the Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union is recognised by the ILO* or by professional trade unions, and as soon as the Union receives moral and material aid, the Charter will be reviewed to include the particular positions of workers in our country, and the present, temporary Union Charter, annulled.

*The Council of "The Forty Three",
Free Trade Union of Workers in the
Soviet Union.*

REGISTER

*of candidates for membership of the Free
Trade Union in the Soviet Union.*

1. SAVINKOV Oleksander Mykhaylovych — miner, Makiyivka, Ukrainian SSR

2. DYATLOV Fedir Fedorovych — worker, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR

3. KORCHAHIN Viktor Ivanovych — engineer, Kemerovo — 2, Russian SFSR

4. SHPILEVOY Petro Tymofiyovych — worker, Kyiv, Ukr. SSR

5. BOYKO Oleksander Mykhaylovych — miner, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR

6. NIKITIN Vasyl Yuriyovych — mountain engineer, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR

7. SHCHUR Volodymyr Oleksiiovych — mountain engineer, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR

8. KRYUCHKOV Mykola Mykolayovych — clerk, Moscow, RSFSR

9. CHEVERYOV Vitaliy Serhiyovych — clerk, Moscow, RSFSR

10. CHERNYAK Kateryna Ivanivna worker, Chernihiv, Ukr. SSR

11. OSTRIVNA Vira Vasylivna — clerk, Krasnodarsky Kray, RSFSR

12. PAVLOVA Tetyana Ivanivna — lawyer, Khabarovsk, RSFSR

13. DAVYDOVA Lida Mykhaylivna — clerk, Moscow, RSFSR

14. NOSYREVA Anastasia Metodiivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR

15. BONDARETS Nadia Yeremeyivna — pensioner, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR

16. KHARICHKOVA Maria Mykhaylivna — pensioner, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR

17. YASHCHENKO Maria Ivanivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR

18. MATUSHEVYCH Maria Mykhaylivna — clerk, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR

* International Labour Organisation.

19. KOSTYLYOV Oleh Borysovych — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
20. HUNCHENKO Anatoliy Tarasovych — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
21. MAZUROVSKA Nina Artemivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
22. FAZYLKHANOV Mamed Mamedovych — worker, Kazan, Tartar ASSR
23. OSTAF'YEV Serhiy Vasylovych — pensioner, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
24. FILLIPOV Leonid Ivanovych — miner, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
25. SYDOROVA Anna Stepanivna — worker, Pestovo, RSFSR
26. MAMEDOV Sabir Babayevych — clerk, Berdyansk, Ukr. SSR
27. USITSKOV Anatoliy Fedorovych — worker, Leningrad region, RSFSR
28. VATS Anna Moyseyivna — collective farm worker, Rivensky region, Ukr. SSR
29. LEVIT Yakiv Manusovych — clerk, Odessa, Ukr. SSR
30. BORBYSHOV Ivan Petrovych — worker, Susuman, Yakutsk, ASSR
31. ZASIMOV Dmytro Yakovych — clerk, South Sakhalinsk, RSFSR
32. HARAHAH Hryhoriy Yosypovych — worker, Kaliningrad, RSFSR
33. KOSTERIN Roman Moyseyovych — clerk, Sovyetsk, RSFSR
34. KIMAYEVA Anna Oleksandrivna — clerk, Sverdlovsk
35. TULIKOV Kuzma Havrylovych — an invalid of the Second World War, Pavlohradsk
36. OTROKHOVA Anna Zakharivna — clerk, Voroshylovhrad, Ukr. SSR
37. HAVRYLENKO Viktor Mykhaylovych — lecturer, Lviv, Ukr. SSR
38. BALANYUK Viktor Matiyovych — worker, Odessa, Ukr. SSR
39. POPOV Ivan Ivanovych — pensioner, Dnipropetrovsk, Ukr. SSR
40. RYAKHINA Zabayida Hryhorivna — lecturer, Frunzensky region, Kirghiz SSR
41. MASLOV Edvard Konstantynovych — Ozherelye, Moscow region, RSFSR
42. CHERKASIV Mykhaylo Dmytrovych — miner, Makiyivka, Donetsk region, Ukr. SSR
43. SERHIYENKO Evpotia Lohivna — collective farm worker, Prymorsky Kray, RSFSR
44. DVORETSKY Fedir Pavlovych — worker, Alma-Ata, Kazakh SSR
45. PRYADKO Hryhoriy Mykhaylovych — worker, Poltava region, Ukr. SSR
46. CHERNIKOVA Nadia Ilarionivna — teacher, Stavropol, RSFSR
47. TSADO Larysa Ivanivna — clerk, Stepnoy, Kazakh SSR
48. HULISARYAN Arshaluys Khachaturivna — work invalid, Sukhumi, Georgian SSR
49. DAVYDOVA Natalia Dmytrivna — clerk, Komi ASSR
50. KOCHETKOV Anatoliy Mykhaylovych — worker, Moscow, RSFSR
51. GUDZ Mykhaylo Stepanovych — worker, Zaporizhyya, Ukr. SSR
52. KARNAUKHOV Oleksander Mykhaylovych — pensioner, Sochi, RSFSR
53. SOROKA Olena Moyseyivna — collective farm worker, Ternopil region, Ukr. SSR
54. MURAVYOV Mykola Hryhorovych — clerk, Rostov-on-Don, RSFSR
55. NECHYPORUK Vira Terentiyivna — clerk, Odessa, Ukr. SSR
56. TARAN Olena Oleksivna — worker, Vinnytsya, Ukr. SSR
57. STENKIN Ivan Ivanovych — worker, Moscow, RSFSR
58. PETROSYAN Edvard Perosovych — engineer, Leningrad, RSFSR
59. HALIMOVA Slu Abdulhalymivna — teacher, Ufa, ASSR
60. ARUTYUNAN Henrikh Sarkysyanovych — clerk, Moscow, RSFSR
61. REKOVSKA Larysa Viktorivna — clerk, Issyk, Alma-Ata region, Kazakh SSR

62. TEYLER Nelli — housewife, Issyk, Alma-Ata region, Kazakh SSR
63. BELETSKA Dina Oleksivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
64. KUZNYETSOVA Tetyana Serhiyivna — worker, Vladivostok, RSFSR
65. SHAPOCHKINA Valentyna Oleksivna — worker, Vladivostok, RSFSR
66. KOZLOVA Olena Petrivna — engineer, Voronizh, Ukr. SSR
67. MAKAREV Mykhaylo Vasylovych — engineer, Moscow, RSFSR
68. NYKYTENKO Vasyl Mykolayovych — doctor, Klyn, Moscow region, RSFSR
69. OBSHYTOSH Khrystyna Ivanivna — collective farm worker, Zacarpatian region, Ukr. SSR
70. POPKO Stanyslav — worker, Petrade, Latvian SSR
71. SHCHERBAKOV Valentyn Vasylovych — worker, Chelyabinsk region, RSFSR
72. POLYANSKA Valentyna Pavlivna — clerk, Sarativ, RSFSR
73. MOSKVINA Anna Vasylivna — clerk, Lviv, Ukr. SSR
74. TSVYETKOVA Nina Mykhaylivna — clerk, Kyiv, Ukr. SSR
75. OSSI Zhanna — clerk, Kokhtla-Yarve, ESSR
76. HLADUN Tetyana Havrylivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
77. MEYER Vira Edvardivna — worker, Tulsk region, RSFSR
78. POHREBNYAK Nadia Lavrentiyivna — housewife, Stavropilsky Kray, Kazakh SSR
79. ANANSON Mykola Arkadiyovych — worker, Minsk BSSR
80. BILECHENKO Mykola Makarovych — engineer, Frunze, Kirghiz SSR
81. KASYANOVA Zhanna Fedorivna — engineer, Mytyshchy, Moscow region, RSFSR
82. ANTONOVA Klyara Petrivna — engineer, Kyiv, Ukr. SSR
83. ZHURAVLYOV Mykola Pavlovych — doctor, Uchkuduk, Uzbek SSR
84. BORTSOVA Olena — clerk, Pevek, RSFSR
85. ZOTOVA Lyudmyla Tykhonivna — worker, Klymovsk, Moscow region, RSFSR
86. BALETSKA Vira Antoliyivna — worker, Makiyivka, Donetsk region, Ukr. SSR
87. KOPENEVA Klavdia Vasylivna — nurse, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
88. HOLOVOCHUK Natalia Vasylivna — clerk, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
89. BOLETSKY Vasyl Anatoliyovych — worker, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
90. ZAKHAROVA Klavdia Tykhonivna — worker, Moscow, RSFSR
91. SHESTAKOVA Kateryna Tykhonivna — worker, Sarativ, RSFSR
92. KOSYGIN Fedir Mykhaylovych — miner, West Makiyivka, Donetsk region, Ukr. SSR
93. KOVALENKO Volodymyr Stepanovych — miner, West Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
94. BEKETOV Mykola Ivanovych — worker, Krasnodarsky Kray, RSFSR
95. BARCHO Medzhyd Kazbuletovych — worker, Krasnodarsky Kray, RSFSR
96. YERSHOVA Natalia Ivanivna — worker, Kutayis, RSFSR
97. KUTAKHIN Ivan Stepanovych — worker, Klymovsk, Moscow region, RSFSR
98. TOLYSHKIN Oleksander Oleksandrovych — worker, Lypetsk, Ukr. SSR
99. TRYSHKIN Mykola Ivanovych — clerk, Podolsk, Moscow region, RSFSR
100. SHARYFULINA Nafisa Abdurakhmanivna — worker, Ufa, Bash. ASSR
101. LILEKO Nadia Kyrylivna — worker, Kirovohrad, Ukr. SSR
102. KOSTERINA Ihnesa Prokopivna — teacher, Sovyetsk, RSFSR
103. YAKOVENKO Viktor Ivanovych — worker, Moscow, RSFSR

104. MEDVYEDEV Yuriy Ivanovych — engineer, Moscow, RSFSR
 105. ZAKHAROV Oleksander Vasylovych — worker, Moscow, RSFSR
 106. HAVRYLIV Ivan Yehorovych — clerk, Petropavlivsk-Kamchatsky, RSFSR
 107. MASALOV Vasyly Ivanovych — worker, Mozhaysk, Moscow region, RSFSR
 108. PASHKOVSKA Lilia Hnativna — nurse, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR

109. IVANOVA Maryna Mykolayivna — worker, Ukr. SSR

110. REDKO Maria Mykolayivna — worker, Bataysk, Rostovsk region, RSFSR

This register is not complete as many of our friends have asked us not to publish their names as yet.

Moscow, February 1st, 1978

WALK-A-THON HELD TO MARK MOROZ'S BIRTHDAY

Some 800 persons took part in a five-mile Walk for Freedom organized by the Philadelphia Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 15, 1978.

The purpose of the walk-a-thon was to observe the 42nd birthday of Moroz, and to call attention to the plight of thousands of Ukrainians imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps for their beliefs.

The Walk for Freedom began at 2 p.m. at Independence Hall. At five checkpoints along the route, children, who had pledges from sponsors for each mile they completed, had their tags marked. The money raised in this way will be used by the Moroz Committee to help Ukrainian political prisoners' families.

The marchers were led by a van equipped with a loudspeaker which informed passersby of the purpose of the walk-a-thon. Some of the marchers carried banners.

The walk-a-thon ended at the Philadelphia Art Museum where the participants signed birthday greetings for Moroz and postcards to Leonid Brezhnev demanding Moroz's immediate release. About 1,000 postcards were signed.

A short program, consisting of a performance by the "Dancing Sopilka" ensemble and the reading of greetings from public officials, was conducted by Moroz Committee chairwoman Ulana Mazurkevich.

Sen. H. John Heinz III (R-Pa.), in his birthday greetings to Moroz, wrote: "I can only hope that someday in the near future, you and I, and all other freedom lovers around the world will be able to openly celebrate your birthday and the renewal of freedom in Ukraine."

"The Soviet authorities have done all in their power to squash the spirit of Ukrainian independence, but they have not succeeded. Ukraine's victory lies in the fact that in your heart and in the hearts of many brave Ukrainians, the spirit of independence and freedom lives on. You and your compatriots thus remain a source of hope, inspiration and leadership for Ukrainians and freedom fighters around the world," wrote Sen. Heinz.

Sen. Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.) and Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, in their letters, reaffirmed commitments to speak out against the persecution of Moroz and all other Ukrainian political prisoners.

Greetings from the Jewish Community Relations Council of Philadelphia stated that on the occasion of Moroz's birthday, the council "renews its commitment to work for an end to his confinement and the release of all prisoners of conscience."

The Walk for Freedom was covered by the two all-news radio stations KYW and WCAU, the three local television stations, and *The Daily News* and *The Bulletin*.

News and Views

INTERVIEW AT THE VATICAN

Mr. J. P. Kedys, Editor and publisher of News Digest — International, based in Sydney, Australia, conducted an interview with Mnsgr. I. Dias of the Vatican, during one of his stops on his world tour in 1977.

During my visit to Italy I contacted the Foreign Office in the Vatican. After cutting through official red tape I managed to ask for an interview with Mnsgr. Casaroli. I was told that Mnsgr. Casaroli was not available and that his assistant, Mnsgr. I. Dias, would meet me. I accepted that proposition and the 20th of May, 10 a.m. was fixed as the date and time of the meeting.

On the 20th of May at 10 a.m. I was at the appointed room and had to wait for about 25 minutes until Mnsgr. Dias appeared. After a short introduction I presented to Mnsgr. Dias a symbolic gift and switched to the business of my visit.

I said to Mnsgr. Dias that the intention of my visit was to obtain first-hand information about the Vatican's policy towards the Soviet Union, its Satellites and the Catholics behind the Iron Curtain. To my very great surprise Mnsgr. Dias said that his superior (Mnsgr. Casaroli — Ed.) had instructed him not to say anything to me, but just to listen to what I had to say. I agreed to this "one way conference", but under the condition that Mnsgr. Dias would report the main points of my talk to his superior. Mnsgr. Dias accepted my request and I began a long talk which lasted nearly one and a half hours.

At the beginning, Mnsgr. Dias kept to his superior's instructions not to talk and only to listen, but after about fifteen minutes, when I mentioned vital problems

related to the Vatican; the USSR, Captive Catholics, Lithuanian Catholics, underground samizdat and its policy, my conference partner dropped his superior's instructions. He began to talk freely and the interview continued in a normal way, but with some very startling discussions. To publish the full content of these discussions would be impracticable and the main points are summarized below in the form of a discussion between the interviewer (JPK) and Mnsgr. Dias.

JPK: I am interested in finding out the latest development in the Vatican's policy towards the USSR, its Satellites and the Catholics behind the Iron Curtain.

Mnsgr.: The Vatican has nothing to do with politics. We are only working and praying for peace.

JPK: Firstly, the term "peace" in itself is a political word because peace results from two fighting sides. Secondly, how can you say that the Vatican has nothing to do with politics when it participated at the Helsinki Conference and signed the final declaration?

Mnsgr.: The Helsinki Conference and its final declaration is a peace act but not a political act.

JPK: How is it that the Helsinki Conference and its final declaration are not political acts, while there are articles in the declaration related to the political borders between states, information on military manoeuvres and human rights, of which the most important part is political? The Vatican cannot escape from politics in the Helsinki Conference.

Mnsgr.: The Vatican participated in Helsinki as a religious peace organisation and not as a political delegation.

JPK: No invitations were sent to religious organisations and the Vatican was invited to Helsinki as a sovereign state and not as an organisation.

(There was no comment on this fact from Mnsgr. Dias.)

JPK: The present policy of the Vatican is based on appeasement of the USSR and its satellites; as in the cases of Card. Mindszenty and Card. Slipyj, and the Vatican's participation in conferences organised by the Russian Orthodox Church etc..

Mnsgr.: The present Vatican policy towards the Soviet Union and its Satellites is based on reliable information received from the Church in Eastern Europe. Also, we take into consideration people in the countries concerned.

JPK: The underground Samizdats "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in

Lithuania" and the Ukrainian Catholic publications are critical of Vatican policy as being too soft towards the Soviet Union.

Mnsgr.: The Vatican has a different source of information on which it bases its policy.

JPK: On what principles are Cardinals appointed by the Vatican? There are today, a few African and Asian tribes with appointed Cardinals. They accepted Catholicism only during this century. On the other hand Lithuania has been defending the Catholic faith for seven centuries but no Lithuanian Cardinal has been appointed in the last three hundred years.

Mnsgr.: The appointment of Cardinals is the personal matter of the Pope.

There were many more problems discussed but the above mentioned ones reflect a general view on the present policy of the Vatican.

PERSECUTION OF ARMENIAN HELSINKI GROUP

"Man has a right to think freely, and human rights and basic freedoms — including freedom of thought, conscience, religion and conviction — should be respected", said Robert Nazaryan, 29, a deacon of the Armenian Church. Of Romanian parents, married and a physics graduate of Yerevan University, Nazaryan graduated from Etchmiadzin Seminary in 1973 and has repeatedly written to Vazgen I, the Catholicos (head) of the Armenian Church, asking for a job. His requests have been consistently refused, he believes, because of his public sympathy with Armenian national and human rights activists.

As treasurer of the Armenian Helsinki Group (formed April 1977) he testifies to the gross violation of human rights in Armenia. Since February 1976 he has tried to meet the spiritual and physical needs of Armenian patriots imprisoned for their national-political activities, and has collected money for their families.

Nazaryan is the first member of the

Armenian Church we know of, to have openly associated with the Helsinki group. His forthrightness has magnified the official church's silence on this subject. In contrast to other Soviet republics, little or no information has reached the West concerning the problems of religious believers, or nationalist or other activists, in Armenia. The information about Nazaryan breaks new ground.

Since February 1976, Nazaryan has been interrogated by the KGB, attacked in the national Armenian press as a "lying prophet", deprived of his passport and job, and finally arrested and imprisoned last Christmas. Any day he may be charged with parasitism and tried or exiled abroad. He appeals to the West, on behalf of himself and his friends, first for prayer and then for material support and publicity. A friend who describes him as a very spiritual man, last saw him looking like a "frightened and caged animal".

The Right to Believe No. 1, 1978

KUDIRKA SCORES SENTENCING OF BALYS GAJAUSKAS

After hearing of the sentence of Baly Gajauskas by a Soviet court to ten years of harsh labor camp, Simas Kudirka called it tantamount to a death sentence, reported the Lithuanian Information Service.

Gajauskas is a 50-year-old Lithuanian Roman Catholic veteran of the anti-Soviet Lithuanian resistance after World War II. He served 25 years in Soviet labor camps. Upon release in 1973, he was denied validation of his internal passport and constantly harassed and fined, together with his aged mother, who was accused of harboring an "illegal resident".

Gajauskas began to help Aleksandr Ginzburg distribute funds from the Solzhenitsyn Fund for jailed Soviet dissidents, to

assist their families. On April 20, 1977, he was arrested as a witness in a case involving the underground "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania". After a year of confinement and interrogation, Gajauskas was brought to trial and sentenced to ten years of hard labor and five additional years of banishment from his native Lithuania.

"This is a certain death for him. He is in very poor health as a result of the 25 years he has already spent in Russian concentration camps. Now, as an unrepentant activist for Lithuanian freedom, he will be confined to a special regime labor camp, which he will never leave alive; the KGB will make certain of that," said Kudirka.

UKRAINIAN YOUTH PROTESTS REPRESSIONS IN USSR

Some 40 Ukrainian high school and college youths, most of them members of TUSM, Plast or SUMA, gathered in Rochester, New York around the Liberty Pole, April 22, 1978, to protest the incarceration of Yuriy Shukhevych and other Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet prisons.

The action was in line with the TUSM national executive board's nation-wide campaign in defense of Shukhevych.

"We're demonstrating for his prison release, the Soviet acceptance of human

rights and Ukrainian independence," said a protest march coordinator Roman Melnyk, 15, in a statement to the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*.

"There are many other political prisoners besides Shukhevych over there in prison. A lot of them arrested are young, like Shukhevych was, and are being punished for the sins of their fathers," said Olga Korol during a press interview. "But the only sin their fathers committed was fighting for the freedom of their own land, the freedom of speech and the freedom of religion."

NATIONALISM GROWING IN USSR, SAYS NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST

The *Washington Post's* April 20 edition carried an article by columnist Victor Zorza about "Nationalist Rumbblings Against Russian Rule". Russification has become a major issue in each of the USSR's national republics, and according to the columnist, it is often a signal of deeper dissatisfaction with government policies.

Citing the recent demonstrations by Georgians against the government's attempt to replace Georgian as the sole official language of the Georgian Republic, Mr. Zorza wrote that "In some ways the language struggle has become the symbol of the resistance to Russian rule, because on the surface, at least, it is a politically less sensitive issue".

"It is safer, for instance to take up the cudgels in behalf of the purity of one's language, to protest the infiltration of Russian words into it, than to protest the infiltration of highly paid Russian bureaucrats and technocrats in Ukraine, or Georgia, or any one of about a dozen other republics. But rule by outsiders, whether it is exercised directly from Moscow or by Russians in key jobs in the various republics, is often the real issue," he noted in the article.

NEW YORK UKRAINIANS SEEK RELEASE OF SHUKHEVYCH

A demonstration in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych, sponsored by the executive board of the Ukrainian Student Organization of Michnowsky (TUSM), was held in New York City April 22, 1978, at which over 400 Ukrainian Americans, notably school and college youth, participated.

The demonstration was officially opened by Andriy Priatka, vice-president of the TUSM national board and president of the New York City branch. Mr. Priatka said that the rally is "a manifestation of our protest against the imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych and Ukraine." He called on the US government to intervene on behalf of Shukhevych.

Gen. Petro Grigorenko, who also spoke at the demonstration told the protestors that the Soviet regime is against, not only Ukrainians, "but all peoples of the USSR". He called on the participants to make the world aware of the threat of Soviet expansionism. He said that the case of Shukhevych is "an example of what can happen to America if the Soviet Union dominates it."

"Fight against this danger now, while we can still destroy it," he said.

Many of the Soviet Union's non-Russians are afraid that Russification is a "step on the road that could deprive them of their national identity".

There is a "growing feeling against Russian domination," wrote the columnist. And "few countries are more vulnerable to the demand for autonomy and independence than the Soviet Union, with its patchwork of nationalities ranging from Ukraine, with its population of 50 million, to Georgia, with nearly 5 million".

Led by the American and Ukrainian flags, and chanting "Unchain Ukraine", the demonstrators peacefully marched to the site of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations at 67th Street.

The demonstrators were stopped by the police about 500 feet from the site of the mission. Police explained that local residents demanded a court order limiting protestors on 67th Street between Third and Lexington avenues to 12 persons.

Six students were given police permission to approach the mission to present Soviet officials with a petition on behalf of Shukhevych, but mission personnel would not accept it.

After burning a Soviet flag and an effigy of Brezhnev, the demonstration concluded with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem. Some youths raised crossed wrists during the singing as a sign of solidarity with imprisoned Ukrainian human and national rights advocates.

In order to finance future actions in defense of Ukrainian dissidents, the TUSM national board initiated a fund drive a month prior to the demonstration, and have collected over \$2,000 so far.

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From Behind the Iron Curtain

In Ukraine, near the railway station of Glovakha, a new four-storey building has been built onto the psychiatric hospital for dipsomaniacs. The new building is a "special one", having a strict prison regime, where about 100 patients are kept, among them, political prisoners and freedom-fighters.

This hospital specializes in conducting experiments in suppression of the psyches of normal, mentally sane human beings by drugs and para-psychological methods. These experiments are headed by military doctors from the KGB and by a Czecho-Slovakian doctor, Kratokh-fil. All experiments are being conducted in an atmosphere of top secrecy.

In the town of Sumgaiti, a suburb of Baku, Azerbaijan, one of the world's largest military tube-rolling mills is under construction. The tubes are for gun barrels and rocket bodies. Over five thousand prisoners are engaged in the construction works.

In the same area there are about five construction sites of future plants, all of which are manned by prisoners.

On Dostoevsky Street in Moscow, next door to the Museum of Dostoevsky, there is a secret special psychiatric hospital, which has no plate on the entrance door. Red Cross cars, closed vans and mini-busses arrive there constantly, from which orderlies accompany people into the building of the hospital. According to the employees of the "hospital" itself, there are many secret wards, with a strict prison regime. The exact number of patients, or rather, prisoners held there has not been determined.

Thirty-one kilometres from Leninabad, another city, Leninabad-31, is located. There are uranium mines within this special city, where approximately six thousand prisoners work.

Apartment buildings for civilian personnel and for the KGB guards in Leninabad-31 were also built by prisoners. For a long time, the quarry-stone from the uranium mines was used for the foundations of those buildings. It was discovered later, that due to the hazardous radiation from the stone, most of the residents fell ill; numerous civilians and KGB guards were taken away to hospitals. The buildings were destroyed, and the stone was taken back to the quarries. However, since there are still very high radiation levels in the area, civilians who are recruited for work there, only agree to work temporarily (six months to a year), after which they leave the area. The main attraction used to recruit employees for this place is a high salary (five to six times higher than the average salary in the USSR).

The mortality rate in the camp is extremely high. A van from the camp morgue can be seen daily carrying corpses to the local cemetery. No statistics are available however, as they are kept top secret.

According to the recent emigrants from Krasnoyarskiy Krai, the camp department "Kraslag", which is in charge of over 200 camps all over the area, presently exists. There are no less than 300 thousand prisoners in those camps, engaged in: timber-felling, work in wood-working plants, in chemical and cellulose plants, in the production of plywood, railway sleepers, all kinds of posts and poles, prefabricated houses, etc.

Mental hospital No. 5 in Leningrad is located in a side lane near Lebedev Street, close to Finlyandskyi railway station. About 500 persons are kept in this hospital, which is housed in the building of a former prison. Among the mentally ill, there are also political prisoners, who were placed in the hospital as a form of punishment. Such political prisoners are held in a special prison regime. Each of the wards, or rather, prison cells, houses 20 to 40 prisoners. One of the officially accepted methods of "curing" the insane here, is starvation.

UKRAINIAN VICTIMS OF SOVIET RUSSIAN PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE

Serhiy Serhiyovych ALEKSEYENKO, (b. 1924). Army captain. Charged under articles 83 and 15 with trying to cross the border. Declared a schizophrenic and not responsible for actions. In 1970-71 held in Leningrad SPH. Subsequent fate unknown.

Borys Timofiyovich ARTYSHCHENKO, (b. 1920). Baptist, arrested in September 1970 for activity in unofficial Baptist Church, sentenced to three years. Interned in May 1973 in an OPH in the Komi republic, but apparently released soon after.

Volodymyr AVRAMENKO, (b. 1930). An engineer, graduate of Moscow Aviation Institute. Read his own poems in the company of friends, in 1972 denounced to the KGB and arrested, charged with "anti-Soviet content" of the poems, ruled not responsible, sent to Kazan SPH, still held there in 1976.

Yosyf BAIDUK, (b. c. 1940). A novice at the Orthodox monastery in Pochayiv in West Ukraine, he went to do his military service. In 1962, while he was away, the authorities launched a brutal campaign to drive out the 140 monks, some of whom were interned in OPHs, and close the monastery. Press articles attacking it appeared over his name. He protested indignantly at this, was arrested, then intern-

Another 90 political prisoners were redeemed by West German authorities from East German prisons and were received in the Republic of West Germany. During the recent years the West German Government Fund (excluding private "trade agreements") for the redemption of political prisoners from East German prisons in exchange for solid currency has reached a billion DM (German Mark). The price for a prisoner to be redeemed is from DM 40,000 to 100,000 depending on the estimate made by the East German authorities for the "damage caused".

ed in the Vinnytsia OPH. Unknown when released.

Vitaly Kuzmych BUBLYK, (b. 1924). Worked as a manual road worker in German-occupied Ukraine, imprisoned 1944-56 for "collaboration with the Germans". 1956 settled near Batumi. 1959 visited American exhibition in Moscow, recounted his life-story to a US journalist, detained by KGB at exit, charged, interned in Kazan SPH, then in Sychyovka. Held there at least until 1972.

Petro Hryhorovych HRYHORENKO, (b. 1907). Ex-major-general, arrested 1964, article 70, interned in Leningrad SPH 1964-65. Arrested 1969 for human-rights activity, article 190-1, interned 1970-73 in Chernyakhovsk SPH, September 1973 - June 1974 in OPH No. 5 at Stolbovaya near Moscow, released.

Vitaly Vasyliovych KALYNYCHENKO, (b. 1944). Arrested in 1966 for trying to cross the frontier, sentenced by Murmansk court to ten years for "intention to commit treason". In 1974 in Perm camp 36 renounced Soviet citizenship and demanded status of political prisoner. Summer 1975 sent for examination to psychiatric section of Mordovian camps' hospital, for a month, then to Serbsky for a month, then held for three months in Sychyovka

(or Smolensk, according to one source). In February 1976 sent back to camp, March 1976 released at end of sentence.

V. P. KOLESNYK, (b. c. 1920). A member of the Baptist Church not recognized by the state. Went to Moscow in October 1966 to ask the party central committee to restore his pension, which had been unjustly stopped. Forcibly taken from the central committee and interned in Moscow OPH No. 15. Interrogated there about church affairs. Soon released.

Borys KOVHAR, (b. 1926). Journalist, museum official, Communist, arrested March 1972 for writing an open letter which revealed that since 1967 he had been a KGB agent spying on dissenters, and also described KGB techniques. Ruled not responsible, but to be tried again after his "recovery". Interned in Dnipropetrovsk SPH. Still held there in early 1976.

Zinovi Mykhailovych KRASIVKY, (b. 1930). Writer, poet, teacher. Arrested 1967 for participating in *samizdat* journal of clandestine Ukrainian National Front. Sentence: five years prison, then seven years camp, then five years exile. In December 1971, in Vladimir Prison, charged with circulating his poems, article 70. Ruled nonresponsible in Serbsky. A symptom of illness was the fact that he was cheerful by day, but wrote sad poetry at night. Sent in 1972 to Smolensk SPH, since then suffers from heart trouble. Transferred to Lviv OPH in 1976.

Lev Hryhorovych LUKYANENKO, (b. 1927). Lawyer sentenced to fifteen years in 1961 for forming embryonic underground party, article 64, served first years in Vladimir Prison, sent back there in July 1973 for part in hunger strikes in Perm camp 36. Became religious believer in camps. In December 1974 sent to SPH in Rybinsk, after refusals to cooperate with KGB. Ruled to be mildly mentally ill (2nd category invalid), returned to prison in February 1975. Believed

KGB aim: to make it easier to intern Lukyanenko under civil commitment after his release, which occurred in early 1976. Regarded as normal by friends.

Anatoly Ivanovych LUPYNIS, (b. 1937). Served eleven years in camps 1956-67, article 70, came out in grave condition (paralysis of legs, registered as severist category invalid), worked as administrator of musical society. In 1971 arrested after reading his poems in public, article 70, ruled schizophrenic by Serbsky, interned since early 1972 in Dnipropetrovsk SPH.

Vasyl Stepanovych LUTSKIV, (b. 1935). Club manager, party member. Arrested 1960 for belonging to underground nationalist group. Turned state's evidence, but received ten years. In 1965 transferred from camp to psychiatric section of hospital in Mordovian camp No. 3 for writing complaints in which he withdrew his compromising evidence as being false and obtained under duress. Held there for at least over a year.

Mykhaylo Petrovych LUTSKY, (b. c. 1915). Born in Austro-Hungarian empire, in W. Ukraine, grew up in Vienna, studied in Berlin, arrested by Gestapo in 1939, released c. 1942 and sent home to Ukraine, arrested by KGB in 1944, released and exculpated in 1956; rearrested 1960, tried April 1961 for Ukrainian nationalism, released 1972. Refused to accept Soviet papers, asserting he was an Austrian citizen. Sentenced to two years for "vagrancy" in autumn 1973, in 1974 sent from camp to Dnipropetrovsk SPH because still insisting on Austrian citizenship.

Petro Oleksiyovych LYSAK, (b. 1916). Engineer, colonel in the reserves. Spoke out at a meeting in October 1956 against radio-jamming and the expulsion of students for political reasons. Charged under (?) article 70, ruled mentally ill, sent to Leningrad SPH. Transferred in 1965 to Sychyovka SPH, still held there in early 1976. (*To be continued in the next issue.*)

Book Reviews

SILENT CHURCHES

A Critique by Michael G. Walsh

Silent Churches, by Peter J. Babris.

Silent Churches is an impressive work, impressive not only because of the vast amount of factual information the author has gathered on the current state of religion in subjugated countries, but also impressive in its presentation. The author, certainly, has exhausted all *bona fide* information sources in order to gather great amounts of previously unpublished data from behind the Iron Curtain.

With caution, the information gathered from behind the lines of Party and Church ideology is examined. But these figures and other data are approached warily, and one must note the discrepancies between Communist-supplied data and that which the author has compiled from other, more reliable (retrospectively) sources. These discrepancies add not only to interest; they add a testimonial inherent in the author's thesis: Communist governments continue to suppress religion and religious freedom in their countries. Far from being a footnote to history, atrocities of every imaginable ilk are being perpetrated upon believers behind the Iron Curtain. With few notable exceptions, all Eastern European countries are victims of Communist ideology and Communist atheism.

The book's title is ironic, for page after page, chapter after chapter, the author handily illustrates that the churches are *not silent*. They are alive and vibrant, albeit suffering and stifled. The churches, the clergy, the faithful, those who could be the faithful if given the chance, — all are under siege — from peer pressure to outright murder, from confiscation of

property to its destruction. But despite the adversity, this book is a testament to faith, a faith that cannot be crushed as, according to the author, the Communists are beginning to discern.

The evidence which is presented is not only surprising to one who was unfamiliar with the current state of religion behind the Iron Curtain; it is occasionally infuriating. It is shocking to read of the widespread, outright collaboration, the grovelling that the Russian Orthodox Church now performs to the Soviet state because of the less-than-religious men in its hierarchy — men who certainly are unprincipled and are lacking a true vocation to their offices. But that is not the worst — at least not for a Westerner. If the publication of *Silent Churches* does nothing more, the author's efforts will have been worthwhile if the public will learn four items:

1. Communist atheism continues to press, badger and force itself upon religious peoples;
2. Freedom of religion is not a guaranteed freedom behind the Iron Curtain, despite press releases to the contrary, the occasional reports of duped visitors, and the constitutions of Communist countries;
3. Westerners can influence this situation for the better by insisting on the human right to worship and the human right to exist as free people;
4. Western organizations and individuals must not remain idealistic, naive and gullible. These are precisely the attrib-

utes that have helped to foster the current state of affairs in Communist countries. Gullible men and organizations don't help the cause of religion or religious freedom. They hinder it.

The contents will most of all appeal to serious students of religion, Sovietology, Communist ideology in practice, Russian and Eastern European history, or to readers of Eastern European heritage.

BANKERS AND BOLSHEVIKS

Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution by Antony C. Sutton; Arlington House Publishers, New Rochelle, N. Y., 1974.

For the first time, a definite link between *some* New York bankers and *many* revolutionaries, including Bolsheviks, is documented by an established scholar.

Drawing on State Department files, personal papers of key Wall Street figures, biographies and conventional histories, Antony Sutton builds a fascinating case. The American Red Cross Mission to Russia in 1917 contained more financiers than

M. D.'s. Its members seemed more intent on negotiating contracts with the Kerensky government, and subsequently the Bolshevik regime, than in caring for the victims of war and revolution.

Mr. Sutton documents the fact that some of America's leading bankers attempted to subvert this nation's laws by illegally importing Bolshevik gold. Some Wall Streeters were leading advocates of the Soviet cause in the backrooms of politics — while publicly supporting the anti-Bolshevik movement. One American financier donated one million dollars to the Bolsheviks during the first shaky days of their regime.

Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution goes back to the foundations of Western investment in the Soviet Union. Dispassionately, with overwhelming documentation, the author details this crucial phase in the establishment of the Soviet Union — thus recalling Lenin's cynical prediction that the capitalists would fight among themselves over who would sell the Communists the rope with which the Communists would hang them.

CORRECTION

In the previous issue, May-June 1978, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, page 42, Dr. J. M. Frutos' name was spelled incorrectly as Foutres.

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About 800 people supporting human rights in Ukraine demonstrated in Canberra, Australia in early June. The demonstration, organized by the Ukrainian Youth Association of Melbourne, commemorated the 40th anniversary of the death of E. Konovalets, founder of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, murdered by a NKVD agent in Rotterdam, in 1938.

Demonstrators marched to Parliament House where Senator John Knight (Lib, ACT) accepted a 690 signature petition which called on the Government to condemn human rights abuses in Ukraine.

The group then marched to the Soviet Embassy, where a Sydney process worker, Mr. Vasyl Pawliw had been staging a hunger strike for three days. The protestors tore down a wooden shack, symbolically representing a KGB prison, which had housed Mr. Pawliw (photo below).

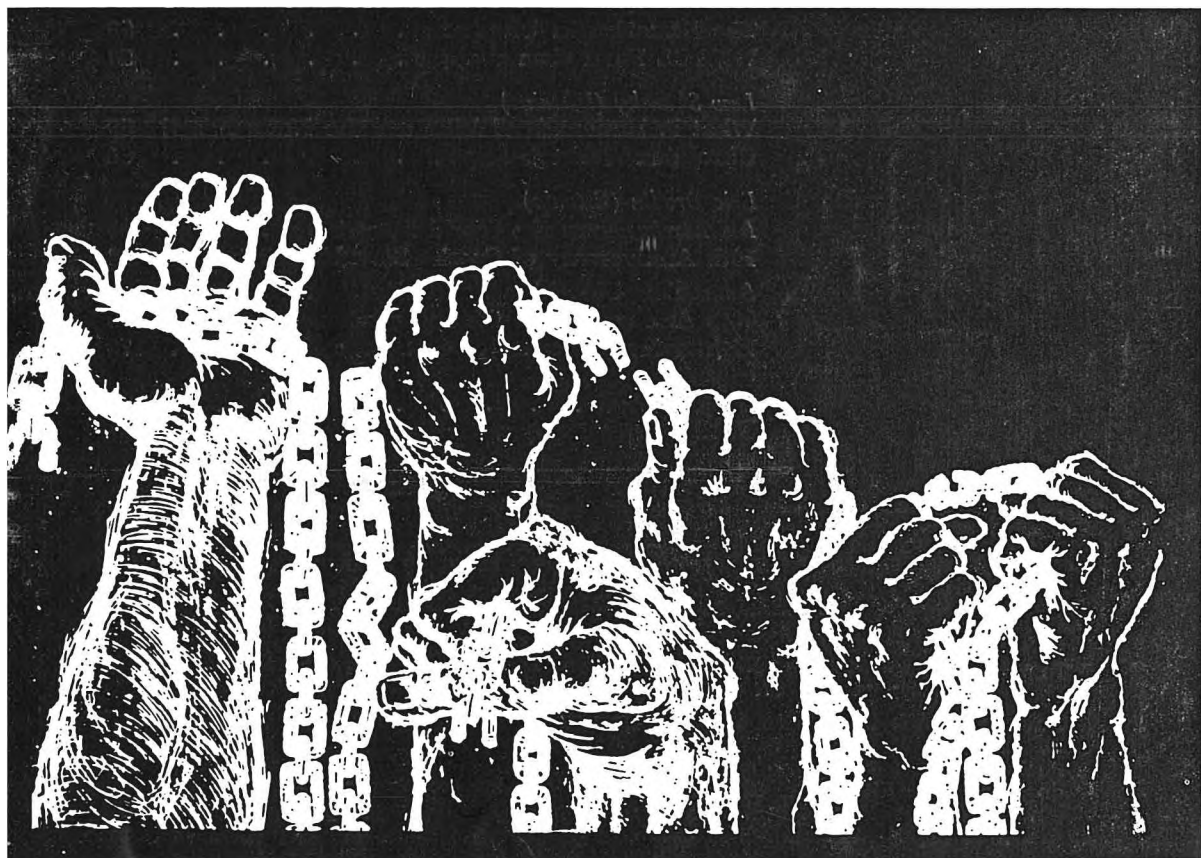


ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

35th Anniversary of ABN 1943 — 1978



Breaking the Chains of Russian Communist Tyranny

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Letter from Russian Concentration Camp for Granting of US Citizenship

*To His Excellency
Prime Minister of Ukraine
Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko*

Esteemed Prime Minister:

The aim of this letter is to dwell upon a question which presents two aspects of public and personal nature. During the last several years a significant number of people, among them particularly Jews and Russians, have been able to leave the USSR. Since the majority of them come chiefly from the ranks of the open opposition, which, regardless of the increasing repression by the regime, has grown intensely in the last two decades, the world public opinion received from them eyewitness reports about the existence of totalitarianism in general, its practices, the situation of an individual and the enslavement of whole nations.

The world is especially well informed about the state of affairs and the oppression of Jews in the USSR, and this helped to mobilize the world community, mass media, and the governments of many countries against such violence. At the same time there are almost no Ukrainians among those leaving. As a matter of fact, no Ukrainians at all.

There is in this also a positive factor, since this numerically small (percentage-wise), but nationally highly conscious part of the population remains in Ukraine. Nevertheless, in my opinion, an active involvement of this segment of Ukrainians in the national liberation process, culture and science would bring Ukraine incomparably greater benefit were they in the Western countries and in our diaspora. It is a matter of saving the people who are already unable to work in Ukraine. There are many who desire to leave, but there are no possibilities to do so.

Realizing the complexity of the situation (and in order to establish a precedent), Vyachslav Chornovil, Valentyn Moroz and Ivan Hel', have requested the President of the United States to grant them American citizenship. Being political prisoners, this may complicate the decision.

But there are thousands of people who are "free", and who have been ruthlessly repressed by the KGB for many years. Consequently, they find themselves in a hopeless situation. This is the second and personal aspect of the problem.

Talented literati, artists and scientists suffer personal tragedies, or are unable to work creatively. To condemn to inactivity, to kill talent is a more subtle, but no less cruel method of destruction of the treasures of Ukrainian culture. Examples: To Opanas Zalyvakha — an artist of European stature — not one personal exhibit has been allowed. Talented poets like Lina Kostenko and Ihor Kalynets have not published a single collection of poetry in the past ten years. Ivan Svitlychnyi, a renowned literary critic, prior to his arrest, was unemployed for approximately ten years and could not publish a single article. Mykhailo Horyn, a talented psychologist, is employed as a stoker, and in twelve years has not had even one publication. Yevhen Sverstiuk, a known Ukrainian (literary) critic and psychologist, had been persecuted even before his arrest by being dismissed from his job, and since then has not been allowed one published work. Vasyl Stus is one of our better poets; and not even one book. The following scholars were dismissed from learned institutions: R. Krypiakievych, M. Braichevskiyi, Y. Leshkevych, as well as other literati whose works have never been published, such as V. Ivanysenko, B. Horyn, M. Kosiv, V. Badzio, R. Kohadskyi. The talented writer R. Kudlyk has been silenced, as well as scores of others who have refused to compose party odes and panegyrics, and because of this, their works do not appear on the pages of newspapers and periodicals. The list of such people can be complemented with hundreds of names.

Each of us in his own way joins in the process of creation of Ukrainian culture and the rebirth of the nation — a new wave of upheaval for our freedom. But who are these people? A short biographical sketch of one of the authors of this letter may shed some light on the matter.

He was born to a family to whom the idea of Ukraine and God were equally holy. His father, at the age of seventeen, became a volunteer of the Ukrainian Galician Army, and took part in the war of independence (1918—1920). Then (came) the "Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society", and UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization). In 1950 he was arrested and sentenced for active participation in the Ukrainian underground.

His mother's sisters were nuns of the Basilian Order. All of this was entered in the appropriate file of the NKVD, and from the first day of (Soviet Russian) occupation it was systematically used to repress every member of his family. As a fifteen-year old teenager he was expelled from school for refusing to join the Komsomol. In 1956, when he intended to become a student, they cynically stated that "for Banderite children there is no room in a Soviet University".

Thanks to the efforts of Ukrainian patriots he was able to attend evening lectures at the Faculty of History, but the KGB did not leave him without surveillance. In 1958 persecution and threats of making him rot in prison began. In 1965 he was arrested for the first time. In 1972, he was arrested for the second time, for his active participation in the Ukrainian national revival, and sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment. Presently, he is in one of the strict regime camps, which in plain language means a hard labor prison.

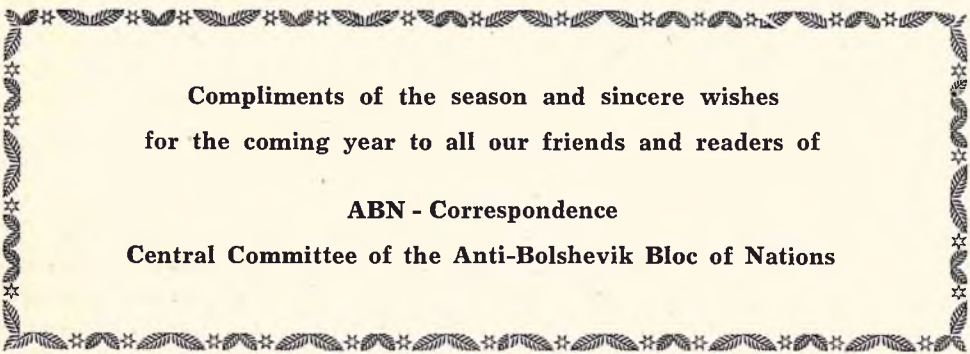
From all the facts cited here, it can be concluded that under the conditions of absolute tyranny and arbitrariness of the KGB a Ukrainian cannot be useful to Ukraine in Ukraine. This is exactly why we are turning to you, Mr. Prime Minister, with the request to strengthen with your authoritative recommendation, as well as the influence of the organized Ukrainian diaspora, our request to the President of the United States of America to grant us the citizenship of that country.

Once again we would like to bring to your attention that it is not a matter of individual cases. The above cited facts about the life of each of us, is only a small illustration, the exposure of which threatens us with the loss of freedom.

But in Ukraine, there live thousands of people with similar biographies whose creative potential is doomed to death.

Repression for beliefs and for creation of spiritual values is varied: concentration camps, prohibition to write and paint, confiscation of works already created, etc. The methods are varied, but the objective is the same — to destroy Ukrainian spirituality.

1978



**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**

Why Did I Leave My Country?

To leave the country or to stay, is the question uppermost in the minds of many Croats. Modern sociology ascertained that every man, every human being assumes the rhythm of society in which he became conscious of himself. In this way, everyone is a part of the astonishing pulsation of his own nation. Through this rhythm he is set free of fear and begets his own dignity.

However, nations, particularly the small ones, suffer frequently the tragic historical experiences imposed on them by the power of rhythm of other nations, another alien system of values and habits. It is understandable that many individuals are then forced to leave their country, in the vain hope that they may in another free country achieve the fulfilment of their human dignity.

When I resolved to emigrate, all this was clear to me, but there was no more any question about my leaving or remaining at home. I was forced to leave: illegally of course.

I was already ruminating about going away in Stara Gradiska. Much more less then, than after leaving my prison. There were about a hundred of us political prisoners in Stara Gradiska and we were not very much afraid of the prison's administration. Within the prison walls we were talking unmuzzled, unforced; much less than the citizens of Zagreb, when talking in the streets and coffee-houses. All those prison guards were really cowards. During the raid of the Croat guerillas at Bugojno, they became extremely benign, even the worst ones. We could not realize the reason for this sudden change, this overflow of kindness,

until we discovered in the newspapers that the "brave" Yugoslav army and police forces routed the meager number of guerillas. In Stara Gradiska we were safe by our aggregation and we had nothing to lose.

Out in "freedom", it was different. People try to conform. It is tiresome and unexciting to be a hero every day. However, it is not hard to perceive that solidarity amidst the people is now far greater and beyond compare than before. During the past imprisonments and exits to "freedom", Croatian convicts stayed hungry and still worse, they were kept away and spurned. This is no more the case and this is essential. Without mutual solidarity, there can not be common freedom.

I had nothing more to do in the country. I could not move without UDBA men at my heels. At the end of the last year in Dubrovnik, in the middle of Stradun — called the most beautiful street in the world — I was assaulted by about fifteen completely unknown persons. They knocked me down from the rear by a powerful blow on the back of my head, then they crushed me with their feet on my head. Mr. Joseph Levi, a student from Jerusalem was with me. They did not touch him. He could not understand all this. He explained to me later that there were over twenty of them.

Two militia men were watching all this, but they did not move. Many passers-by were horrified, but nobody dared to help. I filed a complaint against the police of Dubrovnik, but the prosecutor did not answer at all. In this way it was impossible for me to institute legal proceedings

against the police. Private legal proceedings are possible only after the refusal of the complaint by the prosecutor. My complaint was neither refused nor accepted.

There was no way to get a job of any kind for me in Croatia. I frequented libraries for a long time, assembling available data about the political and police persecutions in Croatia from 1946—1966, with the intention of writing a book about this; a kind of history of Croatia in that time. I possess enough data from the Communist Union in Zagreb's city archives. Working in the Institute for the history of workers' movement in Croatia, I scrutinized all the registers of City's Committee from 1945—1966. There naturally remains much more work to be completed, with material which I could not find in the country. This was also one of the important reasons for my decision to emigrate.

I feel that there are many things possible to be achieved. One-fourth of the Croat nation is now abroad. Many are old friends of mine and/or companions from former police persecutions. It would be difficult to enumerate all of them here. I knew that Croat publications appear regularly in the emigration: *Croat Review* and *New Croatia*. During my former stays in Paris (1970. and 1971), I was already regularly reading *The Croat Republic*, *The Croat Voice*, *The Croat State*, and other Croat publications abroad. In all of them I found some valuable articles and extraordinary views. The whole Croat emigration is absolutely united in one point: all demand a sovereign Croat State. This is essential, everything else is negligible. Not one emigration known in history was in existence without mutual divisions, suspicions and distrusts. Our emigration cannot be immune to all of this. It is enough to read Hercen's Memoirs, pertaining to folklore. At home, people

are no less frustrated; but from the moment of fervency for Croat Statehood, these suspicions disappear. As soon as results appear visible, mutual intolerance and suspicions in the emigration or at home vanish.

People are wasting their talents, their pure idealism in these reciprocal quarrels, they need to get rid of, to exhaust in some way their own energies and deficiencies. It is understandable that many most noble men will be suspected as being secret agents of UDBA, till a day-in day-out active fight for Croat independence breaks out. When this fight will be absolutely asserted, the antagonisms will disappear and the UDBA's beasts will be tracked down. This is a historical inexorability. It would be tiring and it is not necessary to analyze and to enumerate again and again all those historical disruptions when the Croats found themselves on the opposite sides of the same battleground of their own — sometimes hardly comprehensible — antagonisms. All Croat history demonstrates and proves that the Croat people could not be subjugated by anyone, unless we subjugated ourselves. We were diminishing the greatness of our national existence and the space of our country with our own forces. This dismal historical reminder was successively duplicated in our daily life.

In many ways, 1971 was a year of disruption. The vision of Croat statehood, extricated from the fictions and errors of the past, assumed its final features. From an unriddled depth of the past, the rhythm of the Croat nation attuned to its historical and ethnic space was mounting. The Croat nation delivered itself from the fear and a tragic curse — which was probably never imprecated. Antagonisms were disappearing and the ancient antithesis, inherent to the existence of the Croat people were vanishing so quickly, that it could not be noticed by the enemies.

Many historical landmarks took place during different legal proceedings after Karadjordjevo. I was incriminated in 1957 for the breaking up of Yugoslavia and activity for the re-establishment of the Croat state. At that time, I was permanently expelled from all middle-schools in Yugoslavia for my participation in founding an illegal anti-Yugoslavian and anti-communist organization with a dozen of high school students from Imotski and Široki Brijeg. I was again incriminated for the same crime, along with Dragutin Ščukanec, a pre-war communist party member and a heroic partisan-fighter, and Dr. Franjo Tudjman, a communist partisan and Croat historian. As evidence against Tudjman they were reading long fragments taken from the book *Croat talks about freedom*, and magazines *Obrana*, *The Republic of Croatia*, and *The Croatian Review*. Their intention was to prove the

spiritual interrelation of the emigration and the people at home.

It was really not necessary to prove the existence of these spiritual bonds and this community of feelings and aspirations. They were evident, because every Croat, regardless in which part of the world he is living, regardless of his political opinions, regardless of his former political opinions, and former errors, demands and asks today for the re-establishment of the sovereign and free Croat State.

When I came to the conclusion that I can contribute to this common goal by joining the emigration and the exiled part of the Croat nation, I left my country — but, I am confident and sure, not forever.

* Ed. Note: Bruno Bušić was wrong. He left his country for ever. He was killed by unknown assassins in Paris, on Sunday, October 16, 1978.

TYKHY, VINS HOLD HUNGER STRIKES IN CAMPS

Oleksa Tykhy, imprisoned member of the Kyiv Helsinki monitoring group, began a hunger strike in late July, demanding that his case be reviewed.

Tykhy's health has deteriorated greatly as a result of the hunger strike. Many fear that he will continue it indefinitely.

Reports from Ukraine also indicate that Petro Vins, who is serving a one-year sentence for "parasitism," began a hunger strike on July 29. Vins had filed an appeal for a review of his case. The review was to have taken place in May.

Tykhy, 49, was arrested in Donetsk, February 5, 1977, for his activity in the Ukrainian Helsinki group. He and Mykola Rudenko were tried for "anti-Soviet agitation" in Druzhivka from June 23 to July 1, 1977. Tykhy was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and five years exile;

Rudenko received seven and five. Tykhy is serving his sentence in Mordovian camp No. 1.

Peter Vins Threatened with a New Trial

According to the recent information from Ukraine, Peter Vins who is presently continuing a hunger strike in a concentration camp in Rafaliwka village, Rovensky region, where he was transferred to from Kyiv, is threatened with a new trial. The KGB is compiling a testimony from Vins' cellmates — criminal offenders — that Vins allegedly engaged in "anti-Soviet agitation in prison". If Vins is brought to trial, he would be sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile. Vins refused to sign any records and has been already beaten twice by camp administration employees.

DISARMAMENT

A choice the West does not have the right to make

Remarks of US Senator Jake Garn of Utah, before the 11th Annual WACL Conference, Washington, D.C., April 29, 1978.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss with you the problems of the World Communist movement in today's world. The real problem is not only the Soviet Union, its allies and surrogates, it is also the pervading leadership in the United States Government and their unrealistic perceptions of the geopolitical ambitions of the Soviet Union.

A little over a year ago at the University of Notre Dame, Jimmy Carter delivered what was billed as his first serious foreign policy address as president. In it, Mr. Carter made the startling assertion that we are now free of that inordinate fear of communism. I resurrect this quote because it seems to me that it captures in a very few words what is seriously wrong with the Foreign and Defense policies now being pursued, however fitfully, by the Carter Administration. I do not advocate a return to the cold war, but I do argue that the American people and their government should wake up and realize that communism is more of a threat today than it has ever been. Mr. Carter's misreading of recent history is, of course, not unique but he is the first president to demonstrate a serious misunderstanding of the Foreign and Defense policies pursued by six post World War II US Presidents, Republicans and Democrats.

Was it really inordinate for America and its European Allies to fear the expansion of communism in Europe and Asia after 1945? One has only to look at history of that era to see that the fear was justified and so, at great cost to mutual policy of containment, was adopted. Contain-

ment did restrain Soviet power until 1961 when the Bay of Pigs invasion signaled the faltering of will on the part of the United States. Since then with the Cuban Missiles crisis, the Vietnam war and now Africa, we find ourselves unwilling to postulate and defend our traditional position, which was not only honorable but essential. Worse, we have the spectacle of our ambassador to the United Nations informing us that the Cuban Mercenaries roaming that continent are a stabilizing force. President Carter and Secretary Vance are pressuring the internal Rhodesian government to accept the demands of Marxists guerrillas. The same policies are being pursued. At the same time, these marxists factions have made it abundantly clear that they have no interest in representative government. One man, one vote, is not a demand that Mr. Carter or Mr. Mondale makes on revolutionaries. If the issue of world communism were limited to a backward and military inferior Soviet Union, we might be justified in our retrenchment and our lethargy. We might be forgiven for having our head in the sand and our naive hope that someday the problem will go away.

The contest between Western Democracy and Soviet totalitarianism has never been a question of just ideas. Almost without exception, communism gains political power through the barrel of a gun. Without exception it retains power by military force and by maintaining the most effective and brutal Police states in the world. Today we face a new dimension of Communism that is changing the nature of the struggle of the free world and communists forces most dramatically. I refer of course to the military power held by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw

Pact nations. As this power has grown, and the Soviet Union has reached military parity of the United States, the forces of communism have unleashed a wave of diplomatic adventuresome and outright military intervention that is unprecedented since Russian armies imposed communist governments in every subjugated nation in the USSR and in the satellite countries.

Let me review the current military posture of the world super powers and what I believe it portends to the Western World and for Communist Expansion. I speak from some experience, being a reserve colonel, a former navy pilot and a member of the Armed Services Committee in the United States Senate.

The strategic nuclear balance continues to shift in favor of the Soviet Union. Thirty years ago the US held a nuclear monopoly. Fifteen years ago we had nuclear superiority. Five years ago this supremacy had become nuclear parity. The best assessment we can make today is that though there is a rough nuclear equivalence between the two Super Powers, the more I review this balance, however, the more convinced I become that, if it has not already tilted, it will soon tilt in favor of the Soviet Union, because of the National Security decisions now being made by the Carter Administration and the unprecedented Soviet Arms build up.

Since 1972, when the Salt Treaty went into effect, Salt I, that is, the strategic trends of the two super powers have been comforting, only if you sit in Moscow, and have been disconcerting if you sit in Washington... and have your eyes open. Under current Soviet Doctrine, the strategic Triad is being constantly upgraded, modernized and improved. They have deployed four new ICBMs and are developing and testing a new generation beyond the SS 16, 17, 18 and 19. The Soviet-Russians have deployed 100 backfire Bombers and continue to build them

at the rate of two to three per month and they continue to work on another, and still another, new supersonic bomber. Unlike Mr. Carter, Mr. Brezhnev clearly believes that a manned bomber has a role in today's strategic equation. Since 1972 they have deployed the Delta I, Delta II and the submarine Delta III in undergoing sea trials. An entirely new boat, the Typhoon, is undergoing development. They have developed a satellite killer with capability not yet matched by the United States. Based on these developments, including their civil defense programs, their air defense, we must ask if the Soviet-Russians are not seriously trying to develop a war-winning capability.

I am not suggesting they plan to initiate a nuclear war, but I see growing evidence that to them it may not be unthinkable.

By comparison, the American Triad is facing serious problems of vulnerability and obsolescence. Both of which are being further exaggerated by unwise National Security decisions being made by President Carter.

Let me list just a few of the most critical. The US ICBM force would be highly vulnerable to a Soviet first strike in the 1980's. The Soviet accuracy improvements are built into their system. The Carter administration unilaterally stopped, not only the only ICBM in the production line in the United States, but in the whole Free World. The Carter Administration has postponed for a second year the MX missile, which will delay its deployment until 1987. President Carter has killed the B-I unilaterally. I find this decision to be deeply disturbing for several reasons. First of all, it was a unilateral decision by the President, for which he got nothing in return from the Russians.

We simply did not ask that they stop producing the Backfire Bomber. They must consider us incredibly naive to continue

to give up weapons systems without even asking them to do the same. It is a very serious decision from a strategic standpoint.

Let me recall for you the assessment of Mr. John Taylor. And I quote, "If our planet is subjected to one day of unimaginable horrors of a third world war, 1977 might be recorded as the year in which the seeds for the defeat of the Western World Powers were sown." It is therefore vital for all people to understand that the fragile co-existence maintained for a generation by the balanced East-West Military power is being allowed to slip inch by inch from our grasp.

The Soviet Union has fought uncompromisingly to restrict the United States development of both the B-1 and the Cruise Missile. Its leaders must be surprised beyond belief that the President has disposed of the B-1 without asking for any Soviet concessions in return.

The B-1 is the only American strategic system that can shore up the American Triad. Now it is ready for production. It is a proven system capable of penetrating Soviet defenses for the next decade, at least. It is not undergoing production in contract delays like the Trident. It is tested and proven, which the Cruise Missile is not.

It is clear that the Russians remain committed to the Triad concept while Mr. Carter is apparently willing to reduce the US Triad with something less, by placing all of his eggs in the Cruise Missile basket. The Cruise Missile could be a fine weapon system, but I just returned from Geneva last week, and what could be a fine system of deterrence to the Soviet Union, we are giving away to the Soviet-Russians in Salt II, by so restricting the ranges of the air launch, sea launch and the ground launch cruise missiles. The ground launch and sea launch cruise missiles will be militarily ineffective and the effectiveness of the air launch cruise missile

will be severely limited because we are apparently willing to accept the Soviet range limitations of 2500 kilometers on the air launch cruise missile and 600 kilometers on the ground launch and sea launch cruise missiles. The US President and Polaris submarines will reach the end of their normal service life in the mid 1980's. This fact, coupled with the delays in the Trident submarine will reduce a total of sea launch missiles at sea during the mid 1980's. Unless the United States acts now to upgrade its Triad, Russian Communism will gain clear nuclear superiority within the next few years, and the political implications of such developments are almost beyond description.

I shall not dwell at length upon the conventional balance, except to say that it clearly favors the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. In fact, the Warsaw Pact has become the world's strongest and most formidable offensive military organization. The naval balance is also a cause of grave concern to me and to a growing list of prominent Americans. Just as with our strategic forces, the trends are very disturbing. The US Navy has been cut back considerably. Mr. Carter is foolishly trying to reduce the navy ship-building program still further. The Secretary of Defense, apparently with Mr. Carter's blessing, is attempting also to reduce the role of the US Navy to that of protecting the sea lanes and shipping. For a country which becomes increasingly dependent each year upon foreign natural resources, which must be shipped over the sea lanes of the world, I find it absolutely incredible what the President and Secretary Brown are attempting to do anything less than build and maintain the world's strongest navy.

Let me summarize for you the current military situation. The Soviet arms build-up is across the board. Nothing has been neglected. While the United States was reducing its military manpower level to

around 2 million, the Soviet-Russian have increased theirs to over 4 million. We continue to cut our navy at a time when the USSR is expanding theirs rapidly. President Carter has delayed the MX again, killed the B-1 bomber, and has badly bungled the decision of the Neutron bomb. Conversely the Russians continue to build the Backfire Bomber, to develop a new generation of ICBMs with throw-weight advantages that exceed our missiles by 7 to 1, and their defense investment would outspend us by 75 percent in overall expense expenditures. Unlike the US, (which still has serious gaps in Civil Defense, Continental Air Defense ABM systems, chemical warfare and satellite killers), the Russians have developed adequate highly sophisticated capabilities in all of these areas. In Europe their tank advantage over the NATO Alliance remains seriously unbalanced; this imbalance will apparently not be redressed because of Carter's Neutron bomb decision.

Perhaps it is now appropriate to ask the following question: "Is the Communist threat changed?". I suggest that the answer is an emphatic, "Yes". I suggest for freedom-loving peoples everywhere: Communism, Marxism, Leninism, Castro, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev are now backed by massive military power. When you combine this massive military power with Communist ideology and the Kremlin's unwavering determination to impose Communist rule wherever the opportunity presents itself, you have, I believe, the most dangerous threat to face the free people of this earth.

What has this massive military power done for the Soviet Union? The latest and most dramatic example is the Soviet penetration of Africa. Either directly or by using their Cuban surrogates, the Russian Communists have established a Marxist government in Angola. They assisted militarily the Marxist government in Ethiopia

and its fight against Somalia. Soviet generals have openly commanded the 17 thousand Cuban troops fighting with the Ethiopian forces. The Russians have brazenly established a military and naval presence in the strategic horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Few people in the Western World yet appreciate the threat this geo-naval presence represents to the sea lanes leading to the petroleum resources of the Middle East. Saudi Arabia now finds itself caught in a pincer movement with the Soviet presence in the horn of Africa and Iraq. Soviet and/or Cuban influence has now been established in 19 African countries, including Mozambique, where Marxist guerrilla forces are trained and equipped to carry out operations against Rhodesia. In Africa, not only are free governments and human freedom being imperilled by Soviet adventurism BUT one of the world's last major source of natural resources is being subjected to Soviet pressure.

What we are seeing in Africa is not a change to black majority rule. We are seeing a change from European colonialism to Russian colonialism. We are seeing a change from white minority to black minority rule. And we are seeing an Administration represented by Andrew Young, who backs the black minority Communist Revolutionaries, who is unwilling to let the moderate blacks and the moderate whites work out internally, on their own, the transfer to black majority rule. In the western hemisphere, the Soviet Union continues to finance Cuban support for Communist guerrilla activities in several countries of Latin America. Without Russian financial backing, Castro could not sustain these movements or even maintain the economy of his own Communist Island.

In the Salt negotiations, the old Communist adage of "what is mine is mine

and what is yours is negotiable" is very much alive and well. As I said, I just returned from 3 days of the Salt talks on Thursday, 2 days ago. Roy D. Kohler, US ambassador to the Soviet Union, one of America's foremost Russian experts, recently warned the American people, I quote, "The essential assumption underlying US optimism is that the Soviet leaders fundamentally share US views on the necessity and utility of achieving a balance of mutual deterrence and recognize the political futility and the stabilizing effects of efforts to attain the military superiority." There is little to sustain such American views except the mere imagining of Soviet motivations, intentions and priorities. In fact, however, as Soviet leaders have repeatedly made clear, the purpose of arms control efforts on part of the USSR are that unilateral constraints must be placed on Western defenses while at the same time they maintain the ability to continue the build-up of Soviet military might and thus gain increasing freedom of action in the international arena.

This theory that we hear a great deal about from certain people that if we only restrain ourselves, the Soviet-Russians will do likewise is a little bit ridiculous if we use our hindsight. Mine is 20-20. You look back at just one example. In 1967, the United States, unilaterally all by ourselves, without any agreement, said we will not build more than 1,054 ICBMs. That's what we had in 1967. The Soviet-Russians had about 500 ICBMs at that time. In April of 1978, we kept our word as we always do. We still have 1,054 ICBMs, no more, no less than we did 11 years ago. The Soviet Union has 1,600. I could go on for hours telling you the examples when we have tried to be the nice guy and turn the other cheek. And the Soviet-Russians have laughed at us and continued to increase their military superiority. And yet we have an Administration that simply

does not seem to understand this and continues to make unilateral decisions of things like the B-1, the Neutron bomb, and that talks about upping troops out of South Korea, that talks about abandoning a good, firm, solid, anti-Communist ally on the island of Taiwan in favor of the mainland Red Chinese. I find this absolutely incredible in the light of hindsight, unbelievably naive on the part of this Administration — especially difficult to understand from a man who attended the United States Naval Academy.

Mr. Carter made his first generous contribution to the Soviet balance-of-power by giving up the B-1 without even taking the issues to the SALT negotiations. He then proceeded to delay the MX for another year, thus increasing the vulnerability of the United States ICBMs. Next, Mr. Carter insisted that the Soviet heavy missiles be limited to 150. A year ago I was proud of him. He said, "I'm going to cut those SS 18's down to 150." The Soviet-Russians said, "No." So Mr. Carter caved in and has agreed to a level of 308, the figure the Soviet-Russians demanded from the outset. At the same time, limitations were placed on the number of United States manned bombers that could be equipped with cruise missiles. So far so good for the Russians.

Some of us hoped that Mr. Carter would win the next round. But again the Soviet-Russians prevailed. They insisted, and Mr. Carter has apparently agreed to place range limitations on United States cruise missiles which impair their effectiveness, as I mentioned earlier. Then comes the clincher. The Soviet-Russians, knowing that the President has already unilaterally destroyed his own B-1 bomber, that the B-52 was getting very old, and that limitations had already been placed on it, have refused even to discuss the Backfire Bomber. They simply said that it is not part of the SALT negotiations and there-

fore will not even discuss it. They say it is not an intercontinental bomber. Well, believe me, it is! It can hit 80% of the United States on one-way trips landing in Cuba, and I'm sure that the Soviet Union could obtain Mr. Castro's permission to land in his country. Of course, it could be refueled and returned to the Soviet Union. This is one of the most incredible things I have ever heard. They have told us that they would not refuel it air-to-air. Isn't that nice of them! And we're dumb enough to accept their word — at least this Administration is...

We know their Backfire Bomber has supersonic, intercontinental and air-refueling capabilities, but they argued it didn't. And so this Administration so far has not insisted that it be included in the SALT talks.

Unless the Carter Administration changes its negotiating stance, we must assume that the reported SALT 11 Agreement will reduce rather than enhance United States security. It will do nothing to reduce the 7-to-1 ICBM throw-weight advantage guaranteed to the Soviet-Russians. It will

do nothing to reduce Soviet first-strike capabilities and the related vulnerability of the United States ICBM force. It will convince the Soviet-Russians, in combination with unwise decisions made by Mr. Carter, that the United States will not pay the price and take the necessary steps to maintain nuclear parity with the Soviet Union.

Russian Communism is backed by massive and still-growing military power, is a new threat and in some respects a new phenomena for the United States. We must recognize it for what it is. We must deal with it openly and realistically. We must recognize that it is arrogant, aggressive and confident. We must realize that feeble protests, foolish concessions, and a prayer that it will go away WILL NOT WORK. We must realize that the Russians disdain and exploit weakness and respect only strength. We can never check their overt and blatant adventurism if we are not at least their military equal, if not their superior. And we cannot hope to check their sweeping influence unless we have the will and the guts to draw a line.

CANADIAN PARLIAMENT NOMINATES HELSINKI GROUPS

Both chambers of the Canadian Parliament, the House of Commons and the Senate, unanimously adopted a similar resolution supporting the five Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the Soviet Union (Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Lithuania and Moscow). Since 1976 these groups have been demanding that the Soviet government comply with the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which it signed, but has been consistently violating the human rights provision of Basket III. The leaders of these Helsinki Monitoring groups have been arrested, imprisoned and sentenced from 5 years up to 10 years in prison

plus 5 years exile, in spite of protests from most of the democratic countries.

The resolution in the Canadian Parliament, passed on June 29 and 30, comes to the defense of the Soviet dissidents by nominating these monitoring groups for the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize. Similar action has already been taken by parliamentarians in the United Kingdom, Belgium and Norway.

The Canadian action is the first that has been undertaken by a parliament with the unanimous consent of all the political parties. Should the Nobel Prize be awarded to the Soviet Union dissident groups, the

Human Rights on Trial

Undaunted by the world outcry against the trials and convictions of Anatoli Shcharansky and two other Soviet dissidents, Moscow last week moved to silence another human rights activist. Attorney Lev Lukyanenko, 50, went on trial in the small Ukrainian town of Horodnya near Kiev on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation". The pattern of the proceedings was much the same as in the previous trials. Like Shcharansky, Alexander Ginzburg and Viktoras Petkus, Lukyanenko refused to make a public confession, despite seven months of pretrial interrogation. Instead, he went on a hunger strike when the summary four-day trial began, refused to accept a court-appointed attorney, and conducted his own defense. Paying heavily for his defiance, he was sentenced to the maximum under the law: ten years of hard labor in a concentration camp and five years of Siberian exile. Shcharansky had received 13 years, without a term of exile, on the graver charge of treason.

Lukyanenko had been a founding member of an unofficial Helsinki Watch Committee, set up to monitor Soviet compliance with the 1975 declaration of human rights signed in Helsinki. Of the eleven original members of Lukyanenko's group, which is based in Ukraine, only five

remain free; their leader, Mykola Rudenko, and three others were sentenced to long terms in labor camps after trials in 1977 and 1978. The singularly harsh sentence meted out to Lukyanenko may have been intended as an object lesson to the U.S.S.R.'s largest and most troublesome "minority", its 41 million Ukrainians. Proud of their nation's cultural heritage, the Ukrainians have long chafed under Russian-imposed restraints on their language, their literature and their independent spirit.

The spirit was exemplified by Lukyanenko, who boldly helped found the unofficial Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union in 1959. Its platform: secession from the U.S.S.R. — a right that is theoretically guaranteed by the 1939 Soviet constitution — and the establishment of an independent socialist Ukraine. In 1961 Lukyanenko was tried for treason and condemned to death by shooting. His sentence was later commuted to 15 years. After his release, he joined forces with other human rights activists, brought together by the Helsinki Committees' commitment to a variety of causes, including Jewish emigration and religious freedom.

Time Magazine, July 31, 1978

Soviet government, which torpedoed the recent Belgrade Conference, will be placed in a very embarrassing situation.

The prime mover of this resolution and previous ones in the defense of human rights violated by the USSR and the Soviet-bloc countries was the Canadian Parliamentary Helsinki Group. The executive consists of the Hon. Martin O'Connell, Liberal and former Minister

of Labour, as chairman. The other executive members are Andrew Brewin, M. P. of the New Democratic Party; Senator Jean Marchand, Liberal and former Minister of Labour; and Senator Paul Yuzyk, Progressive Conservative. This group sponsored 19 Canadian Parliamentarians to the Belgrade Conference and will continue its activities when parliament reconvenes.

Lukyanenko Sentenced, Senators Seek His Release

In the latest blow against the Ukrainian human and national rights movement, Soviet authorities sentenced Lev Lukyanenko on Friday, July 21, to 10 years imprisonment and five years exile — the maximum allowed under Soviet law.

Lukyanenko, who has been a prominent figure in the Ukrainian human and national rights movement since the late 1950s and early 1960s, was brought to trial Monday, July 17, in the town of Horodnya in northern Ukraine. As member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, he was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation".

Refusing the court appointed defense lawyer, Lukyanenko conducted his own defense. At the conclusion of the trial, he delivered an hour-long final statement, which was interrupted 49 times by judges.

Just over a year ago, the first two participants of the Helsinki movement in the Soviet Union were sentenced. Mykola Rudenko, leader of the Ukrainian group, and Oleksiy Tykhy, one of its members, were sentenced to 12 years and 15 years, respectively.

Since then, Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych of the Ukrainian group were sentenced to 12 years each, and Petro Vins to one year.

Several members of the Kyiv group have experienced continuous harassment and secret police detentions, among them Oles Berdnyk and Oksana Meshko.

The sentencing of Lukyanenko several weeks ago ignited large scale protests around the free world from Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians. Many U.S. senators and congressmen wrote to President Carter and Soviet officials about their concern for Lukyanenko.

Thirty-three U.S. senators signed a letter to Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, urging the Soviet Ukrainian *Gauleiter* to release Lev Lukyanenko from prison on humanitarian grounds.

The letter to Shcherbytsky was initiated by Sens. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Harrison Schmitt (R-N. M.).

The U.S. legislators argued in the letter that actions by members of the Helsinki monitoring groups are follow-ups to human rights initiatives taken up earlier by the Soviet government.

"We can only applaud the actions of citizens who offered to help their government implement its own international agreements," they wrote.

The senators said that by "actively implementing" human rights agreements within the borders of the Ukrainian SSR, "Ukraine could also begin to enter the international political arena."

"Actions of people like Lev Lukyanenko, therefore, appear to us as actions that should be rewarded and not punished," they wrote.

Citing humanitarian considerations, the senators stressed that Lukyanenko has already greatly suffered and is in poor health.

"His release at this time would have a positive effect on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. We urge you to act positively on our appeal on behalf of Lev Lukyanenko," wrote the senators.

The letter was also signed by Sens. James B. Allen (D-Ala.), Wendell R. Anderson (D-Minn.), Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.), Clifford P. Case (R-N. J.), Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), Dennis DeConcini

(D-Ariz.), Pete V. Domenici (R-N. M.), John A. Durkin (D-N. H.), Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.), Floyd K. Haskell (D-Colo.), Gary Hart (D-Colo.), S. I. Hayakawa (R-Calif.), Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), John H. Heinz (R-Pa.), Jacob K. Javits (R-N. Y.), Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), Richard

G. Lugar (R-Ind.), James A. McClure (R-Idaho), Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), William Proxmire (D-Wisc.), Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.), Richard S. Schweicker (R-Pa.), Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), Richard Stone (D-Fla.), Harrison A. Williams (D-N. J.) and Donald W. Reigle (R-Mich.).

Italian Report on Ukrainian Patriarch's Efforts for Lukyanenko

The Italian media recently gave prominent display to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj's appeal on behalf of recently sentenced Ukrainian patriot Lev Lukyanenko. The Italian Catholic daily, "Avvenir", published the full text of the Patriarch's appeal.

An English translation of the appeal appears below.

"Recently, we raised our voice in defense of human rights for our faithful in Ukraine, members of our Ukrainian Catholic Church, and for faithful who belong to other Churches of our nation. These rights are trampled by the Bolshevik regime in disregard of the fact that these rights are given to man by God, and that without them man loses his dignity, freedom, truth and justice.

Today, we once again raise our voice in connection with the violation of one of the sacred human rights — the right to a dignified dispensation of justice through courts of law. Man is a being who lives and demands the justice to which he is entitled in social life. The courts of societies dispense such justice in keeping with natural laws and laws founded on nature's and God's law.

In the Soviet Union, this basic need of the lives of citizens is constantly violated, and, instead of justice in serious cases, these courts create injustice. The trials of

the so-called dissidents, that is, trials of people who boldly speak out against the Soviet Union's violations of God's and human rights, are proof of this. These persons are tried through warped court methods which disregard elementary judicial principles such as: proof of true guilt, defense of the accused, reliable witnesses, and others.

Before our eyes such persons as Anatoly Shcharansky, Aleksander Ginzburg, Viktoras Petkus, Lev Lukyanenko were tried and convicted, and other sons of our nation are being punished in prisons and concentration camps. Their sole crime against the regime is that they dared to frankly tell it the truth in defense of human rights.

Their trial — is a trial of truth; and to put truth on trial in order that falsehood may triumph — this is a crime before God, human beings and history.

We of the pastoral institution are painfully alarmed and we raise our pleading voice to the conscience of the world to protest against this great injustice and wrongdoing, and call upon the whole free and just world to condemn this, history's greatest abuse of man's judicial system.

God is justice, and our deeds are based on the weight of this eternal justice!"

Signed by Josyf, Patriarch and Cardinal, Rome, Italy, July 31, 1978.

The Coming Crisis of the Empire

With Leonid Brezhnev in visibly failing health, it's clear that the Kremlin is on the verge of an overdue change. It's also fairly likely that the man who succeeds Brezhnev will be an ethnic Russian, and not a member of one of the scores of other nationalities that make up the Soviet Union. This prospect is of some significance. For the status of Russians in the Soviet Union is undergoing a historic and profound shift — one that the Soviet leaders have seen coming, and have dreaded, for decades. It is the transformation of ethnic Russians from majority to minority status.

Dealing with this transformation may well be the most important of all the tasks confronting the new leadership. At the very least, the demographic shift will force down the Soviet Union's economic growth rate in the coming decade by unbalancing the country's already lopsided industrial structure. And the political impact of the shift may be even more damaging. The new minority status of ethnic Russians — who are used to running things in the Soviet Union — could well trigger a series of internal explosions powerful enough to fracture the Soviet empire itself.

The last survivor

To understand why the changing ratio of Russians to non-Russians is so critical, one must first recognize that the Soviet Union itself is not just a "country", in the modern sense of that word. Rather, it is the world's last surviving nineteenth-century style empire. This vast empire — it stretches across eleven time zones and covers one-sixth of the earth's land mass — comprises more than a dozen nations and hundreds of nationality groups, many of which were once independent. Leaving aside the satellite countries outside the USSR (which might also be viewed as part of

the empire), it is incredibly diverse. There are Slavs, such as Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians; non-Slavic Europeans, such as Moldavians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians; non-European Christians, such as Georgians and Armenians; and non-European Muslims, such as Uzbeks, Tartars, Turkmen, and Tadjiks.

The empire was originally stitched together by the Russian czars. Like many others dynasties, the Romanovs were ambitious to expand their sphere of in-stick on Eastern Europe, which was sold fluence. And on military grounds alone, they felt that it made sense to put as much territory as possible between Russia and its enemies — France and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the West, China in the East. But in addition, the Romanovs built a vast empire for a reason that is profoundly Russian. The Russians have always feared and hated foreign ideas as much as foreign armies. Terrified by the threat of infection from civilizations more dynamic than their own, the Romanovs steadily pushed out their borders — and in the process subjugated many smaller and less threatening peoples.

The 1917 Revolution destroyed the Romanovs, but not their empire. To be sure, several national groups did attempt to break away from Russian domination following the Bolshevik takeover. But Lenin and colleagues, like their predecessors, felt an overwhelming need to insulate the motherland from foreign armies and ideas (both of which were, in fact, genuine threats to Bolshevik rule during the years immediately following the Revolution). In the name of "proletarian unity", the new Red Army reconquered most of the break-away nations. And the three Baltic states, which did manage to regain their independence, were recaptured by Stalin in 1940.

Getting the news in Ukrainian

After sixty-one years of Communist rule, the czars' empire remains largely intact. Even today, citizens must carry "passports" in which they are classified according to their nationality — Russian, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Jew, and so forth. Nationality is determined solely by parentage; place of birth or current residence is irrelevant. A child born in Russia of Georgian parents is a Georgian; one born in Lithuania of Uzbek parents is an Uzbek. With the exception of the Jews, each large group has its own homeland: this might be one of the Soviet Union's fifteen union republics, or one of the twenty "autonomous regions" that are located within the union republics.

Soviet citizens rarely migrate from their own homeland, and rarely speak a language other than their own. For example, 89 percent of Armenia's population is Armenian, 81 percent of Byelorussia's population is Byelorussian, and 80 percent of Lithuania's population is Lithuanian. Though the Russian language is taught in primary and secondary schools throughout the country, it is rarely used by non-Russians who live in their own homelands. They need to use it. Most newspapers in Ukraine are printed in Ukrainian; some television broadcasts in Georgia are in Georgian. In most republics, students can complete certain university degrees in their native languages. At the university in Tadjikistan, even classes in the law school and the medical school are conducted in Tadjik.

Some are more equal than others

There is no doubt, however, that the Russians run the show. Ten of the Politburo's fourteen full members are Russian, nine of the Party secretariat's ten members are Russian, and nineteen of the central Party apparatus's twenty department heads are Russian. Moreover, Russians occupy

most of the prestigious, lucrative, and managerial jobs throughout Soviet society. Legally, of course, all Soviet citizens enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities for professional advancement. But in fact, Russians dominate the upper echelons of industry, the government, the Party, and the military, scientific, and educational establishments.

To ensure Russian control of the best and most important jobs throughout the country, Lenin and his successors have always encouraged young Russians to emigrate from the Russian Republic. This "colonization" has been enormously successful. Today in thirteen of the fourteen non-Russian republics, Russians are the second- or third-largest national group. In Kazakhstan, they even outnumber the Kazakhs. Under the Soviet administrative system, middle- and upper-echelon jobs at the republic level are handed out by a locally based official who holds the title of second secretary. In only one of the fifteen Soviet republics — Byelorussia — is this official a native. The Russians who live outside the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic get other privileges besides the best jobs. A woman who recently emigrated from Latvia observed several weeks ago that Russians get dibs on housing. "There are no flats for natives, since the Russians who come to Latvia are given the apartments first," she reports.

A segregated army

Russians also dominate the Soviet Army. Nearly all its top commanders are Russians, and those who are not are for the most part fellow Slavs. Moreover, the Russians have always been careful to segregate recruits by national group. The Russians and other Slavs man high-priority units, such as the strategic rocket forces, the armored corps, the artillery, and the front-line motorized infantry. Non-Slavs man low-priority units, such as those doing construction work. Of course, there

is a practical as well as a political reason for segregating units in the Soviet Army. Few eighteen-year-olds in the Soviet Union can speak languages other than their own, and units comprising soldiers unable to understand one another would be woefully inefficient.

Russian control of the Soviet economy, is overwhelming. Kremlin bureaucrats, much like the czarist ministers who preceded them, have enforced a capital-investment program that strongly favors the Russian Republic. The nearby Ukraine contributes 22 percent, and the three Baltic states contribute 8 percent. In relative and even absolute terms, there is not much heavy industry in the Transcaucasus — Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan — or in the Central Asian republics of Kirgiziya, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

The winners are in Asia

Throughout Soviet history, Russian domination doubtless seemed natural to many Soviet citizens if only because the Russians constituted a majority. The end of this majority is now assured by one large fact: the Russian birthrate is lower than the national average. So though their absolute number is increasing, the Russians' share of the total Soviet population is declining. They represented 54,6 percent of the Soviet population in 1959, and 53,4 percent in 1970. According to Murray Feshbach, chief of the USSR-East Europe branch of the Census Bureau's foreign demographic analysis division, Russians will constitute somewhat less than 50 percent of the Soviet population by the year 2000. The only published Soviet data on population trends are by a demographer named G. A. Bondarskaya. Feshbach reports that prejections based on the Bondarskaya data put the Russians at 46 percent of the Soviet Union's population in 2000, if current trends continue.

The big winners will be the Muslims.

The birthrate of these people, who live primarily in the Central Asian republics, have been more than double the national average. Muslims constituted just 11,8 percent of the total Soviet population in 1959, and 14,5 percent in 1970. Feshbach calculates that in 2000 Muslims will constitute about 25 percent of the population. Bondarskaya's projection is a bit more radical. Her figures suggest that in 2000, if current trends continue, one out of three Soviet citizens will be Muslim.

The shopping problem

There is no big mystery about why the Russian and Muslims birthrates are so different. Russia is an urban, highly industrialized society; it is not unusual for birthrates in such societies to be very low. Moreover, local conditions strongly inhibit any tendency toward large families. In most Russian cities, housing is in such short supply that young couples often spend the first three to five years of married life in their parents' apartments. Newlyweds separated from their relatives only by a blanket — hung from a clothesline stretched across the middle of a room — tend not to start families of their own. Even when couples do move into their own apartments, living conditions discourage them from having more than one child. Many Russian apartments are just one room. And without Western conveniences such as freezers, preserved food products, and well-stocked supermarkets, Russian women must spend at least one hour each day, after work, shopping for their families' meals. Often they are just too busy and exhausted to care for children.

By contrast, Muslims are basically a rural people and their birthrate has remained high. One Soviet study notes that not only has the average size of rural Uzbek families grown from 4,8 persons in 1959 to 5,8 persons in 1970, but the "ideal" family envisioned by younger women is larger than the present

average size. Since most Muslim women do not work in factories, caring for large families is not a problem. Neither is feeding them, since most of what's eaten comes directly from the garden or from local farms.

The first victim of the Soviet Union's shifting demographic pattern will be the Soviet economy itself. Because the Russian birthrate has been so low, the number of Russians reaching retirement age between 1980 and 1990 will exceed the number entering the labor force. As a result, the working-age population of the Russian Republic will actually decline, from 83,8 million in 1980 to 82,5 million in 1990. Since virtually all economic growth in Soviet industry has come from increments to the work force — as opposed to increased labor productivity — and since nearly two-thirds of industrial production comes from the Russian Republic, it is difficult to see how the Soviet economy will be able to grow at its present annual rate during the coming decade. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the Russians will be able even to man their factories.

The obvious solution, it might seem, would be to import labor from the Central Asian republics. But this idea turns out to be something of a nonstarter. First, the race-conscious Russians simply do not want hordes of Muslims living and working among them as *Gastarbeiter*. In any case, the housing shortage is so severe that Russians would be loath to assign existing apartments to Muslims or, for that matter, to build new apartments for them. Second, Muslim men have no inclination whatever to abandon their families, their rural ways of life, and their sunny climes for lonely cold-water flats in Russia. Indeed, most Muslims avoid urban life even in their own homelands, and few are trained as industrial workers. Even if the government could somehow force them to go to Russia, they might be unable

to learn new habits quickly enough to keep the factories humming.

It's too close to China

What about shifting a portion of Russia's industrial plants to Central Asia? This idea has several fatal drawbacks. First, it would be impossible to accomplish such a shift in time to avoid a crunch that is expected as early as the 1980's. It would be wildly impractical to dismantle, say, the Kama River truck plant, which covers forty square miles, and then reassemble it somewhere in Central Asia. Second, it will take years for Central Asia to develop the skills and urban lifestyles necessary to staff big industrial facilities. Third, Central Asia is too far removed for the Soviet Union's raw materials and markets to serve efficiently as an industrial base. And, finally, Soviet Central Asia is too close to China. The Russians are unwilling to install big industrial facilities within range of Chinese weapons. And while no Russians will admit this publicly, there is apparently some fear that in a Sino-Soviet war, the people of the Central Asian republics might not be entirely clear about which side they wanted to win.

Western analysts believe that in the coming decade, labour shortages in Russia will help force the Soviet economy's annual growth rate down from 4 to 3,5 percent or even 3 percent. Extending the workweek from its present forty-one hours or raising the current rather low retirement age (sixty for men, fifty-five for women) would be of some help. But either measure would be extremely unpopular. Of course, a sharp cut in Soviet defense spending would do a lot to relieve pressure on the Soviet economy, but there is no indication that Soviet leaders are prepared to take any such step.

Lenin's mistake

A stagnant economy may turn out to be the least of the Kremlin's problems. Its traditional policy toward non-Russian

national groups has been a political disaster, turning these groups into powder kegs that might explode in certain circumstances. This is the ominous consequence of a policy developed by V. I. Lenin, founder of the Soviet State.

It was Lenin's notion that in the long run Communism would prove a stronger force than nationalism. He disagreed with many of his fellow Bolsheviks, who argued that nationalist sentiments must be crushed by force. Instead, Lenin insisted that the state should "not permit the overriding of any one nationality by another, either in any particular region or in any branch of public affairs." He argued that education was the key, that the sooner the Soviet Union's non-Russians became literate, the sooner local loyalties would give way to the creation of a new multinational species called "Soviet man". So Lenin endorsed the use of native languages as the most rapid means of achieving literacy — fluency in Russian could wait. Indeed, in 1921 the Tenth Party Congress specifically ordered a program "to develop a press, schools, the theater, clubs, and cultural-educational establishments generally, in the native language."

Lenin miscalculated. His policy did not lead to a Soviet man; instead, it triggered a renaissance of national cultures throughout the Soviet Union — language, literature, even national awareness. And the more that national groups learned about their own culture, the less they liked the idea of Russians controlling their homelands. Moreover, the excellent educational systems that Lenin had called for created elite groups in each republic — lawyers, scientists, engineers — who were well qualified and fiercely ambitious for positions of responsibility. Blocked from advancement in the federal structure, these non-Russian elites have now begun to demand larger shares of the upper-echelon jobs within their own homelands.

The most aggressive challenges to Russian rule have come from elites in the Soviet Union's most advanced regions — the Baltic states, Ukraine, and the Transcaucasus, where national traditions are strongest and deeply rooted in history. By contrast, the elites in Central Asia seem less sure of what they want. Their challenges to the Soviet regime are more potential than actual.

Where the troublemakers are

In the more advanced regions, there has always been, and still is, some sentiment for genuine independence. But most of the pressure today is less for political freedom than for economic self-determination. Simply put, local leaders in these regions are no longer content to stand by helplessly while their homelands' economies are managed, or mismanaged, by Moscow planners for the benefit of the Russian Republic. For example, one local leader in Lithuania has lobbied for a stronger voice for local officials in the formulation of those all-important five-year plans. At present, these officials are allowed to review only those portions of the plan that involve their own regions. The Lithuanians want to participate in the planning process; they even want the right to approve or reject Moscow's proposals.

In some respects, the campaign being waged by local leaders throughout the Soviet Union is analogous to the demands of state leaders in the US State. That is, they want bloc grants and other such financial assistance, and they want it with no strings attached. In the Soviet Union, however, these issues have inescapable national and racial connotations. The local leaders in all republics, including those in Central Asia, want Russians kicked out of the best jobs and their own people installed. Moscow planners accurately perceive these demands from local leaders as threats to their own power, and so far they haven't yielded very much, if anything.

Hauling reporters into court

The demands for more local control have triggered a number of violent episodes. There have been riots in Lithuania, demonstrations in Armenia and reports from Georgia of protest bombings and even an assassination attempt. In 1972, Brezhnev purged the Party First Secretaries for Georgia and Ukraine, both of whom also held seats on the Politburo, for showing laxity in combating the forces of "local nationalism" and for pursuing the "parochial" interests of their own national groups at the expense of their federal responsibilities. Literally hundreds of dissidents have been jailed in recent years for nationality-related activities; it was for their coverage of one such dissident in Georgia that those two American reporters were convicted of "slander and defamation" in a Moscow court a few weeks ago.

The level of unrest is apparently rising — and this could mean more violence. According to the University of Chicago's Jeremy Azrael, a political scientist who has specialized in Soviet nationality problems, membership has been growing rapidly in local societies for the preservation of architectural and historical monuments. Originally established in the 1960's as outlets for conservationist and environmentalist concerns, these organizations have suddenly begun to look rather alarming to the Soviet leadership. Says Azrael: "Although these societies enjoy official sponsorship, some of their meetings have been characterized by outspokenly nationalist speeches and declarations." In a recently published study of Soviet nationality problems prepared for the Rand Corp., Azrael speculates that Kremlin fears of increased violence may explain two rather curious articles that recently appeared in Soviet newspapers. One advocated tougher gun-control laws, the other urged tighter security

arrangements at industrial explosives dumps.

Moscow's traditional instrument for suppressing internal unrest is the Soviet Army. But as the country's ethnic composition changes, the army's reliability as a domestic police force will diminish. Based strictly on the number of available eighteen-year-olds, the percentage of recruits who are non-Slav will rise from nearly 20 percent to about 33 percent between now and 2000. The proportion of non-Slav recruits will be even higher if, as expected, labor shortages in Russia force Moscow to exempt many draft-age Russians from military service. In any case, it will be just about impossible for the army to continue its present practice of assigning non-Slavs to low-priority units and of packing the high-priority units with Slavs.

A loss of enthusiasm

As the percentage of non-Slavs in high-priority units increases, language differences will inevitably force a decline in these units' efficiency. (Only 3 percent of ethnic Russians can speak other Soviet languages, and of the 16 percent of Central Asians who speak Russian, very few are eighteen-year-old draftees.) National rivalry among soldiers is also likely to take its toll. More important, it is extremely doubtful that a multi-national unit will be quite as enthusiastic as a wholly Russian unit about, say, firing on a group of Armenian student demonstrators.

The Kremlin's efforts to cope with the nationalities problem have ranged from the ineffectual to the downright silly. Under Krushchev, Moscow formed Inter-Republican Councils of National Economy; these divided the Soviet Union into federal administrative regions, which ignored republic boundaries in an effort to reduce the power of local leaders and to blur national loyalties. In addition, some Politburo members proposed reductions in

the responsibilities and authority of the fifteen republics. But pressure from local leaders was intense and, in the end, the Politburo was forced to reject this drastic proposal. According to Seweryn Bialer, director of Columbia University's Research Institute on International Change, the debate over what to do about the republics was largely responsible for the sixteen-year delay that preceeded completion of the new federal constitution, which was finally issued in 1977. (The new document does withdraw the symbolic right of republics to maintain their own armies.)

A medal for heroines

In a ludicrous effort to boost the Russian birthrate, the government announced in July, 1974, that women who give birth to ten or more children, in addition to getting the traditional "mother-heroine" designation, would henceforth be eligible for a "Glory of Motherhood" order and a "Motherhood Medal". If the new awards have any effect at all, which is doubtful, it will be to encourage Muslim families to have more children.

"It's unbelievable," says Professor Bialer. "The Kremlin is absolutely stymied by the nationalities problem. It can't find a long-range solution and it is reconciled to being exposed to pressure." One remarkable display of such pressure occurred last April, when Moscow authorized new republic constitutions for Georgia and Armenia. The new documents, unlike the old ones, made no mention of Georgian and Armenian as those republics' native languages. On April 14 about 5,000 Georgians marched in protest down the main street of Tbilisi. Lenin or Stalin would have had them shot. Brezhnev caved in. The very next day the old language clause was inserted into the new Georgian constitution. And without even waiting for a demonstration, the authorities restored the Armenian language clause to that republic's new constitution.

The growing demands of non-Russian national groups have triggered a powerful backlash within the Russian Republic. Russians have always been among the world's most race-conscious people, with a strong distaste and even contempt for non-Slavs and especially for nonwhites. Today in private conversations, Russians complain bitterly about the "yellowing" of their country's population.

With considerable justification, Russians argue that the Soviet Union's future lies in the rapid development of Siberia. (Despite its great distance from Moscow, Siberia is part of the Russian Republic.) They note, for example, that Siberian oil and gas reserves represent their country's last hope of avoiding a painful energy shortage by 1985. They point out that only by developing Siberia's natural resources will the Soviet Union be able to increase its exports, and thus be able to continue importing Western technology and equipment for Russian factories. Such imports, Russians believe, will help them to cope with the looming shortage of labor by boosting productivity.

Why repression will grow

Accordingly, Russians deeply resent the growing need to divert rubles from Siberia to Central Asia, where the demand is rising rapidly for housing, schools, hospitals, and other projects. And Russians seem thoroughly outraged as they repeatedly discover that Georgians and Armenians are so unpatriotic as to put their own local interests before those of the Soviet Union. There are, of course, no opinion polls anywhere in the Soviet Union. But many Western experts believe that if a poll were to be taken in the Russian Republic, it would show overwhelming support for a hardline, no-concessions response to non-Russian national demands.

The Russians will probably get what they want — at least in the short run. Indeed, the Kremlin may have no choice but to adopt a hard-line response to national-

ist pressure if it wants to keep centrifugal forces from tearing the Soviet Union apart. Internal repression is therefore likely to grow worse; the power of the K.G.B. is likely to increase markedly. The current crackdown on Jewish dissidents, and on foreign reportage of their activities, may well be followed by a tougher Kremlin policy toward other groups.

A problem in arithmetic

In the long run, however, repression is apt to prove ineffective. It is not a question of will — the K.G.B. has plenty of that — but of simple arithmetic. There is a limit to the ability of a minority to dominate a country, and one day the Russians may discover that they have reached this outer limit. Whether they will be able to find some way of holding their empire together at this point remains to be seen. Back in 1975, Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote that “the national question...

could prove itself to be the fatal contradiction of Soviet political evolution.” This point has been echoed by observers as diverse as Andrei Amalrik, the Soviet dissident, and Libyan President Gaddafi.

Nothing dramatic is likely to happen soon. A new Kremlin policy is unlikely to emerge until Brezhnev has departed and his successor secures his position — a transfer of power that could take several years. In the interim, it will be worth recalling that, for all its awesome military power, the Soviet Union is attempting to survive an era of intense nationalism with an empire whose roots lie deep in the nineteenth century. The “contradictions” built into that posture might indeed prove overwhelming.

** Ed. Note: The above article appeared in Fortune magazine, August 14, 1978, under the title, “The Coming Soviet Ethnic Crisis”.*

Carter and Mondale Receive Baltic Leaders

Delegation of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian American leaders was received by Vice President Mondale and greeted by President Carter during a one-hour visit in the executive office building, Washington, D.C., June 13.

The government of the United States of America continues to refuse to recognize the illegal incorporation into the Soviet Union of the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Vice President Mondale reassured the delegation. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were forcibly occupied by the USSR in 1940.

Mr. Mondale also assured the Baltic Americans that the human rights policy of the Carter administration would continue.

The visitors reminded the Vice President of the specific Soviet transgressions of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 with regard to human rights in the Baltic States. They named members of the Lithuanian Group for Furthering the Implementation

of the Helsinki Agreements, who have been arrested, harassed or deprived of citizenship by the Soviet government. The Balts requested the United States Government to intervene, in keeping with the Helsinki agreement.

The visitors asked that, in preparation for the Madrid Conference of 1980 to discuss compliance with the Helsinki Act, a Baltic-American be included in the US delegation and on the staff.

The United States Government was also requested, as a cosignatory of the Helsinki Act, to raise with the Soviet government the issues of Russification and of Russian colonialism in the Baltic States, which are in violation of the Helsinki Final Act.

The Baltic-American delegation was headed by Dr. J. K. Valiunas, President of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, and Mr. B. Nainys, President of the World Lithuanian Community.

The Famine Holocaust

It was 45 years ago that the Ukrainian people in the eastern part of their country experienced their holocaust — the Kremlin contrived famine that turned the land into an open cemetery with corpses lining the streets and fertile fields.

The Moscow regime, implementing Stalin's policy of "collectivization and industrialization," hoarded out of Ukraine every grain of wheat, leaving the population of what has been known as the "breadbasket of Europe" almost totally devoid of food staples. The famine reached its peak in the spring of 1933, claiming between 7 to 10 million lives. It was not just another natural disaster, it was a deliberate, man-made act of genocide.

As many other deeds of the Kremlin, the act went unpunished. At the very time that millions of innocent people in Ukraine were dying of starvation, or were being shot on the spot for resisting collectivization, or shipped out to far-off Siberia where they died of cold and hunger, Western moguls continued "to do business as usual with the USSR," despite the fact that Western governments and the public were apprised of what was happening in Ukraine. Some individuals did raise their voices, among them Congressman Hamilton Fish who introduced a resolution in the US Congress in May of 1933 castigating the Soviet regime for perpetrating this genocidal act with the intent of decimating the population of Ukraine. But the voices were incommensurately few and feeble.

Ukrainians in the free world have been commemorating the anniversaries of this holocaust every five years in an effort to remind the world that the very same henchmen who resorted to genocide in 1933 are still in the Kremlin, only their faces having changed somewhat, but not their policies and designs. Now it is "anti-Soviet propaganda" that serves the

Soviet secret police as a pretext to incarcerate thousands of brave and intelligent men and women in what is yet another attempt to behead an entire nation.

This year, Ukrainians all over the world marked the anniversary of the famine with a Day of Mourning, in the month of October, in order to expose the unconscionable deeds of the Kremlin, the past holocausts and the present-day oppression.



"The Year 1933" Victor Zymbal

Captive Nations Week

Appearing before the UN General Assembly on September 25, 1961 in New York City, the late President John F. Kennedy, in discussing the problem of colonialism in the world, stated:

"...My Nation was once a colony, and we know what colonialism means; the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to be governed, whatever their continent, their class, or their color.

"And that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not reached the Communist empire where a population far larger than that officially termed "dependent" lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free elections — under a system which knows only one party and one belief — which suppresses free debate, and free newspapers, and free books and free trade unions — and which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. Let us debate colonialism in full — and apply the principle of free choice and the practice of free plebiscite in every corner of the globe..."

Similar pronouncements and statements were uttered in the UN by two US Ambassadors, namely Adlai E. Stevenson (on November 25, 1961) and S.R. Yates (on December 4, 1963).

Earlier, on September 26, 1960, John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, addressing the UN General Assembly in New York City, bluntly asked Nikita S. Krushchev, head of the Soviet delegation:

"...I pause to ask this question: how many human beings have been liberated by the USSR? Do we forget how one of the postwar colonies of the Soviet Union

sought to liberate itself four years ago, and with what results?... What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern peoples which I shall not name for fear of omitting some of them?..."

These truth-ridden statements of US and Canadian representatives in the UN are recalled now as freedom-loving Americans are marking the 20th observance of *Captive Nations Week*, commemorating the *Captive Nations Week Resolution*, which was enacted by the US Congress on July 17, 1957, and upon signature by President Dwight D. Eisenhower became *Public Law 86-90*.

Purpose and intent of "Captive Nations Week Resolution"

The intent and purpose of the "Captive Nations Week Resolution" was clear and unmistakable. In a farsighted view of events to come, the Resolution said that "these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedom, and of their individual liberties..."

In referring to traditional American support of the policy of self-determination, the Resolution assailed "a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence" with the Communist world, and authorized the President of the United States "to issue each year a 'Captive Nations Week Proclamation'", "until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world."

The full text of the Resolution follows:

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK RESOLUTION

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of people everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

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

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive! and

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

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such people through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

The National-Liberation Struggle

A WAY FOR THE LIQIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP

(an address delivered on 23. July 1978... at the statue of Liberty... at the 20th annual ceremony of the "Captive Nations Week)

The political trials in the U.S.S.R. during the recent weeks, trials against two valiant and honest men, Anatoly Sharansky and Alexander Ginzburg, have revealed once more to the whole world that unsurpassed impertinence and brazen lies constitute the very essence of the Soviet regime. Everything, absolutely everything, in the Soviet system is based on deception and fraud: ideology, economy, politics and even the trivialities of everyday life. The Soviet ruling camarilla is lying to everybody, its own people, the whole world, both its enemies and its comrades.

This lie is many sided; it appears in varying guises. It camouflages intransigence and a fierce determination to strike a mortal blow on the still free democratic West under the mask of detente. It conceals an imperialistic appetite for world domination within a deceptive smoke screen of slogans calling for the ill-famed proletarian solidarity. Under this sinister pretension, in itself an exemplary pattern for demagogy, the Moscow model of totalitarianism is a malignant tumour spreading slowly but inexorably throughout the world.

If we view all this in the perspective of history we perceive that the contemporary international policy of the U.S.S.R. is not at all original. In many aspects it is a repetition, simply copying the patterns formerly established in tsarist Russian. It is becoming more and more apparent that the whole of the latest soviet mimicry is merely another mask for the traditional

Russian imperialism. In the opinion of the Russian thinker, N. A. Berdyaev, Moscow strives to unite the world under her aegis. This is a recognized postulate of Russian imperialist doctrine. This particular conception has posed a great temptation for Russia, more especially since the Mongol invasion. Indeed it can be viewed as a peculiar reaction to the two-hundred-fifty-year Mongolian yoke.

The prominent Russian historian, V. O. Kluchevsky, believed that Moscow had borrowed extensively from the Mongols. The Mongolian military organization was imitated diligently in the shaping of the Russian imperial structure. The aggressive qualities of the Mongols were implanted in many of the nations enslaved by them. Unfortunately the Russians also were contaminated and corrupted by these pervasive and long lasting Mongol traits.

Behind the old Russian idea that "Moscow is the Third Rome, a Fourth Rome can not be" was hidden a scheme for imperialist expansion. Modern Muscovite communism has inherited, regrouped and renewed the might and slogans of the former Russian autocracy. The Russian communists have, however, rejected Christianity which formed a religious brake slowing the grasp of Russian autocracy. Consequently the new Russian imperialists have rushed at full speed to materialize the ancient Russian idea of a universal empire, an idea which was given an impetus by the Mongol Khans, the spiritual fathers of Russian imperialism. This particular idea dominated the minds of the Muscovite and St. Petersburg rulers, successors in this respect to the medieval Mongol suzerains. Soviet imperialism is

presently aspiring to recover the lost opportunities of its tsarist predecessor which it overthrew in 1917. Fortunately the Soviet masters of Russia have not yet succeeded in realizing these goals.

At the same time as this theme of domination is now being repeated by the communist regime, the refugee remnants of the old tsarist autocracy are engaged in a pathetic struggle to restore the pre-communist royal Russia.

These alternatives are the proverbial frying pan and fire. Soviet imperialism and tsarist autocracy are merely different gloves on the hand of Muscovite tyranny. The current Soviet communist regime and its colonial/imperial pretensions are not two separate problems but rather two closely related symptoms of the one ailment

first contracted from the Mongol hord. Ideally we cure the illness, and the symptoms disappear. This is not possible at this time. Even though dissident groups heading the national-liberation movement are constantly strengthening their influence and authority, it is still evident today that there is no substantial Russian opposition force in the Soviet Union capable of dealing a death blow against the Muscovite tyranny in its Soviet manifestation.

We must, however, support this intermediate goal of the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. and the consequent formation of independent national states, including a Russian state, as the shortest way to the liberation of all the peoples suffering from Muscovite tyranny. It is this intermediate step which provides the opportunity for an eventual treatment and cure for the ailment itself.

Keeping in mind the present international situation, scores of "third wave Soviet refugees" came to the conclusion that the establishment of a new organization of Russian patriotic anti-communists is a much needed tool in the fulfilment of these goals. The newly founded organization has been named FOR RUSSIA WITHOUT COLONIES (RWC). This organization is destined to support the national-liberation activities behind the Iron Curtain. The cardinal purpose of its practice and theoretical work is formulated in the very name of the organization. We believe firmly in the priority of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement in the U.S.S.R. before any other kinds and modes of anti-communist protests.

We believe that the Moscow dictatorship and the international communist movement are both the offspring of the Russian imperialist aspiration. The best opposition to this imperialist aspiration today is the success of the national-liberation movement within the U.S.S.R.



Americans to Free Captive Nations, Inc.'s Vice-Chairperson, Laryssa Stankevych, read greetings from the White House during Captive Nations Week activities in New York City.

Captive Nations Week in Chicago

General Petro Hryhorenko was the main speaker at Chicago's Captive Nations Week rally, held at Daley Plaza, July 15, 1978. Below is a summary of his address.

I am one of those who, a year ago, was able to listen to the observance of this Captive Nations Week only on foreign radio broadcasts, by snatches, through interference by sirens and Soviet radio jamming. Today, on the 20th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Captive Nations Week — which I consider a salute to enslaved nations and their heroes, who fought and are still fighting for the restoration of lost national sovereignty and the human rights of their peoples — I am happy and privileged to be here. Thank God for giving me this opportunity! I express my thanks to your organizations

for extending to me their kind invitation to take part in this observance.

It is an unenviable fate for a man to be deprived of his native land. It is an even deeper sorrow to see one's nation suffering and yet be helpless to act. Many of us present here today have lived through such an experience. Not long ago, I too was denied the right to return to my dear and unforgettable homeland, Ukraine.

At the same time as Asia, Africa, and Latin America have liberated themselves from colonial yoke, and ideas of national identity have captivated the world, it is particularly hard to accept the fact that one's nation is suffering under the national and social enslavement of Russian colonial imperialism. It is an unbelievable cruel enslavement, in comparison to which even



the barbarism of Genghis Khan's empire pales. Terror and manmade famine killed many millions of people in Ukraine. Terror in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia reduced their populations by one-third. This did not sate Russia's thirst for blood — merciless genocide is the instrument of Russian policy among the enslaved nations of the Soviet Union. For instance, between the census of 1927 and the present time, the Ukrainian population has declined. The Latvian population of its capital, Riga, at the time of forced incorporation into the Soviet Union was 71% of all Latvians; presently it amounts to only 34%. The native populations of the national republics are deported in great numbers to the far regions of Siberia, resulting in an enormous loss to the process of continuity and development of the particular nation's culture. The deported are deprived of their native schools, newspapers, and other cultural elements of their heritage. Meanwhile, the use of the Russian language is forced upon the national republics.

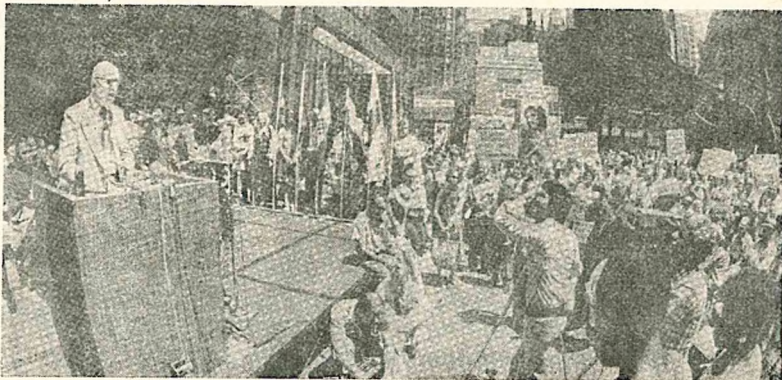
On December 9, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which went into effect on January 12, 1951. More than 70 states signed and ratified this Convention. The Soviet Union, however, never joined this Convention, because it interprets the genocide of non-

Russian peoples in the Soviet Union as the process of building the Soviet nation. To achieve Brezhnev's doctrine of one great Soviet empire, the policy of genocide against the national republics and ethnic groups has been and is presently actively applied. In this process, the most active defenders of human rights, dissidents, and freedom fighters are being unjustly imprisoned and in many cases exterminated. I, as a former Soviet political prisoner, confirm categorically that dissidents and freedom fighters of the enslaved nations are wasting away in jails, concentration camps, and psychiatric institutions.

The United States, by promoting its policy of human rights, is providing great moral support to those martyrs for freedom, and the American people should wholeheartedly support their government in this very noble endeavor.

In conclusion, I wish to extend my appreciation to President Carter, Secretary of State Vance, members of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives, and I appeal from this forum to the national groups of the enslaved nations to support the struggle for the restoration of their national sovereignty on the territory of the U.S.S.R. I believe that our united efforts, with the support of the free world, will result in freedom for all nations.

Freedom is near! Freedom is indivisible!



ACU FORMS EAST EUROPEAN "ALLIANCE FOR FREEDOM": PLAN TO ORGANIZE 30 MILLION INTO POWERFUL POLITICAL FORCE

Washington, D.C. — The American Conservative Union announced the formation of a new organization designed to organize Americans of East European origin. Entitled the "Alliance For Freedom", the new group will include participation of ethnic leaders from all factions of the East European bloc. ACU Chairman, Congressman Phil Crane (R.—Ill.) will serve as the founding chairman of the Alliance For Freedom.

According to ACU, Americans of East European descent comprise 15% of the population. The Alliance For Freedom will assist these communities in becoming a viable force in the American electorate.

"Americans of East European origin are potentially one of the most powerful political forces in our nation," commented Crane. "They represent a large segment of

American society — an estimated 30 million people — yet their political strength has been underestimated and neglected. ACU's Alliance For Freedom will attempt to unite these patriotic, anti-Communist Americans into a vital political organization that will become a strong, uncompromising voice in the domestic and foreign policymaking decisions of our Nations."

"It is my hope," Crane continued, "that this grand coalition of concerned, loyal Americans can re-establish itself as the beacon of hope and liberation for the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

ACU's Alliance For Freedom is in the process of forming an Advisory Board comprised of leaders from the East European communities.



Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, ABN President, presenting the book "Revolutionary Voices" (translations from the Ukrainian Herald Samvydav) to Congressman Eldon Rudd — Fourth Congressional District of Arizona, who was the keynote speaker for the Annual Banquet of the National Captive Nations Committee on November 10, 1978 in Phoenix, Arizona.

Chicago Captive Nations Week Resolutions

Whereas, the Senate and the House of Representatives have authorized the President of the United States of America to proclaim the third week of July as Captive Nation Week, and

Whereas, communist imperialism has already enslaved one third of mankind and is making further inroads in Asia, Southern Europe, Africa and Latin America, and,

Whereas, the military strength of the Western Powers is declining relative to the strength of the Soviet Union, making it harder to deal from a position of strength, and

Whereas, Western political and business leaders, are making further concessions to the Soviet Union, concessions which only strengthen the power that oppresses hundreds of millions of Eastern European and Asian people, and which threatens all free countries, and

Whereas, the Soviet Union has failed to live up to the provisions of the Helsinki Conference concerning the basic human rights of individual and religious freedom and freedom of movement.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, by the Chicago Captive Nations Week Committee, to urge the United States to assume real and moral leadership in dealing with these problems. We urge the United States to consider beforehand, the effect any of its agreements and policies with the Soviet Union may have on the oppressed peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, Asia and Cuba. We remind the United States and the Western countries that, agreeing to the Soviet Russian's illegal annexations and occupations would set a precedent for accepting international lawlessness.

Be it further resolved, that the restoration of the sacred rights of all nations based on principles of democracy, self-

determination, and sovereignty within their respective boundaries, must become the goal of Western and Soviet Russian policy. Only then will the world have a chance for a just and lasting peace. The United States is deceiving itself if it thinks it can bring peace to Europe as a partner of the Soviet Union while ignoring the wishes of the captive peoples of Europe.

Be it further resolved, that the United States stop selling equipment and technology to the Soviet Union, which enhances the ability of an oppressive Soviet Russian Government to stay in power.

Be it further resolved, that the United States build up its military power relative to the Soviet Union. The present decline in the United States power, if it continues, could prove fatal to the United States.

Be it further resolved, that the United States abstain from giving diplomatic recognition to Cuba and aid its Communist government through trade.

Be it further resolved, that the United States continue its support of a Free Republic of China.

Be it further resolved, that this committee, once again urge the establishment of the permanent Captive Nations Committee (House Resolution 211) and Freedom Academy, which, is long overdue.

Vincent Samaskas, Lithuanian American Council

Nick Zyznieuski, Byelorussian Coordinating Committee of Chicago

Ulana Celewych, Ukrainian Captive Nations Committee

Elmar Kuningas, United Estonian Organization in Illinois

Wilfried Kermbach, Friends of Germany
Dr. Mikulas Ferjencik, President, Czech National Council of America

Julian Witkowski, Polish American Congress

Invocation Asks for Nation's Freedom

Our Father, who are in Heaven, in the darkest days of the cruel servitude of our captive nations, we extend our imploring hands to Thee, o God, praying for your merciful protection.

The people of the lands of our forefathers, so faithful to You in times of liberty and even in times of persecution, at the present are suffering the cruelest oppression in their history. Our fathers are dying in Siberia, our brothers — freedom fighters — are resting in unmarked graves in distant slave labor camps of Asia, our sisters are being tortured by the brutal invaders and enemies of Christ, our churches are desecrated and our beautiful wayside crosses are being destroyed.

O Lord, let the day of freedom for the subjugated nations come sooner. Bring the strength of perseverance and the comfort of hope to the martyrs of faith and bring freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

O Lord, make us united in our fight for the liberation of the modern slaves. Strengthen our courage in our endeavor that we would be completely dedicated to the great cause of liberation of the enslaved. You have taught us that if we are open to one another, You dwell in us. In accepting one another wholeheartedly, fully, we accept You. Our mutual love, dedication to the ideals of freedom will

help to achieve independence for our subjugated nations and to break the shackles of colonialism, overimposed by the godless ideology of hatred.

We know that to fight tyrants is to serve God. Inspire, o Lord, endurance in our struggle for liberation. Bless our cherished United States of America and other freedom loving nations who persist in striving for the restoration of God-given rights to the subjugated countries. Help us to work in loving unity that the forces of evil would be destroyed in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Byelorussia, Czechia, Slovakia, Ukraine, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Cuba, Russian enslaved Asian nations and other countries subjugated by the red dictatorship, that these nations again would be free and live in sincere accord and brotherly love and worship You without hindrance of foreign oppressors.

Let our faith in freedom and our unconditional dedication to the liberation of captive nations shine brightly as this eternal flame. So help us God.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK ACTIVITIES IN TAIPEI

"Promote Human Rights! Liberate Enslaved Peoples!" was the theme of Captive Nations Week in the Republic of China, organized by the WACL China Chapter. Various forums, lectures and meetings were held during the week. Representatives of freedom-fighters, including those of the younger generation, were invited from all over the world as speakers and guests. The activities culminated with two rallies in Taipei, numbering 3,000 and 50,000 participants respectively.

Dr. George M. Radoyevich, Serbian National Defense Committee

Dr. Juan Paneque, Federation of Organizations of Cubans in Illinois

Ilmars Bergmanis, United Latvian Associations of Chicago

Dr. Lin Chao, The Republic of China
Viktors Viksnins, Chairman, Captive Nations Committee.

Over 1000 Participants Took Part in Australia's Captive Nations March

More than 1000 people from 10 countries now under Communist rule marched through Brisbane's streets to mark "Captive Nations Day" and the beginning of "Captive Nations Week". Before the march, members of the representative countries watched while a flag and wreath laying ceremony was performed at the Shrine of Remembrance, Anzac Square.

Wreaths were carried (photo below, from left) by the Captive Nations Council president, Mr. F. M. Vavra; the Defence of the Politically and Religiously Persecuted in Ukraine Committee president, Mr. K. Pyrih; and Citizens for Freedom national president, Mr. Harold Wright.

People from Brisbane's Albanian, Croatian, Czechian, Slovakian, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian and Vietnamese communities took part.

The march was led by a maypole with costumed girls representing each Captive Nation grouped around it.

Australian Citizens for Freedom organized the first Captive Nations Week in Brisbane 13 years ago.

Speakers at the Botanic Gardens bandshell, where the main part of the program took place, included National Party Senator Glen Sheil and Federal Liberal Member for Lilley, Mr. Kevin Cairns.



Bradford Committee Held Extensive Program

(Presented July 23, 1978, by Taras Lysenczuk, Secretary, Captive Nations Committee in Bradford and District)

"Captive Nations Week" is traditionally observed throughout the world in the third week of July, since the historical Resolution of the US Congress in July 1959, which designated such a week to be "Captive Nations Week". To fully appreciate the meaning and the significance of "Captive Nations Week", it is obviously a sine qua non for one to read every clause of it. This Resolution became Public Law 86-90 of the United States of America and the following are the essential ideas of the Resolution:

- 1) the unity-in-diversity nature of the American nation;
- 2) the farce of a peaceful co-existence of nations with an existing Iron Curtain;
- 3) the belated recognition by the US Government of the majority of the Captive Nations in the Soviet Union;
- 4) the awareness of the imperialistic and colonialistic nature of Soviet Russia since 1918, and;
- 5) the basic determining position of the Captive Nations in the United States' strategy against Moscow's cold war threat.

These views, as reflected in the Resolution, are in complete accord with history and also provide fundamental guidelines for American foreign policy.

Moscow's reaction, via Khrushchov, was swift in condemning the Resolution as a new provocative anti-Soviet campaign and as a direct interference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs. However, the affairs of the Soviet Union per se, are no more internal than those of a jailer incarcerating independent, innocent citizens.

Khrushchov knew this very well and was thus terrified by it. The Muscovites strenuously denied that there were any "captive peoples", and tried to counter this by absurdly stating that the only enslaved peoples are in the capitalist countries. The Muscovite propaganda newspaper, "Pravda", attacked the USA for the Resolution, calling it a "coarse, dirty venture of American imperialists". It was obvious that the foundation on which the Russian imperial empire was based, was exposed for what it was — a crumbling structure, rotten to the core — for its own continuance was maintained only by the coercion of the Captive Nations.

This Resolution and the annual proclamation of the US President, serves as a reminder to all people of the Free World, of the Russian policies of imperialism, and as a hope rekindled each year to the peoples enslaved by the Russian Colonial Tyrant.

It is for this reason that the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford and District appeals to all people not only just in Bradford, but throughout Great Britain and the World, and urges them to observe "Captive Nations Week" as a week in which the Moscow Tyrant is exposed for what it is, and give moral and political support to those very same fighters of freedom who have, by their sacrifices, ensured that the Western World (at least temporarily) is free of the brutal colonial policies of the Muscovite dictators who destroy everything in the path for world conquest.

The Captive Nations Committee in Bradford and District, in their observance of the "Captive Nations Week", organized a United Cathedral Service on Sunday, July 16, 1978, at the Bradford Cathedral, as a symbol of the unity of the oppressed

peoples of the Captive Nations and also to give moral and spiritual comfort for all those presently subjugated by the Russian Imperialists, who must endure severe hardships. After the service, a procession to the Cenotaph for a wreath laying ceremony took place. The procession, with over 800 participants was in commemoration for all those who laid down their lives for the freedom of their people and for freedom in the World.

Throughout the week, the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford and District had cars driven through the centre of Bradford, with placards affixed to the car roofs. A loudspeaker informed the citizens

of the city about Captive Nations Week, and requested their support to oppose Russian Imperialists.

And today we come to the meeting and concert which will conclude Captive Nations Week for 1978. However, just because this year's Captive Nations Week ends today does not mean that we need do nothing about the subjugated nations under Russian despots until the next Captive Nations Week in 1979. No, today's conclusion should serve as a timely reminder that we must act; for if the Russian Imperialists are not checked and soon, England too may be a captive nation in the not too distant future.

BRADFORD CAPTIVE NATIONS RESOLUTION

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of Western Europe and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Ukraine, Latvia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Georgia, North Caucasus, Armenia, Albania, Turkistan, North Korea, North Vietnam, East Germany, Mainland China and many others; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of those subjugated nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

The Captive Nations Committee in Bradford and District on behalf of one thousand people gathered here in Bradford, West Yorkshire APPEALS to the

free world to support their cause in liberating the captive nations and re-affirm the basic human rights; and:

1. *Demands* the liquidation of the Russian Colonial Empire of enslaved nations replacing the same with independent national democratic states based on the ethnographic boundaries of all the subjugated peoples therein;

2. *Urges* all governments and individuals in the Free World to refuse any aid whether military, economical, technological or other to Communist Russia and to all those who practice colonialism and tyranny, by severing all political and economic connections with them,

3. *Requests* that the British Government and all governments in the Free World resolve that the third week of July be designated as Captive Nations Week and that such a resolution be made every year until the Russian Colonial Empire is destroyed.

Dated: this 23rd day of July 1978,
Bradford, West Yorkshire.

Aspirations for Freedom Kept Alive

"Captive Nations Week" was first proclaimed by the President of the United States in 1959, to take place in the third week of July. It was thereafter to be annually proclaimed for the third week of July. We believe that this is a very important declaration and that it should also be adopted by Her Majesty's Government and other democratic governments in the free West.

The observing of Captive Nations Week has two important objectives: firstly to keep alive the freedom aspirations of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union, and secondly, by this action, to arrest Russian expansion and their aims to dominate the Western World.

Since 1959, the foreign policy of the United States has undergone a number of changes: the idea of a three block balance of power, the advent of detente, and the policy of appeasement. The effect of this changing policy has been such that the United States and other Western powers have simultaneously applied directly opposing parts of their policy, i.e. the recognition of Red China by the United States while at the same time having obligations to Taiwan, the involvement of US forces in Vietnam and at the same time providing Russians with strategic technology and food-stuffs which were deployed by the North Vietnamese in their fight against South Vietnam and US forces.

You will remember that Gough Whitlam's government in Australia agreed to recognize "de jure", the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union. This agreement has since been revoked and Gough Whitlam lost a law suit for slander involving his statements about the three Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Australian population

permitted this act, encouraged by the conflicting policies in the big power politics.

A most outrageous act in the face of the existing proclamation and idea of the Captive Nations Week is the United States signature on the Helsinki Agreement. By getting together the Helsinki Conference and by obtaining the Agreement, Russians achieved the ultimate of their political ambitions — they have the Western agreement on their post-war boundaries and they have a promise of non-interference in their internal affairs. The only flaw in the document as far as they are concerned is the "third basket" containing Human Rights. This part stayed in the final document by the insistence of Sir Alec Douglas Holme and was supported by Harold Wilson (now Sir Harold Wilson) when he took the negotiations over — the Americans were not too consequent on this issue.

I have often wondered what is the attraction of Russian communism to the millions of political juveniles in the free West. What draws them into the clutches of international communism and makes them into tools for subversion, sabotage, kidnappings and betrayal? I have come to a firm conclusion that it is the track record of Western politicians which in the first place has led these people to utter disappointment and disillusionment, thus making them ready and willing recruits for the Eastern bloc.

As for the oppressed nations in Eastern Europe — the feeling of being betrayed and rejected by the free World must be total. Let us remember the Hungarian uprising, the Berlin revolt, the strikes in Poland and the Spring in Czecho-Slovakia. Let us remember that the Western

powers stood by and did nothing, and we may have some measure of their feelings.

Yet, in spite of this, there still are brave people who have the moral strength to defy the oppressor. The hallmark of the strong moral values and the terrific bravery is characteristic of the five dissidents tried in the Soviet Union in the past few weeks.

Has their plight, at long last, attracted the attention of Western politicians? There are signs of this being so. The US Government has stopped the computer sale to the Soviet Union, it has also suspended dealings in oil and associated products. The helicopter competition trials have

been called off by British Foreign Minister Dr. Owens and Secretary Vance of the US. This is only the beginning and there is a long way yet to go, but British politicians know the right way — as recent actions clearly demonstrate. It is our job to see that they stay on the right way. Only then will the people of Great Britain and the United States of America be proud to belong to these countries, and only then will the trust of the oppressed nations in Eastern Europe be justified in the Western democracies. It is time that, in politics, a man's conscience govern his deeds, rather than consideration of how powerful is the opposition.



Ukrainian musicians played for the gathering on Liberty Island as people from communist-dominated lands ended Captive Nations Week with ceremony and wreath-laying by the Statue of Liberty, New York.

Who Is Ruling The USSR?

"The Machinery of the Soviet State is highly organized for imposing on that society the will of an unrepresentative group at the top; and that the grip of this machine could at present only be shaken by a decisive split at the highest level... We might conclude that some such development... is not too unlikely."

Robert Conquest, "Russia After Khrushchev". New York 1965, p. 264.

Who is ruling the USSR? What a silly question: Kremlinologists in the West who are reading *Pravda* and *Izvestia* every day, perfectly know who. It is Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) since 1977, and First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) since 1964. In 1977, 71-year old Brezhnev removed any doubts about who was running the Soviet Union or Russia, as the Soviet Union is called by our media. In May, 1977, he ousted 74-year old Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny as Russia's President and in June 1977 took the title of President for himself, thus becoming the first ruler of Soviet Russia to hold both titles: as head of the party and as chief of state. He was enthroned as one-man dictator according to the *Fuhrerprinzip* under the name of Il'ich the Second. The Kremlinologists spoke and, please don't blame them for identifying the Soviet Union with Russia. They say that they follow "popular" habits, and please don't be disgusted with this development in a friendly country. Russia was always ruled by dictators because as Montesquieu wrote, they were inevitable in a large but backward country. Remember Rurik, this legendary Swede who is credited with founding the Soviet Union, when he led his Varangian tribe into Novgorod in 862? He led it because he was a dicta-

tor. Since 1547, dictators of Soviet Russia were called czars (caesars) and there were very interesting personages among them: Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, the Great, Catherine II, the Great and some other Greats. They are all favorites of our historians and of editors of the *Slavic Review* which rightly identifies Russian with Slavic. The *Slavic Review* likes Catherine II and often brings penetrating articles about what she did or planned to do, and only our pornographers somehow missed her "greatness" and did not prepare an x-rated expose of her activities. At the time when a new era was ushered in by our entertainment industry, it would be nice to have a film on popular Tsarina, which the whole family could enjoy and learn history at the same time.

In November 1917, Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky seized power in "Russia." After Lenin's death, Joseph Djughashvili-Stalin, known to sympathetic Westerners as "Uncle Joe", won a bitter power struggle against Trotsky. After Stalin's death which mustn't have been entirely natural, Nikita S. Khrushchev emerged, but was dismissed by the CPSU High Command in 1964. Khrushchev, as a single leader was replaced initially by a collegium of three leaders who were Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, Aleksei Nikolaevich Kosygin, and Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny. Soon however, it became evident that in the collegium comrade Brezhnev was "first among equals."

What is puzzling about Brezhnev's dictatorship, is the good press he has in the USA. For some reasons which cannot be easily explained, Brezhnev is characterized by the media as a "respectable" leader, "moderate" in his political outlook, pro "peace" with the United States, and pro detente. In his actions, he is characterized

by the American media as a "constrained" and "cautious" leader, standing for rational, social, and economic reforms, as it was allegedly shown by his project of a new Constitution, called after him "Brezhnev Constitution." It is interesting that in this adulation, the media forgot about Brezhnev's invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in August 1968, and about "Brezhnev doctrine", announced after the invasion as a warning to other communist states, and asserting the right of the Soviet Union to intervene forcibly in any "socialist" country if the Soviet government considers it to be menaced from within or without. The awareness of the media that President Lyndon Johnson agreed to the Soviet invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in advance by notifying Brezhnev that it would consider any Soviet moves in Czecho-Slovakia as a Soviet internal affair, might have been helpful in forgetting all about the invasion and "doctrine" and in continuing Brezhnev's admiration by the media. The media like everything about Brezhnev, as, e.g., his bushy eyebrows or his fetish for high-priced Western luxury cars. The media note approvingly that Brezhnev owns entire stable of such cars, among them a Rolls-Royce Silver Cloud, a Citroen-Maserati, a Lincoln, a Cadillac, etc. Despite the bleak balance of the US-Soviet relations, the media advance an optimistic prognosis on the condition that moderately-dowish Brezhnev remains in office. The media and all Kremlinologists facing Brezhnev's not too excellent health, are busy guessing about the possible successor and trying to divine "his" policies and their effects on the US-Soviet relations.

The question arises: How "moderate" and "peaceful" is Brezhnev in fact, and whether there will be any changes in the Soviet foreign policies after his possible demise? First-of-all, it must be emphasized here that despite all his posts, decorations, luxury cars, etc. Brezhnev is not an un-

controlled and independent leader in his own right, but an exponent of a power-elite which is now ruling the Soviet Union and which appointed him to his posts because this elite was convinced about his usefulness on these posts. The zigs and zags of Soviet foreign and internal policies are not personal whims of Brezhnev; they are a result of changing directives of the elite. Brezhnev exactly follows these directives and, accordingly, becomes "moderate" or "belligerent" if so ordered. He may be very "pro detente" today, but may order "the first strike", tomorrow, if the power elite decides that the time of confrontation with the United States or with China has arrived. Brezhnev is only the servant of the power elite, the servant with the highest rank according to the table of ranks, but the servant anyway.

The power elite which now is ruling the Soviet Union, is not the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). It is the coalition of the Soviet Armed Forces with the KGB (secret police). It can be called "military-police-industrial complex" because the heavy industry which is working chiefly for the Soviet Armed Forces, has been included in the power elite. The Russians call this combination: "voiskovokagebistskaia voenshchina" which means "military-police warmongering" because the main purpose of the power elite is to prepare for war, because as Lenin warned the Soviet leaders time and time again, so long as capitalist imperialism continues to exist, the danger of an anti-Soviet imperialist aggression will continue. To attain permanent world peace, so the Soviet leaders believe, the power of capitalist imperialism to wage wars must be destroyed.

It must be recalled that power-elites have ruled the Soviet Union since the times of Lenin and Trotsky and up to the present times. However, the Soviet Armed Forces entered into coalition with the KGB, for the first time, in 1963. Prior

to this, the armed Forces hated the KGB and all its predecessors chiefly for the assault on the Army in 1937—1938. At a special meeting, after Beria's removal, the army commanders enthusiastically endorsed Beria's arrest and two marshals served on the court that tried (whether posthumously or not is at present unclear) the fallen police chief. Along with Beria thousands of MGB-MVD generals and officers were shot; it was a virtual *pogrom* of the secret police which coincided with Marshal Zhukov's promotion to full membership in the Central Committee of CPSU. He was made a full member of the Presidium in June 1947 when he helped Khrushchev to overcome the "anti-party" of Malenkov-Molotov-Kaganovich. However, in October 1957, Marshal Zhukov while on a state visit in Yugoslavia, was removed from his high positions and expelled from the Central Committee. He was replaced by Marshal Malinovsky, but the defeat of the Army prestige seemed complete. This was the first reason why the Army which after its victory in World War II considered itself a legitimate bearer of the national will, decided to play a greater political role in the coalition with the secret police.

The reasons which led to the sudden dismissal of Khrushchev were misunderstanding between him and the Soviet military concerning the Soviet doctrine for the atomic war. The debate between Khrushchev and the Soviet military lasted for 3 years and there was no agreement between them. Reservations toward Khrushchev's thinking from the military side became increasingly evident. These

reservations were brought most clearly into focus in an important speech by Marshal R. Ia. Malinovskii, the Soviet Defense Minister, at the XXIIInd Party Congress in October 1961. While both sides shared the view that a future war would "inevitably" be a missile-nuclear war, Khrushchev theorized that the nuclear war would be decisive influence on the war's outcome and that conventional arms and massive armies are obsolescent (this led to Khrushchev's reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces by 1,200,000 from a total of 3,623,000). Marshal Malinovskii maintained that a future world war would be carried out by "mass-multi-million-men" armed forces and the war might turn out to be a protracted war rather than a short, decisive one. Objectively, Marshal Malinovskii was right and so the military-police coalition decided to remove Khrushchev from his post. The coalition found the people (Brezhnev and others) who were willing to carry this design out.

So we have the power elite ruling in the USSR which is very dangerous for the cause of the permanent peace in the world. The exponent of this power elite is ruling the USSR as its President and Party chief. Lately, there were incidents which could lead to the dissatisfaction of the elite with Brezhnev. If his successor has not been named as yet, it is the best proof that the elite has not decided who this successor should be. But who will be the successor is of no importance for the West. It would be important that there will be a split at the highest level of the power elite and such a development, for very different reasons, is not too unlikely.

GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

Prof. Vasyl Pliushch

Order from: Press Bureau of ABN, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 München 80

A Letter from a Grandson in Prison

In July 1975, Valery Marchenko, a young Ukrainian political prisoner wrote a scathing letter to his grandfather from a Soviet concentration camp in the Urals; the letter condemns the Soviet system and the early communists who built it. His strongest criticism is reserved for those who remained silent, including his grandfather, Mykhailo Marchenko, a professor at Kyiv State University. The 30-year-old Marchenko was sentenced in 1973 to 5 years hard labour and 3 years exile for his oppositionist views and activities. Below is the text of the letter which is being circulated in Ukraine in "samvydav" and has recently reached the West.

Dear grandfather,

The story has been told in our family as if it were an epic saga: As one of the first organizers of the collective farms, you decided to start building a new life by beginning with your own household. You wanted to provide an example for the passive peasants. But when you went to the stable to take the horses to the collective farm, your father attacked you with a pitchfork. Had it not been for the "comrades" who accompanied you, there would have been one more tragedy in the village. They defended you and calmed your father down. Only much later did our family join the collective farm.

Contrary to the very nature of the individualistic farmer, the system of collectivized agriculture became predominant in Ukraine — but at what cost?

In 1933, you entered the institute of "red professors" in Kharkiv, where you studied "Karlo-Marlo"* and observed at first hand how the party operated.

Your wife and three children were

* A satirical reference to the study of Karl Marx.

saved from the famine by your mother. The wise old lady managed by hook and by crook to save the cow from confiscation; after all the bread and livestock had been taken from the other collective farm workers to an unknown destination, she still managed to feed the family with milk.

Nine million died from starvation — this is the figure quoted at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the same plenary session after which Skrypnyk** killed himself. He placed the writings of Lenin on the national question on his desk and sent a bullet through his head. Thus Skrypnyk summarized the process of socialist construction in Ukraine.

Meanwhile, you became a historian... one can be proud of the better scholarly works of my grandfather. Your doctoral dissertation "The struggle of Russia and Poland for Ukraine" taught many to love their fatherland, and I was one of them. Yet there are many unanswered questions: How to be different? The relationship of scholar to society and the question of the scholar's responsibility for his works. Who has benefited from your writings? Here we have some food for thought...

In Ukraine, in the "most democratic country in the world", many churches have been destroyed. This was explained as being in the anti-religious interests, as a necessary precondition for the liquidation of bourgeois culture. The decision of as to whether these buildings had any historic value was left with the histo-

** Mykola Skrypnyk, a leading Bolshevik in Ukraine, who became the commissar of education in the 20's. In 1933 he committed suicide when it became clear that his policies of national communism in Ukraine were incompatible with Stalin's plans.

rians. How very few of these memorials to our history were preserved by you! Oh yes, I know how the demolition orders were signed. Is it easy to have this on your conscience?

Who will return the golden-domed cathedral of St. Michael to Kyiv? Who will fill the gap in scholarship, literature and art created by the barbaric cultural revolution?

By some miracle you managed to survive the 1937 purges. The party secretary at the Institute of History attacked your writings with the accusation that they contain traces of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. But it so happened that the secretary himself was arrested the next evening. His criticisms were viewed as ideological diversions, as slander of an honest Soviet worker.

What fortunate circumstances — your family did not starve and you were not shot — what else can one want? ...Live, praise the Lord and drink your water slowly...

I could never comprehend this serpentine practice: How can one build a nation and destroy its builders, to bear and then devour one's own children? Dostoyevsky was possessed by the question of whether happiness could be attained through the killing of even one destitute child. He rejected such a paradise.

For the communists, the road to a bright future is based on class struggle. This made savage murder a sanctified and official practice.

People must be loved, not killed! But Professor, I should not lecture you!

I know that you had doubts and misgivings long before your arrest — when you also drank from the chalice prepared for those who were “against”.

Halychyna — the Piedmont of Ukraine — has, over the last 50 years, awoken the national consciousness of many eastern Ukrainians. There is no doubt that the liberalism of the present professor at Kyiv

State University, Mykhaylo Marchenko, was, to a large extent, shaped during his stay in Western Ukraine. Your acquaintance with the world — renowned scholars F. Kolesa and B. Shchurat, and more important, access to anti-marxist literature sowed within you the seeds of discontent with the regime which you had blindly and unquestioningly served. It was not by chance therefore, that upon your return you discussed your doubts with your brother Stepan and, while drinking, even sang the national anthem...

If only we did not have the phlegmatic nature so characteristic of settlers of the steppe... We ponder about what has to be done first, what to do later, we wait for who knows what, while we continue losing and dying...

You once stated that as you were building the new society you could not even have dreamt the nightmare that it turned out to be. Yes, the road to hell is paved with the best of intentions, no matter how contradictory this saying may be. One old communist once told me that it is easy to be wise in retrospect; but when I asked him whether he had been aware that what had been happening around him was evil, he answered “yes”.

You also must have seen the injustice of those days. But you, the intellectuals, remained silent — awaiting for the bad times to pass, constantly hiding behind the servile principle that “my house is at the edge of the village”. But the situation steadily grew worse. Caution turned into fear, settled permanently within your souls. And this animalistic state was accepted as the cultural development of one's personality.

Your arrest, which came as a result of a telegram from the Central Committee — “take a close look at Marchenko” — changed everything. In June 1941, the prison doors at Korolenko St. No. 33 welcomed the first Soviet rector of Lviv University.

I don't want to go into the details of that period. I will always associate your stay in the Siberian GULAG with what one mean neighbour said to my mother about you: "We shit on the likes of your father."

I recall such details of our family's biography because it sheds light on the benefits we reaped from Soviet rule.

I remember the outcome of your speech at the meeting of the Kyiv Pedagogical institute in 1956. This was at the time when Stalin's personality cult was being destroyed and loud proclamations about an end to the undemocratic practices in our Society were issued. Your revelations about the Soviet concentration camps were accepted as an account by an eyewitness. But as for your criticisms, how naive could you be? You were immediately summoned to various offices of the regional and city committees, where the "lost sheep" was told that it was prohibited to present our reality in such vivid colours, that you may have to turn in your party membership card and that you might even take a trip to enjoy the northern lights. And you, knowing how our most democratic judicial system works, again reached the conclusion that silence was "golden". What can be more degrading and shameful for an intellectual than to be unproductive for his nation?

At a time when the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke, when the national ideal has spread throughout

the world, Ukrainians are content with disgusting regurgitations about the impossibility of secession, because, somehow, we will be conquered by the Americans or Germans or by God knows, who else. And this at a time when in Europe, 34 independent states live peacefully and don't know what it is to have barbed wire on their borders.

You taught students from other cradles and consoled yourself with the notion that "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's" and that this has been the order since time immemorial. You did not want to awake in me a sentiment of revenge, and in sheltering me from life's harsh realities, you did not teach me to recognize the real face of the KGB. How useful such lessons would have been and how many mistakes could they have prevented!!

In deciding to oppose this empire of lies I found strength in the realization that the yoke is no longer bearable. I personally had to run into the stone wall and experience the impact's pain in order to understand: evil can be overcome; we can fight it and it is our obligation to do so. The negation of Bolshevism has become the basis of my whole existence. But this cannot be done in passive silence.

For Ukrainians there is but one alternative: the democratic solution of all questions concerning us. The purpose of my letter is an attempt to explain why and for whom this is necessary.

*Your grandson
The Urals, July, 1975.*

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

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Islam and Communism

Islam And Islamic Ideology

The broad question posed here is how Islam is confronting Communism. To understand the nature and the dimensions of the confrontation between Islam and Communism it is important that we examine the basic tenants of Islam.

As a religion, Islam is simple to adopt. All that is required is for one to say "There is but one God and Muhammed is his Apostle". This SHAHADA (profession of faith) is sufficient to make one a Muslim. There is no initiation, no probationary period, as required by some other religions.

There are five basic pillars in Islam:

1) The SHAHADA — (profession of faith) — "There is but one God and Muhammed is his Apostle".

2) Prayers — Muslims are required to pray five times a day and should face Mecca. Prayers could be performed anywhere but ideally they should be said in a MASJID (Mosque) standing in rows behind an IMAM who leads the movements.

3) Fasting — Fasting is required during RAMADAN, the ninth month of the lunar year, when a Muslim is supposed to abstain from all food and drink during the hours of daylight.

4) AL-HAJJ — The Pilgrimage to the Sacred Mosque at Mecca is an obligation for every Muslim, although it is explicitly limited to everyone who has the necessary means and the physical ability to reach Mecca.

5) ZAKAT — (almsgiving) — Muslims must pay the ZAKAT tax on their income.

Islam however, is not simply a religion as is ordinarily understood in its narrow sense. It embodies principles and institutions to guide human behavior towards the

best possible results in every sphere of life including social, individual, political and economic. The concept of UMMA or Community was evident since the early days of Islam in the city of Medina.

The basic sources of SHARIA or Islamic system of law are the Holy Koran and the SUNNA (the Way) of the Prophet as recorded in the Tradition of his words during his lifetime.

The Medinan chapters of the Koran are chiefly concerned with the structure of society, the protection of the safety, lives and property of its members.

Apart from the detailed regulations of family life, the Koran contains a large body of ethical teaching and legal injunction.

Islam, being a politically organized community as well as a religion, guarantees to every Muslim certain rights. These rights include:

a) HAQ al-HURRIYAH (the right of Freedom)

b) HAQ al-HAYAT (the right to Live)

c) HAQ al-ILM (the right of Education)

d) HAQ al-TAMALLUK (the right of Ownership)¹

e) HAQ al-KARAMAH (the right of Dignity).

Communism and Communist Ideology

Communism is one of the newest claimants for possession of authority in the world. It is a universal system basing legitimacy on the truth of its doctrine. But it has failed to provide a practical

¹ Mustafa al-Sibai, *Ishtirakiyyat al-Islam*, Cairo: al-Dar al-Qawmiyya 1960, pp. 35—81.

system for the world and has yielded to the pattern of the Western State System.

The Communist model, highly Utopian, lacks any provision for authority except the truth of its ideology. Attributing the cause of friction in human relations to institutional arrangements rather than human nature as such. Communism forecasts a world society in which politics will have become anachronistic.

The authority and power of the state will wither away, leaving only voluntaristic and self-regulating economic and social groupings.

It must be emphasized that the disavowal of power in the ideal future has paradoxical consequences for communism's use of power in the present. Since the future is so exceptionally attractive, the means to its attainment are not subject to restraint. This preoccupation with power, rationalized in terms of an immediate culmination of history, is the key to an understanding of the Communist outlook on the non-Communist world.

One inhibiting factor is the nonpolitical character of the model of the future that Communism projects. But what are the strategy and tactics of the interim period? Political power is generated by an ideology that claims to explain the whole of history and that views events as favoring its own preferences and predictions. Yet such a grand conception is bound to be wrong. The difficulties of implementing the universal pretensions of the Bolshevik revolution have been overwhelming.

Though Communism continues as an international movement the Comintern and its successor, the Cominform, are extinct.

Russia and China are dead enemies. They have had racial, territorial and economic disputes. Moreover the subjugated nations have retained their national identities and their relationships with the Soviet Union are subject to the stress and strain of politics.²

The Conflict Between Islam and Communism

Islam and Communism are diametrically opposed. Islam's fundamental conflict with Communism lies in its concept of faith on a Divine will that has planned the universe from whom we human beings have come and to whom we return. The Islamic ideology covering social, economic and political framework and guiding the Islamic way of life differs from the Marxist society on that fundamental assumption. This ideology is inspired by faith in the hereafter towards which Muslim life is directed. Moreover Islam is opposed to materialistic dialectics since life is not just materialism. Accordingly, Islam considers the Marxist way of exclusively materialistic interpretation of society as basically wrong. Islam looks upon man as a being who aspires to soar high in the realms of spirit and thought. Nor are his needs limited to food, shelter and sexual gratification. Communism on the other hand rests on purely materialistic basis. In Islam man is viewed as an active being with a free will of his own that is subject to the higher will of God alone. "And He has subjected to you, as from him, all that is in the heavens and on earth." Koran 45:13.

In contrast Communism views man as a passive being whose will has no importance. "The mode of production of the material means of existence conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness."

In Islam private ownership is allowed but within certain restraints. A Muslim must discharge his responsibilities to his community by paying the ZAKAT tax.

² Edward H. Buehig, "The International Pattern of Authority," *World Politics*, Vol. XVII (April 1965), 365.

Under the Communist ideology private property is considered the source of all evils.

Islam recognizes the significance of economic conditions but it does not elevate them to the highest level in human existence. The concept of al-TAKAFUL al-IJTIMA'I (mutual responsibility) is an integral part of Islamic ideology. Man is not alone in the Islamic community. The UMMA (community) has a responsibility to meet the essential needs of all Muslims.

Conclusion

Communism could not take root where Islam is strong. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs concluded in 1948 that its analysis confirms what has long been known, namely that nothing in the history of the peoples, their psychology, or current stage in governmental and institutional development is particularly conducive

toward receptivity to Communist propaganda or growth of Communist strength as such.³

This statement is still valid some thirty years later. The reason for the ability of Islam to confront Communism successfully is the Islamic ideology. It is an ideology that combines the spiritual and material needs of man without subjecting him to the exploitation of capitalism or depriving him of freedom and enslaving him under Communism.

The welfare state concept is very much in evidence in some Islamic states. Saudi Arabia is the leader in this respect.

³ Committee on Foreign Affairs, *The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism*, Supplement III, B. Communism in the Near East, Government Printing Office, 1948.

O. Kuboki (Japan)

Japan and the Security of the Far East and South-East Asia

In 1977, we had a lot of problems both within and outside our country.

After a new administration was established by President Carter, America is now definitely taking the course of withdrawing herself from Asia, with such policies as withdrawal of US ground troops from Korea and human rights diplomacy. On the other hand, in the northern sea, the economic territory of 200 nautical miles was declared to be set up by the Soviet Union. As the result of this, not only economic but also military threats, including territorial problems, have been intensified. Thus, through these Japan-Soviet fishing negotiations, Japan's weak diplomatic position without enough armaments was revealed to our people.

Within our country, the Fukuda cabinet was established on the most unstable conditions in the history of conservative politics after World War II. The new

Fukuda cabinet started by declaring an innovative plan for a fresh start, which consisted of four points:

- 1) renewal of the party in power by dissolving factions
- 2) establishment of moral society
- 3) active economy
- 4) Japan in the world

The Prime Minister could have successfully prevented the opposition parties from winning the majority in the House of Councilors election on July 10th and could have managed to survive. However, because of a strong tide of world-wide depression-inflation, European countries and America tried to be harsh to Japan's economy in the Advanced Nations Summit Talk in May, and in I.M.F. General Assembly in September. As a consequence, the value of Yen increased so unprecedentedly, that even Prime Minister Fukuda, famous for being a well-acquainted eco-

nomist, could not find any effective means for explaining the situation. Economic crises became so deep that there remained the root of evil that may develop into a Japan—US commercial trouble. On the other hand, the Soviet Union celebrated its 60th revolutionary anniversary. As the military forces of the Soviet Union exceed those of the US in some respects, threats of invasion are increasing in the Far East day by day. As for Red China, despite intensification of its internal contradictions, such as Teng Hsiao-ping's restoration and expulsion of Four Gangs, it is trying to overcome the difficulties by concluding the Japan—China Peace Treaty as early as possible. In addition, on the basis of the Japan—China Peace Treaty, Communist China is aiming more and more at invading Japan.

Thus, in 1977, Japan had to suffer from double external pressures; one is the threat of international communism — Soviet Union, Red China and North Korea; another is the economic pressure from Euro-American free nations. In the midst of internal pressures, such as degrading of the Liberal Democratic Party and precariousness of the political situation, politics, economy, and social philosophical education have been almost uprooted in Japan and the social situation is getting more and more disturbed and precarious.

The more the society gets disturbed, the more our federation can display its true value. Now that our federation has become the greatest obstacle for revolutionary forces' efforts to overthrow Japan, they are trying to exterminate our federation with slanders and abuses. However, we devote all our efforts toward the "National Salvation through Victory over Communism" movement. With support from many people, our federation is becoming one of the main forces to bear responsibility for Japan's future. A summary of main activities in 1977 are as follows.

1) *Struggle Against US Withdrawal from Korea*

Withdrawal of US Troops in Korea by the Carter Administration will destroy the military balance in the Far East. As we learned from the Korean War in 1950, breakdown of the military balance will not only make it easy for the North Korean communist troops to invade the South, but also it poses a serious problem for the security and the peace of Japan. In the background of America's withdrawal plan from Korea, there lies America's repulsion against Japan's selfish attitude to seek economic prosperity without the efforts to preserve its own peace and security.

Today, as US troops withdraw from Asia, the situation is changing totally. Japan should follow the defense efforts of the Republic of Korea and defend itself with its own hands in order to survive. Our position is that Japan should bear responsibility for the security of the Far East and South-East Asia.

Therefore, we, the International Federation for Victory over Communism (IFVC) carried out an enlightenment movement with the following declarations;

- 1) actual situation in the Korean Peninsula is very tense,
- 2) opposition against withdrawal of US Troops in Korea,
- 3) Japan should make every effort to firmly re-establish a self-defense system.

While we repeated our declaration in our organ, Shiso-Shimbun (Thought Newspaper) and Sekai Shiso (World Thought) magazine, we distributed bills, displayed stickers, held lecture meetings on current political situations, made street speeches and had symposiums. In Osaka, we showed a film to prevent US troops from withdrawing from Korea, and held a lecture meeting of 1,000 participants. In every prefecture of the Kyushu region, we made street speeches against US withdrawal, and

plastered 30,000 stickers. In addition, we made street speeches all over the country concerning this issue.

2) *Struggle Against the Soviet Union for the Reversion of the Northern Territory*

Taking advantage of the general trend of a 200 territorial-nautical mile fishing limit, the Soviet Union ignored Japan's traditional northern fishery, and declared a 200 territorial mile limit on March 1st of last year. In the later Japan-Soviet tentative fishery talks, they forcibly set up a 200 nautical mile limit by regarding Japan's traditional Northern territory, which they have occupied, as their own. The Soviet Union, taking as hostages northern fishermen, whose livings are menaced, showed an arrogant and irrational attitude by saying, "If you want the fish, forget about your Northern Territory." This indicates the following facts:

- 1) Military superiority of the Soviet Union was established in the Far East.
- 2) A step towards an invasion of Japan as a whole, and its sovereignty, was started from the Northern Territory.
- 3) Japanese people have to strengthen anti-Russian and anti-Communist attitudes.
- 4) It is very urgent to seriously consider Japan's defense problems and to get down to re-establishing the defense system.
- 5) US Troops' withdrawal from Korea goes against peace in Asia.

IFVC summoned a meeting and a training session of district leaders from all over the country, and we started the struggle against the Soviet Union for the recovery of the Northern Territory. We repeated our declaration: "The Soviet Union, who illegally invaded South Sakhalin and Chishima Islands, should get out as soon as possible." We prepared twelve reels of film entitled "Hyosetu no

mon" (which showed an invasion of South Sakhalin by the Soviet Union at the end of and after World War II). We showed the film and made protesting public rallies all over the country.

At the same time, we declared the importance and urgency of national security. In April, 1977, which fell on the 9th Anniversary of IFVC, we held the first national rally against the Soviet Union for reversion of the Northern Territory. We had 103 rallies and protest assemblies, and showed the film 138 times.

Then, on April 15, the second national rally against the Soviet Union for reversion of the Northern Territory was held, also in Tokyo. The protest letter recognized at the rally was brought to the Soviet Embassy, while the declaration of the rally was brought to Prime Minister Fukuda, Foreign Minister Hatoyama, and Agriculture and Forestry Minister Suzuki.

In addition, we made a plea to the local parliaments by collecting signatures in 85 cities all over the country, demanding the reversion of the Northern Territory. We intend to continue our struggle, in order to realize it, under the following slogans:

- 1) Soviet Union, the invader, get out of the South Sakhalin and Chishima Islands!
- 2) Rebuild Japan's security and defense forces!
- 3) *Struggle in the Election of the House of Councilors*

The election of the House of Councilors on July 10th caught everyone's attention, because of the interest in whether or not the opposition parties would win the majority. We recommended Liberal-Democratic candidates in the local electoral districts and in the nation-wide electoral districts. We made every effort to promote our candidates in this election. As a result, the possibility of the opposition party winning the majority was prevented, and the candidates backed by us won overwhelming victories.

The Situation in Ukraine

The heroic stand of Ukrainians for their freedom and for the independence of Ukraine has been taken throughout the ages as an example for the world. Despite overwhelming numbers of enemy forces' brutality, genocide and attempts to eradicate the Ukrainian state, language, and people, the enemy has not destroyed the burning spirit of liberty, or the staunch will of Ukrainians to restore their national independence.

Since the creation of the Kyivan-Rus' state in the ninth century, the Ukrainian people were conquered and reconquered, but their undying courage since those times has served as a beacon of strength in present day Ukraine, for the continuation of the struggle. Because of increased persecution and destruction of the Ukrainian history, culture, language and the Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian people, instead of submitting to inhuman treatment, gain strength in their resolve to once and for all release themselves and their beloved country from their enemies.

Apart from the attempt to unite Ukraine in an independent state under the celebrated leader of the Kozaks, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who after defeating the Poles in 1648, established a union of Ukrainian territories, independence was achieved only twice and for short periods of time in the 20th century. With the Ukrainian renaissance in the 19th century sowing the seeds of Revolution in 1917, Eastern Ukraine was made independent from Russia in January 1918. With the independence of Western Ukraine from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in November 1918, there came the historic proclamation of the unification of Ukraine in Kyiv on January 22nd, 1919.

Despite the destruction of this independence in 1922, Ukraine's sons and

daughters continued to fight for their divine belief despite overwhelming odds, as was exemplified by the heroic work of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, whose spirit to this very day has not been extinguished. This Organization formed the new independent Ukraine in 1941, under the premiership of Yaroslav Stetsko. Unfortunately, with hostile armies on two fronts, this independence was short-lived. However, due to the enemy's severe treatment of the Ukrainian people, underground resistance continued. An insurgent army (UPA) was formed, which engaged in armed struggle, first with the Germans and then with the Russians until the early fifties.

The UPA became a symbol of the heroism of a nation and the standard bearer of an unshakeable fight for freedom, justice and independence for Ukraine. This is why the Russians persecuted them to the point of extermination, for an independent Ukraine would destroy the basis on which Russia is dependent materially, causing the Russian Empire to crumble.

These inhuman struggles burn deeply in the minds of Ukrainian people today and although an outward armed struggle as yet is not possible, the Ukrainian people protest in any way they can. Waves of arrests and extreme oppression, especially of prominent Ukrainian individuals, by the Russians were made in the early 1960's, 1966, 1972—73, and more recently in the past year, in order to destroy this Nationalism which would spread to the other so-called Republics of the USSR and destroy the Soviet system. However, Moscow had not succeeded in destroying the burning spirit of liberty, which strives to restore the national independence of Ukraine. This spirit from the times of

Khmelnysky, OUN and UPA, has been and still is the Achilles' Heel of the Bolshevik regime.

The intelligentsia of Ukraine are voicing their protests against the russification of their country, and support Ukrainian culture, traditions and language. Many have been arrested and condemned for so-called anti-Soviet activities. Many party and government officials on republican provincial oblast and district levels were dismissed from their positions and replaced with Moscow's servants. Editorial boards of nearly all publications in Ukraine, as well as in the universities, colleges and schools were purged. Many people have been dismissed from their positions in these educational institutions because they spoke the Ukrainian language in school and in public life, and because they were conscious and proud of their national identity.

Of the known arrested Ukrainian patriots, the majority have been brought before the Courts and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in concentration camps, and banishment from their beloved Ukraine. The majority of known court proceedings were conducted behind closed doors, a number of defendants were not allowed to defend themselves and several were tried and sentenced to life terms of imprisonment in absentia. Yet nearly all the accused were charged with Section 62/1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, or equivalent sections of the Criminal Code of the Russian or other Soviet Republics. In the majority of cases the charges were for "anti-soviet propaganda and agitation", for possession of literature from abroad, for having samizdat publications or for their literary works found during searches of their homes by the KGB and classified as "anti-Soviet".

Among the vast number of people who have become Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR over the past years, there

are a number of very important prominent individuals who are being ruthlessly persecuted, even now. There is the celebrated case of Valentyn Moroz, who was arrested for the second time in 1970 and sentenced for a further nine years imprisonment in an especially severe regime camp and five years banishment from Ukraine. He is consistently terrorised and tortured. The Russian authorities are using all their mental and physical resources upon him in an effort to force him to repent his views which he has expressed in his writing.

There is also the case of Yuriy Shukhevych who has spent over 20 years of his life in Russian prisons and concentration camps. He was first arrested at the age of 15 and lastly re-arrested in 1973 and sentenced for a further ten years. His crime was that he is the son of the commander in chief of the UPA, Taras Chuprynka, killed in 1950, and that he refuses to renounce his father.

Since the beginning of the 1970's there has been a rather disturbing and sinister change in the methods used by the KGB. The KGB now uses physical, psychological and pharmaceutical torture on people who have not, even in the eyes of the Soviet Russians, committed serious crimes. This savage treatment could result in their physical destruction or mental incapability to life. The most notable cases of Ukrainian political prisoners who have been subjected to such treatment are: Valentyn Moroz, Leonid Plushch (now released), Yevhen Sverstiuk, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Ivan Svitlychny and Yuriy Shukhevych.

Following the European Security Conference in 1975 in Helsinki, a Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was formed on November 9th, 1976, in Kyiv. This "Kyiv Group" as it was called, declared that its prime object was informing the signatory nations and the world public about the violations in Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

and the Humanitarian Articles accepted at the Helsinki Conference. To that end, the "Kyiv Group" would accept written complaints of violation, compile and disseminate the information. The group stated that they were not guided by political, but by humanitarian and legal considerations. The group consisted of ten members led by Mykola Rudenko, a prominent Ukrainian poet and writer. The other members are: Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukyanenko, both lawyers and both served 15 years imprisonment for being the authors of the programme of the Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union; Oles Berdnyk, science-fiction writer and former political prisoner of the Beria Concentration Camp; Petro Hryhorenko, a former major-general and department head at the Military Academy, who was imprisoned in special psychiatric hospitals for his aid to the Crimean Tatars seeking to return to their homeland; Mykola Matusevych, a historian who was jailed for 15 days for singing Christmas carols; Myroslav Marynovych, electrical engineer; Nina Strokata, a microbiologist who was imprisoned for 4 years and who is the wife of the well known Ukrainian political prisoner Svyatoslav Karavansky; Oleksiy Tykhy, a teacher who was imprisoned for 7 years; and finally Oksana Meshko, a former political prisoner of the Beria Concentration Camp. Shortly after the setting up of the Kyiv Group, Mykola Rudenko, the leader of the Group, and Oleksy Tykhy were arrested.

The determination of the Ukrainian peoples in their beliefs, has led the Soviet overlords to use extreme measures and depravity, and as the Ukrainian poet, Yosyp Terelya wrote in his brief spell of freedom: "Some Soviet prisons would have been the envy of Dante for characters and descriptions of scenes from Hell." His story*, smuggled to the West, gives a very moving picture of the present terror of the KGB, Terelya, 35 years old, spent 15 years

in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals for not renouncing his beliefs as a Ukrainian and devout member of the Ukrainian Uniate Church. Terelya has endured countless beatings, and physical and mental torture, for he would not renounce his faith in God and his people, the Ukrainians, and substitute the same for the Soviet system. I would state that on the various documentary evidence available his plight is not unlike the thousands upon thousands of political prisoners in Ukraine, and it is estimated that 70% of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union are Ukrainian.

I can think of no better way to describe the Ukrainians' struggle for their beliefs, language, culture, traditions, heritage, and above all for the independence, which has gone on throughout Ukrainian history, than by quoting the text of the Ukrainian National Hymn, as translated by V. Bohdaniuk, which epitomizes their fight for freedom:

Ukraine has not died yet, brothers,
Neither fame nor freedom,
Destiny will smile yet brightly,
Upon us, young kinsmen.

All our foes will surely perish
Like dew under the sun's rays.
We shall lord, too, dear brothers,
In our native country.

We will lay down our souls and bodies
In battle for freedom,
And will prove that we are, brothers,
Men of Kozak mettle.

Young Ukrainians in England are active in trying to alleviate the suffering in their fatherland. The Ukrainian Youth Association has been holding demonstrations, rallies and protests, as well as picketing the Russian Embassy in London, protesting against Russian occupation of Ukraine, and

* *Notes from a Madhouse*, by Yosyp Terelya, see ABN Correspondence, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 3-4, 1978.

the inhuman treatment of Ukrainians, which is totally inconsistent with, among others, the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords of 1975, both of which the USSR signed.

Recently, a branch of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Youth Section was formed in England. The ABN Youth Section's main function is to inform young people of the situation in Ukraine and in the other captive nations. Other functions are to send letters of protest and petitions to local and national press, radio and television, and to inform people in England of the plight of Ukrainian and other political prisoners in the Soviet Union. Conferences and meetings are held to inform people and to propagate the latest news from Ukraine and the other captive nations, and to direct and co-ordinate actions as necessary, as for example the demonstration rally held in Bradford, England, on October 8th, 1977. This demonstration rally, organized in conjunction with the Ukrainian Youth Association, was a protest against

the breaches of the Helsinki Accords by Russia.

More and more young people are succeeding their parents in their organizational roles, in continuing the fight for freedom and utilizing their knowledge and expertise in a greater effort, through the use of press, radio and television. The English population is encouraged to be more aware of the situation in Ukraine and the other captive nations, in particular with regard to the destruction of their heritage, culture, history, traditions and language. The ABN Youth Section (England Branch), although only just over a year old is co-ordinating and uniting the youth of the emigrees from the captive nations into a common front against the common imperialist and tyrant. The biggest weapon any dictator fears is the spread of nationalism and the ideal of independence, for such ideals are never destroyed with military might. The youth of Ukraine and the Captive Nations will continue this fight.

Italian Communism: Menace for Europe

International press agencies reserve very little space in their reports about the Italian political situation, which is extremely serious and dangerous.

On March 16, 1978, while the terrorist organization "Red Brigades" shot five policemen and seized Mr. Aldo Moro, President of the Christian Democratic Party and ex-Foreign Affairs Minister in Rome, the Italian Communist Party signed, conjointly with the Christian, Republican and Socialist parties, the official support to Mr. Andreotti's government.

So, for the first time in the chronicle of the Western World, NATO's countries and the free world, Communists are officially supporting one European Govern-

ment; not only that, but at the same time they hold the majority in 15 Italian administrations out of 20, and in the very important cities such as Rome, Naples, Turin and Genoa. Besides, the Communist influence in mass-media (radio, television, movies, newspapers) and in cultural organizations, is notorious.

We can see by these facts, the almost complete attainment of the Communist goal of obtaining control in Italy. Its action began ten years ago, and it has been a perfect example of that "subversive war" studied by Marxists and Maoists for gaining power in Western industrialized countries.

In fact, since 1968, Communist action in Italy has made the following roads:

1) *Social and economic affairs*: the Christian and Socialist Unions were psychologically compelled to work together with the Communist Union (CGIL), which successively assumed total control of workers' unions. Thus, every ideological difference has been abolished between Communist and Anti-Communist workers, who (under the delusive notion of "unity of all the workers") must now obey Communist orders and propaganda. At the same time, the newly formed Union started a strong fight against the national economy by means of wildcat strikes, blockades of industrial production, denial of technical management, and so on. The result has been an enormous fall in production (in 1977, the statistical index diminished by 12%, from 129.9 to 115.5), an increase of unemployees (actually there are 1,200,000), and inflation, which now rates at 20% yearly.

All that, obviously, excites the people's discontent, which the PCI uses for its subversive aims.

2) *Educational affairs*: students have been enraged against the educational establishment by means of violent denial of teachers, destruction of classrooms and laboratories, strikes and assaults on Anti-Communist students.

All that caused permanent chaos in secondary schools and universities. The result was young people unable to find work due to their lack of technical preparation and capacity. Thus, about 700,000 young people are unemployed.

3) *Law and order affairs*: the PCI accused, in the past years, the Police and other Armed Forces of being authoratative, violent and overpowering, provoking their partial and psychological disarmament. The Secret Service too, has been accused by Communists of preparing fantastical "coups d'Etat". For this reason, the Service has been paralysed. In the meantime, a secret terrorist organization, "Red Bri-

gades", was formed, which perpetrates many violent actions "for Communism", as they write in their press releases.

Communist militants are holding violent mass demonstrations in the streets, using red flags, Molotov cocktails, burning private cars and public buses, destroying shops and public offices. The public is, consequently, induced to think that only the PCI can re-establish law and order... to its own militants!

On the other hand, Anti-Communists and independent youth are persecuted by many Communist judges who issue warrants of arrest without charges against them. The only charge is the fallacious one of "fascism", and as it is known, Communists use the tactics of naming their political adversaries (Trotskyites, the Vatican, Maoists, etc.) "fascists". These actions also intimidate all those that would fight against Communism.

4) *Political and parliamentary affairs*: the PCI has used the old tactic of naming their opponents "fascists", as a psychological deterrent in order to prevent them from reaching their aims. The Christian Democratic Party and other smaller ones, (Republican, Socialist, Liberal) did not have the moral or political courage to make strong alliances among themselves or with the Anti-Communist Parties, to defeat the PCI parliamentarily.

We remember that this was the tactic used which allowed Anti-Communist victories in West Germany and France.

The Italian political situation is extremely dangerous now. Observers think the next step of the PCI shall be a request (within a few months) of the Internal Affairs, Labour, Foreign Affairs, Military and Defense Departments to obtain the official and total control of the Italian Government. If this political tragedy happens, the full responsibility will be of the Christian Democratic Party which, with the acquiescence of the Vatican, thought

to make the so-called "overture to the left", for arriving at a "historical compromise" with the Communists.

The Communists, from their side, are favoured by the USSR, which is thinking of gaining political control of the Western World by using the fallacious tactics of "Euro-Communism", so well adopted by the PCI in Italy. For this reason, the Communist presence in the majority of the Italian Government is dangerous for all free Europe (Spain, Portugal, France, Greece, etc.) which can be psychologically corrupted and induced to follow the same tactics.

However, the Italian Anti-Communists are not flexible. Notwithstanding the

political persecutions and arrests, or the Communists killers who shot fifteen Anti-Communists in the past few years, the fight goes on. In Parliament, the representatives of National Right and other smaller groups are voting against the Andreotti-Berlinguer laws; in schools the students are propagandizing Anti-Communism; in factories, workers are beginning to resign from the only Pro-Communist Union.

Nevertheless, the Italian Anti-Communists, who number in the millions, need the interest and help from the Western World, which must understand the danger for all of Free Europe, which is coming out of Italy.

The Middle East Report

While the Soviet-Russians and the Ethiopians put all their weight and might behind the Marxist regime in Ethiopia, the free world failed to give adequate support to the Somalis who kicked the Soviet-Russians out of their country, and were fighting for the right of self-determination and independence for their people.

The Soviet-Russian aims or targets in the African Horn (a strategic area), are to have naval bases at the Red Sea and to threaten the oil vessels in the Arabian Peninsula and have access to it; also to be in a position to cut the oil supply to the free world when it is needed.

The massacres and ruthless suppression carried out in Ethiopia by the military Marxist regime there, show clearly that Ethiopia will be very soon turned into a Soviet colony and will become the basis for future invasion of the African countries and the States of the Arabian Peninsula. It is known now that Ethiopians are training some guerillas from Kenya and other African countries in pre-

paration for their future plans to take over other African countries. It is obvious that the Soviet-Russians will make sure that they will not be expelled out of Ethiopia in the same way they have been expelled out of Egypt and Sudan. This can be a very serious and dangerous situation in the African Horn.

It is very clear that the international Communism, represented by Soviet Russia, has exploited detente to the maximum, and that the Middle East area is the first area which has been seriously affected by the misuse of detente. We can foresee very dangerous consequences and perilous events, unless the free world changes its attitude and makes it very clear to the Soviet-Russians that their arms will be met by arms, and military invasion will be met by military force, and that no more Soviet intervention and domination will be tolerated in any event. Also, it is high time for the small and free nations to be united and cooperative with each other, otherwise they will be swallowed by Communism, one after the other.

WYACL Final Communique

On April 29, 1978, the 8th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League completed its work in the city of Washington, D.C. under the motto "NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST COMMUNIST TYRANNY". The items covered recognized that the true freedom of a country, be it economic, political or social, is seriously threatened by the administration of the United States government, which under the pretext of an alleged violation of "human rights", has refused economic and military aid to truly anti-communist countries, and this false attitude constitutes an instrument of political pressure upon the nations that courageously oppose marxism and maintain a firm position of combativeness.

The Conference considered that no one may attribute to themselves the right to become judges and policemen of matters that are of the exclusive jurisdiction of each nation. This in turn, constitutes an open meddling in the internal affairs of other countries and a violation of the principles of self-determination of peoples, of non-intervention, and national sovereignty.

The disturbances in the African continent due to communist advances in no less than 16 countries owing to the intervention of Castroite-Cuban troops sponsored by the Soviet Union is favored by the immobility of the United States government as well as the economic aid from some Western countries, such as Canada and Australia, preventing the sinking of an economy that has already failed, allowing them to continue oppressing free peoples.

The murderous regime of Fidel Castro is playing an ever more important role not only in Africa, but also in Central and South America. In fact, most of the problems, as well as the increase in the preponderance of Communism can be directly linked to the Cuban administra-

tion; a regime that has been supported solely by aid from the Soviet Union and which receives financial support from many Western countries that provide to it the necessary economic help. *Canada is one of the great suppliers of economic aid to Cuba, as well as Australia, that provides modern equipment for metal working, thus freeing many Cubans so that they may be transferred into the army and sent abroad to help in the imposition of Communism upon the countries that are victims of their aggression.*

There is little doubt that the Communist empire has kept afloat only because of the massive economic transfusion it receives from the West. It is the impression of this Conference that one of the most effective manners in which the West could help liberate countries from Communism would be to stop all transfusions to those regimes, since it is proven that if it were not for such transfusions, the regimes would not survive.

In Latin America, the attacks against the internal policy of countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay, etc., coming from some Chiefs of State and leaders from the West are equal to aid given to their communist enemies.

In South East Asia, the suffering of the Chinese, the Vietnamese, Cambodians, and other peoples that are under the communist yoke was kept in mind as a completely priority rescue objective. Special support was pledged to the Cambodians who have suffered the liquidation of more than 2 million people at the hands of the communists. The United States was urged not to consider as concluded, in any way, its commitments of defense with the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea, since if the United States government were to do this, it would only encourage the com-

munists to increase their subversive activities against these two major ramparts against communist expansionism in Asia.

The Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and Thailand are waging a courageous struggle so as not to fall into the hands of Communism, and for that reason they should be supported, thus avoiding the fall of those defensive bulwarks in Asia into the communist sphere. Incidentally, it was considered that President Carter will not derive benefits from his proposed visit to the Chinese mainland. Much less would he derive anything from his project aiming at the normalization of relations between the United States and Communist China.

Additionally, it is essential to stop marxist advances in Africa and to prevent the West from keeping silence regarding the Soviet strategy.

The performance of the Carter administration regarding the Soviet-Cuban invasion of defenseless African countries has been a concession to Communism. The Conference expresses total support and solidarity with the struggle of the peoples that are victims of aggression, particularly the NFLA, NFLC, UNITA in Angola and Cabinda, as well as the people of Eritrea in their struggle against the marxist puppet government of Menghistru, in addition to the Somalian people who are struggling for their independence against communist forces.

WYACL demanded financial, military and diplomatic support for the people of Africa who fight in the defense against marxism. Also it is the consensus of the Conference that the participation of Cuban troops in Africa is treason on the part of Fidel Castro against Cuba and against its people.

Multinational corporations are the allies of international marxism and they serve the communist subversive plan since they generate poverty and injustice in nations.

It is necessary to stop economic imperial-

ism and marxist imperialism while supporting the preponderance of the spirit and of the transcendental sense of life, as a formula to defeat the marxism and materialism that are eroding the soul of Eastern and Western peoples.

The Middle East was deemed to be of vital importance. Support was pledged to the Middle Eastern nations. The Arab cause is a decisive factor in the anticommunist struggle.

Attention must be drawn also to the delicate European situation, since there, marxism has made important political progress with the blessings of the Vatican, and additionally, Europe finds itself in a grave situation of military inferiority when confronting the Warsaw Pact nations. This was sponsored by an international policy consisting of leaving the Western defense ineffective, initiated by Kissinger and continued now by James Carter, who stopped the manufacture of the neutron bomb.

The 8th Conference of WYACL also urged all free nations to use every means at their disposal to exert pressure on Moscow so that it will abolish the concentration camps and psychiatric prisons that are the shame of the 20th century; so that it will free all religious and political prisoners; so that it will stop the russification and religious, social, political and national oppression; so that it will stop collectivization and state control over all aspects of the economy; and above all, the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the communist terror apparatus from the enslaved countries, thus enabling these countries to restore their national independence and democratic order.

Regarding the above, *the 8th Conference of WYACL strongly supports the request, that was recently sent to the President of the United States, of Ukrainian cultural leaders such as Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Hel, Ivan Svitlychny, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, as well as many others so that US citizen-*

ship will be granted to them, and so that by every means it should be made possible for persecuted Ukrainian cultural leaders to migrate to the free world so that they may freely continue their Ukrainian cultural creative efforts that are in the interest of the cultural progress of all humanity.

It was also considered that the liquidation of the Soviet Russian empire and of all the communist empire is an essential requirement for the implementation of fundamental freedoms and of human as well as national rights.

Nationalism constitutes the only valid alternative enabling us to confront unpatriotic and atheistic marxism successfully, and it is also the only spiritual power that has demonstrated the fact that it is a true barrier against marxist advances.

It was recognized that the key to the future of the free world is in the hands

of the nationalistic youth. More effort is needed from all those who are involved in the fight against communism to reach youth, because young people are being subjected to a total attack. If the young people of a nation fall into communist hands, that nation has not much of a future, and this will mean its fall under the communist yoke.

The West must make every effort to help increase dignity in Western countries so that there will be a recognition of the fact that only a country that has national freedom can be free to keep itself outside the communist sphere. The destruction of traditions and values is aiding in the demolition of the Western oases and it is only through the education of youth that we may hope to have a barrier against communism. NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST COMMUNIST TYRANNY.

ELECTION OF THE NEW EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE WYACL

The plenum of the World Youth Anti-Communist League appointed for a one year term, Mr. Jaddan Abassi (Jordan) and Mr. Shigenobu Yamashiro (Okinawa) as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of LIMJA-WYACL during its 8th Conference, held in the city of Washington, D. C., from 27

to 29 of April this year. Also, Mr. Javier Aguilar (México) was appointed as Secretary General for a period of three years; as well as the representatives from Canada, China, Guatemala, Italy, Korea, Puerto Rico, Ukraine and Uruguay, also for a period of three years.

PRISONERS WORK FOR RUSSIAN ECONOMY

In Sozgorodock, a suburb of Leninabad, Uzbekistan, a rich uranium bed has been discovered. Numerous prisoners are brought there in order to work in the uranium mines, without any protective clothing. Camps containing 2-2,5 thousand prisoners, all who work in the mines, are located in the suburbs of Leninabad.

In the settlement Krikovo, near the town of Bendery in Moldavia, there is a camp whose prisoners work in stone quarries. Recently we learned that comfortable atomic-bomb-proof shelters have been built

by these prisoners, for the employees of the Soviet of Ministers of Moldavia, and for the officers of the KGB and Ministry of the Interior.

High radiation levels have been discovered in the settlement of Borovoe in Kokchetavskaya Oblast of Kazakhstan, a very popular Soviet health resort. The explanation for this is very simple: 150 kilometres to the north of Borovoe, a large uranium bed has been discovered and open exploitation of the uranium ore, by prisoners, is being conducted.

What is Nationalism? Who are Nationalists?

What went wrong with American understanding of the terms and how to make it right?

Nothing in this world is so powerful as an idea whose time has come.

Victor Hugo

I must begin with a few polite warnings to the reader. This is an opinionated article. It is written by a Ukrainian nationalist trying to answer the above questions from the Ukrainian nationalist point of view. To be even more specific, it is also his analysis of the failure of American public opinion to measure up to the real needs of understanding the nationalist movements of our day. It is also a pessimistic article, because there seems to be very little room for optimism over this quandary.

Well, I know that it is not fashionable to be either pessimistic or a nationalist these days, let alone to display these tendencies in print. Nevertheless, I make no apologies for either my pessimism or my nationalism. However, I must confess: I am not completely without hope. We may be living in a Dark Age of Machiavellian opportunism expounded by Walter Lippman, George Kennan and Barbara Ward, but there remain islands of light, which may yet succeed in saving American public opinion from the blight of its present fig-leaf tendencies. If these tendencies are allowed to have their way, they will produce an even more inefficient public opinion than we already have.

But what is nationalism? If we consult, e. g. *The Living Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language* (1973), we find following definitions of nationalism: National spirit or aspirations; devotion to the interests of one's own

nation; desire for national advancement or independence. We would be glad if the media or the scholars respected these definitions. Neither of them does it. For most American scholars and journalists, the terms "nationalism", "nationalists" have a bad connotation, and this bad connotation has its source in the fact that Soviet propaganda has indeed been able to impose the Soviet view of "nationalism" and "nationalists" upon our media and academe. It has been easy for Soviet propaganda to perform in the field; media and academe in the United States have always been international-minded in their majority.

It is a pity that the media and academe in the United States have been expounding on a borrowed view of "nationalism" and "nationalists", and all this is the result of very sloppy thinking. According to Mao Tse-tung's dictum: not having a correct political point of view, is like having no soul. I am sorry to say this, but I think that whenever one has anything unpleasant to say one should always be quite candid. The real danger lies not so much in adopting the Soviet view as in the irrationality of the Soviet outlook. That outlook, in spite of measures mistakenly labeled as liberalizations, has not changed. Moscow has *not* called off its war against the West, and relaxing our vigilance by accepting their terminology concerning one of the strongest forces that today confront the Soviet imperialism, the forces which the rulers of the Kremlin are powerless to resist, cannot be a permanent psychological process by which our mind mellows toward some kind of intellectual

flabbiness. Our estimate of the Soviet realities cannot be wishful, sentimental, superficial, and uncritical. Even where something like scientific method is brought to bear upon them, it serves well not to forget that the Soviet power is based on the assumption of irreconcilable hostility against a deadly enemy, and the fear of outburst of national revolutions. Moscow treats non-Russian "nationalisms" as deadly enemies of the Soviet power, it fears their potentialities. Fifty per cent of the USSR people is non-Russian. Birth rate of non-Russians is much larger than that of Russians. It is not inconceivable that in the next decade the majority of the non-Russians will become politically more important in the Soviet Union and their national self-assertion will become most potent. While it is impossible to predict where these developments may lead, the combination of the current quest for freedom of the dissidents with the ferment of national assertion of the non-Russian peoples is the most dangerous threat for the "unity" and "indivisibility" of the Soviet Russian colonial empire. From this point of view, the Soviet regime cannot but regard "nationalisms" of the non-Russians as its mortal enemies which should be combatted by all means. And they are combatted: ideologically the non-Russian "nationalisms" are identified with nazism or fascism, denounced as "bourgeois nationalisms" (incidentally, in Soviet literature there is never a mention of "Russian bourgeois nationalism", but only of "bourgeois nationalism" of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Georgians, etc.), accused of co-operation with foreign intelligence services, etc. A further and similar propaganda operation now seeks to fasten the Nazi or Fascist label or a slander of CIA connection on any kind of anti-Communism. All these attempts by Soviet propaganda seek to reduce the various opponents of Commu-

nism to a single category, one whose evil is never doubted. To depict the evil, silly, flimsy and infamous, arguments are used, among them the most brazen lies are usually the most successful ones, especially if they are stupid and most obviously contradict truth. This Orwellian newspeak used by the Soviet propagandists is tied down to the Procrustean bed of primitive Marxist philosophy which portrays the mortal enemy (e. g. Ukrainian nationalism) as evil incarnate, as absolute and congenital wickedness. One may only wonder that this propaganda operation has netted the Soviets such astonishing gains, especially in the United States. There are many now in the United States who are disposed to fight anti-Communism in the Free World as a political danger greater than Russian Communism.

It is obvious that Ukrainian nationalism is neither "bourgeois" (bourgeoisie in Ukraine was destroyed or fled from Ukraine more than a half century ago) nor connected with Nazism, Fascism, or Western intelligence services. It simply represents the wish of fifty million Ukrainian people to live in one country under one government as one and indivisible nation. Nationalism has to be identified with national freedom, with the struggle against foreign domination and colonial exploitation; it stands for free, organically grown forms of national life (and this in turn implies a respect for national tradition and religion). Nationalism is a truly progressive force because it stands for human and national rights, for liberty, for a free, unprejudiced by different doctrines form of thinking, for a balanced view of the nature of humanity which cannot be transformed into or treated as mere numbers, ciphers or cogs. While it is true that nationalism has national (ethnic) connotation, it does not imply an exaggerated enthusiasm about na-

tional culture, language, folklore, customs, tradition, and history, and has nothing in common with racialism. It only demands freedom for national language and culture, freedom from any limitations, freedom from cultural suppression. It respects international goals, but on the condition that the interests of a particular nation are to be observed and economic development not to be controlled and seriously retarded by international monopolies. Of course, Ukrainian nationalism cannot be equated with Nazism or Fascism which were not "nationalist" but "imperialist" formations — ultimate

stages of capitalism of industrialized nations. They were blood brothers of Russian Bolshevism, all grown out of socialist doctrines of Western Europe.

In accordance with the above, a Ukrainian nationalist is neither Nazi or Fascist. Inspired with nationalism, he is an advocate of national independence. Sensing a dawn of the new age, a Ukrainian nationalist, mostly an idealist at the present and in the past, fights the foreign imperialists trying to suppress and eradicate his people. Their struggle against the imperialists is turning a new page in the book of history. It will succeed.

UKRAINIAN VICTIMS OF SOVIET RUSSIAN PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE

(To be continued in next issue.)

MELESHKO, (b. 1935). A driver, sought justice at his car-pool, when failed to achieve it, wrote to local authorities; for this charged under article 190-1 in 1972, interned in Kazan SPH. In January 1976 transferred to the "White Columns" OPH near Moscow.

Valentyn Yakovych MOROZ, (b. 1936). Historian, sentenced for *samizdat* activity and writings, imprisoned 1965—69, re-sentenced to fourteen years of imprisonment and exile in 1970. In June 1976 due to be transferred from Vladimir Prison to a camp. In May sent to Serbsky, with clear official intention of having him ruled mentally ill and interned in an SPH, where he would not be able to influence other prisoners. Strong international campaigns prevented this outcome. Sent to camp 1 in Mordovia in June.

Maria Semenivna MUSIENKO, (b. ?). Arrested in March 1971 as member of group of Dzibalov, article 70. Interned, evidently in Kazan SPH. Released by 1976.

Lyubov NASTUSENKO, (b. c. 1934). Nurse, arrested in September 1969 and charged with "nationalist agitation" in Kolomiya, W. Ukraine. Declared not

responsible, interned in a special prison section of a mental hospital. In autumn 1970 held in a Kharkiv hospital, evidently an OPH (but possibly with a prison-type section). Told her sister the conditions and treatment were indescribably severe, and among genuinely mad people she might become mad herself. Sister told by administration not to visit again, unless she wanted to be interned in a similar institution. Unknown if and when released.

Vasyl Mykolayovich NIKITENKOV, (b. 1928). Doctor, arrested in March 1971 in Moscow on US Embassy ground when entering with wife and children to enquire about emigration. He and wife interned in a Moscow OPH under civil commitment. May 1971 managed to circulate an appeal for help from the OPH. Then charged under article 70 for letters to the UN, etc., recommended by Serbsky for OPH, but in January 1972 court sent him to Kazan SPH. In early 1975 transferred to Taldom OPH in Moscow Region, in May 1975 released.

Mykola Hryhorovych PLAKHOTNUK, (b. 1936). Doctor who graduated with distinction, worked in a sanatorium. Arrested January 1972, charged with Ukrainian *samizdat* activity (article 70 or 190-

1?), declared hunger-strike in Serbsky in August-September 1972 in protest at conditions, diagnosis "schizophrenia with persecution mania; periodically not responsible". In November 1972 court ordered an SPH, then trial on "recovery" (a procedure not provided for in Soviet law). Held in Dnipropetrovsk SPH, still there in mid-1976, with a disease of the lungs.

Leonid Ivanovych PLYUSHCH, (b. 1939). Mathematician, sacked from research job in 1968 for *samizdat* activity, 1969 joined Moscow-based human rights group; January 1972 arrested, charged (article 70), examined by three psychiatric commissions, interned July 1973 — January 1976 in Dnipropetrovsk SPH. Released January 1976, expelled same day. Now in Paris.

Victor Parfenovych RAFALSKY, (b. c. 1920). Fought in war, then became school headmaster in W. Ukraine. Also a writer and poet. In 1954 arrested for belonging to clandestine Marxist group, interned in Leningrad SPH. 1954—59 underwent six psychiatric examinations, three in Serbsky (all found him schizophrenic and not responsible), three in Leningrad (all found him responsible). Freed 1959. 1962 re-arrested for some "anti-Soviet" literary works. Interned in SPH for two years, renounced any concern with politics. 1968 re-arrested because old "anti-Soviet" novel of his found in his flat, even though no proof he ever shown it to anyone. Interned in Dnipropetrovsk SPH. Early 1970s told by doctors he was sane, but would not be freed except into someone's guardianship. All efforts to find a guardian then sabotaged by KGB. In 1975 punished with heavy drug treatment, health deteriorated.

Vasyl RUBAN, (b. 1942). Poet, worked for journal *Molod Ukrainy* for some years, then his work began to be censored for being too nationalistic. Arrested in 1972, ruled not responsible, in 1973 intern-

ed in Dnipropetrovsk SPH. Unknown whether or not released. *Chronicle 30* apparently confuses him with Nikolai Ruban (*Chronicle 17*.)

Yuriy Petrovych SAPEZHKO, (b. 1936). Charged under articles 83 and 15 with intention to cross the border illegally. Diagnosed as schizophrenic, ruled not responsible, in early 1971 held in Leningrad SPH. Released by 1976.

SHATRAVKY brothers, (b. c. 1950 and 1952). Crossed the border into Finland, caught, handed back by Finnish authorities. Charged, ruled not responsible, interned in Dnipropetrovsk SPH, where Plyushch met them in 1975.

Volodymyr SHUNENKOV, (b. 1949). An airforce pilot, he lost his job in 1972 following a stay in a mental hospital. Six months later arrested for "anti-Soviet activity", ruled not responsible, interned in Chernyakhovsk SPH. Still there in 1976.

Olha Pylypivna SKREBETS, (b. 1938). Medical doctor working in tuberculosis research institute. Announced in 1971 that she was resigning from the party on religious grounds and because of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. Hospitalized in the Pavlov OPH in Kyiv and diagnosed as an early schizophrenic. Dismissed from job on release from the hospital. Found work in an ambulance service.

Vasyl SPYNENKO, (b. 1945). Graduate of Philosophy faculty of Donetsk University, arrested March 1971, charged under articles 70 and 72 with being theorist of an underground political group (seven other members imprisoned for two to five years each), examined for one month in the forensic psychiatric section of the Sverdlovsk regional OPH, judged healthy and responsible. Bukovsky knew him there in October. In November 1971 Sverdlovsk court ruled that he be interned. In 1974, according to a friend, held in Chernyakhovsk SPH. Unknown if and when released.

H. SUPRUNYUK, (b. c. 1935). Policeman, tried to combat corruption of colleagues in Krasnodar. As reprisal, disciplinary case against him begun in 1967, then in 1968 a criminal case fabricated. Arrested, sent for repeated psychiatric examinations, but saved from ruling of non-responsibility by courage of the chief psychiatrist of the Krasnodar regional OPH, Dr. M. Dyakonova, who strongly opposed abuses of psychiatry. In early 1971, by great efforts, got the case quashed, moved to Penza. In May 1971 went to Moscow to seek retribution for those who had illegally prosecuted him, but forcibly interned in OPH No. 3 "for examination". This consisted of instruction not to meddle in the wrong things, and of a severe beating by orderlies. Fought for release, obtained it within a week. In 1972 appealed to International Red Cross to protect him from future persecution (AS 1407).

Fedir Akymovych SYDENKO, (b. 1938). Served sentence 1965—70, article 70. 20 November 1974 forcibly interned in OPH in Ussuriisk in Far Eastern Region (163 Sukhanov St.), evidently because Brezhnev and Ford were due to confer on 23-24 November in Vladivostok (100 miles away). A Pentecostal Christian, he was insistently questioned by psychiatrists about his desire to emigrate, then given drug injections which made him unable to walk or sit and caused terrible pain. Evidently released after a few weeks. The OPH appears to be partly an SPO, as the orderlies (or some of them) were ordinary criminals serving their terms. It was filled to overflowing during Ford's visit to Vladivostok. The politicals were treated sadistically in it, the genuinely ill inmates much better.

Yosyp Mykhalovych TERELYA, (b. 1942). Serving a term for a common crime, then in camp, given eight years for nationalist activity in late 1960s. Served

term in Mordovia, then from 1969 in Vladimir Prison. Tried again c. 1972 for agitation in prison (article 70), ruled not responsible, sent to Sychyovka SPH. Transferred to Chelyabinsk OPH in 1975, released April 1976. Married fiancée, a doctor, ruled fit for both work and army service, took job as a joiner. November 1976 interned in Vinnitsia regional OPH as being socially dangerous". An amateur poet and artist.

Lev Hryhorovych UBOZHKO, (b. c. 1935). Physicist, arrested January 1970 in Sverdlovsk on trip to take law exams as external student of Sverdlovsk Univ., sentenced for *samizdat* activity to three years, article 190-1 (his lawyer spoke of a certain mental instability). Served term near Omsk, after one-and-a-half years new charges preferred under article 70. Ruled non-responsible, interned in Tashkent SPH 1972—74, transferred to OPH No. 2. in Chelyabinsk region (central Siberia). In early 1975 friends feared a third prosecution in connection with case against his friend Lvov. In mid-1975 he escaped from the OPH, by early 1976 caught and returned to it.

N. I. YAKUBENKO (b. c. 1940). Took part in small workers' rights group, wrote "A Programme for the Working Class", in 1971 arrested, ruled non-responsible, interned in SPH or OPH. Later fate unknown.

Vyacheslav Antonovych YATSENKO, (b. 1948). Studied at shipbuilding institute in Nykolayiv. Sentenced to one year for attempt to cross the Finnish border, then, c. 1973, charged under article 190-1, judged not responsible in an OPH near Nykolayiv; May 1975 arrested again, charged (190-1) with circulation of anti-Soviet letters. Ruled not responsible in Serbsky in autumn 1975, interned in Dnipropetrovsk SPH; became friendly with Plyushch.

A Ukrainian Worker's Appeal

Leonid Siry is a Ukrainian worker from Odessa who has written several appeals to the Soviet government to allow him to emigrate. This latest appeal to Canadians is similar to one recently addressed to the USA.

Dear Ukrainian community of Canada!

A Ukrainian from the city of Odessa, a father of seven children, appeals to you, with a request that you, honourable Ukrainians, help us emigrate for economic and political reasons.

We do not have the strength to continue living the way we live now. I will explain our situation: 1) Workers, clerical workers, and families are in difficult economic and political situations. 2) Work norms and appraisals are frequently revised. At the same time, workers are not given the necessary materials and tools (a lot of things we don't have at all; also, work production is stagnating and as a result it is, above all, the worker and his family that suffer the consequences). Each year workers are assigned increased socialist work obligations. Work plan requirements are constantly increasing while wages remain the same. We are forced to work in excess of the work norms even during our holidays — *subotnyky*, *nedilnyky** — to work "for the other fellow" on the account of the five-year plan, and other forms of work exist for which we are not paid which are not found in

*) The terms *subotnyk* — from the word *subota* (Saturday) and *nedilnyk* — from the word *nedila* (Sunday) refer to special work days, on Saturdays and Sundays, when workers "volunteer" to "donate" their labour and the wages earned thereby to the state. Such "working holidays" are assigned several times a year by the state.

the law. 3) The trade unions are aware of these irregularities but do not defend the interest of workers and are merely interested in co-operating with the party and government. Our trade unions have become purely administrative bodies. 4) Prices have risen and there is a lack of produce and consumer goods. 5) Health care is inadequate and there is a shortage of medicinal drugs. 6) The managers are involved in theft, bribery, and the use of connections. 7) Religion is persecuted. 8) There is oppression of national movement and thought.

I am a lathe-operator. I fulfill the plan according to Soviet law. I do not drink or smoke; I do not neglect my duties. I supported human rights and defended persecuted individuals. I spoke out against attacks made by our official press. The militia — "the aware ones" — summoned me to the procurator's office to testify against friends in the struggle. I did not testify or sign anything. I was then harassed by the KGB. They persecuted me and tried to force me to sign provocative statements, threatening me with the law. I did not sign anything and said, "I will not help you in your dirty business." They conducted a search at 12 midnight. They frightened the children. They forced me off the bus and set a dog on me.

Doctors, a father and son, beat me up in the hospital. My friends from work were summoned and my performance appraisal was taken to the KGB. It states that I am a "good worker and a family man, but an anti-soviet." The KGB seized my medical files from the polyclinic and a KGB agent, Michun, visited my wife. I was summoned six times during the year. Last November third, I was warned by mail that I would be tried under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian

SSR for "agitation and propaganda". The sentence would be seven years imprisonment and five years exile. But I don't consider myself guilty of anything. I cannot bear all this nor do I have any intention of doing so. I have the right to life and to a decent wage, and not to a miserable, beggarly existence working in a Soviet enterprise for a meagre wage (160-180 rubles per month). I don't want to and cannot go to prison. The children will die of hunger and the authorities will badger them mercilessly. That is why I am once again appealing to you, dear community, to please *help us* emigrate. Arrange for an invitation as a family member. We are believers. God help us. Goodby.

Our personal data:

- 1) Siry, Leonid Mychailovych, b. 28/10/36, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.
- 2) Sira, Valentyna Leonidivna, b. 25/8/44, Oleksandrovet, Kherson oblast.

3) Siry, Edward L. (son), b. 12/6/63, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.

4) Sira, Victoria L. (daughter), b. 29/9/64, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.

5) Sira Laryssa L. (daughter), b. 8/8/67, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

6) Sira, Rita L. (daughter), b. 1/3/71, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

7) Sira, Oksana L. (daughter), b. 19/9/72, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

8) Siry, Vladyslav L., (son), b. 13/12/74, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

9) Sira, Dina L. (daughter), b. 9/4/77, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

Adress:

Ukrainian SSR
M. Odessa 270005
Vul. Frunze 199
KV. 128
Siry, L. M.

SOVIET KGB CHIEF KILLED

Following tourist reports, Soviet officials admitted that an angry prison official shot and killed the interior minister of Azerbaijan and two of the minister's aides and then killed himself in July.

A spokesman at the Azerbaijan interior ministry of the Caucasus Mountains Republic confirmed reports by foreigners returning from the area that Lieutenant-General Arif Geidarov, the minister, and two subordinates died in the attack in Geidarov's office in Baku, the capital of the republic on the Caspian Sea.

The spokesman said the killer, aged 29, was named Muratov, and was chief of the administrative section of a prison in the town of Shusha, in the southern Caucasus.

Prisons in the USSR are supervised by the interior ministries, but the spokesman

refused to discuss why Muratov went on the killing spree. He said a commission has been set up to investigate the slayings.

The spokesman said the aides killed were a deputy interior minister, Saladin They and Geidarov were buried in Baku.

Azerbaijan's chief official newspaper, *Bakinsky Rabochy*, reported that the minister died tragically while carrying out Kyazimov, who he said was the holder of the Soviet Union's highest military award, and Lt.-Col. Aziz Safikhanov. his duties, but gave no details. The government-controlled Russian press almost never reports major crimes or disasters which occur within the country.

Geidarov, 52, had worked for the KGB, the security police, for more than 25 years before he became the republic's KGB chief.

Estonia: An Anniversary the World Forgot

In February 1978 an anniversary occurred which apparently merited little attention from the world's press. While Moscow's streets rang with the sound of hobnailed boots of the Red Army and the Kremlin walls echoed with the might of Russian arms on the 60th anniversary of the Soviet state, in the Baltic state of Estonia, any would-be celebrant of that state's 60th anniversary would have been quickly jailed.

On February 24, 1918 the free and independent republic of Estonia was proclaimed. The area, which until the end of the 16th century had been sovereign, was soon to be a pawn in the dynastic and imperialistic plans of both Poland and Tsarist Russia. The establishment of an independent Estonia in 1918 was made possible chiefly through the Russian-German war and the lack of strength by the new Soviet-Russian state to prevent the breakup of the Tsarist domains. Of these many strivings for independence, only Finland's uncertain independence remains today.

The declaration of independence, laid down in accordance with international law, provided for definition of boundaries, guaranteed fundamental democratic, civil rights, and established a government for a sovereign and neutral Estonia. In May of the same year, its independence was recognised by England, France and Italy. After two years of vicissitudes, including the repulsion of both Russian and German armies, the Soviet government recognised Estonian independence on February 2, 1920.

In these documents, the Soviet-Russian authorities promised "to renounce voluntarily and for all time, any form of suzerainty over the Estonian land and

people." The value of the document may be questioned in light of what Lenin had said in *Izvestia*, January 28, 1920; "We will not let our soldiers and sailors die for Estonia, especially as the renouncement is not meant to be final... the workers... will soon overthrow the government and create a Soviet Estonia..."

Through intensive diplomatic activity, Estonian independence was recognised by neighbouring states and by the major powers in January 1921. Estonia became a member of the League of Nations in September 1921. In its foreign relations it sought conciliation: it entered into a Non-Agression pact with the USSR in 1920, and in 1932 both Estonia and USSR signed the London-Protocol renouncing the use of war as a means to solve international conflicts.

But the short and crises-ridden history of Estonia was soon to be faced by the evil combination of its two worst traditional enemies, Russia and Germany. In the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement of August 23, 1939, Balticum and Finland were recognised by Hitler as Stalin's fief, or as later nomenclature has it: "the Soviet sphere of interest."

With the opening of hostilities between these two totalitarian powers, the eventual fate of Estonia was staved off, but on September 28, 1939, Estonia was forced to sign a Mutual Defence Pact which brought the Red Army onto its soil, and by the 17th and 18th of June 1940 the occupation of Estonia by Russian troops had become a brutal fact.

England, and to a lesser extent, France, had entered into the Second World War ostensibly to defend the rights of small states to sovereignty and independence.

The United States of America, in both world wars, came to the rescue of Belgium and other small states, with the same motivation. Recognition of the brutal inclusion of the Baltic states into USSR, world wars, came to the rescue of Belgium of the war. The annexation of Estonia as the 16th Soviet Republic has never been *de jure* recognised by the major western powers.

But whether the White House, No. 10 Downing or Quai d'Orsay gives *de jure* recognition to the people of the Baltic states their *de facto* life is hardly free. Within the first year of Soviet-Russian occupation, 1940—1941, 34,250 Estonians had been executed, exiled or forced into the Soviet-Russian system of GULAGs, and part of 124,467 Balts also met with the same fate.

Many succeeded in fleeing. In the wake of the brutal suppressions of 1940—1942, 70,000 Estonians fled; almost half (32,000) to Sweden. It is among these large groups of refugees in Canada, USA and Sweden, that the memories of their once bright flame of freedom is kept alive.

Meanwhile in Balticum, in a pattern not unknown in other areas of Soviet-Russian colonialism, the Estonian people are subjected to forced immigration of non-Estonians, to weaken their distinct identity. In 1940, Estonians represented 88,2 per cent of the Estonian population. By 1959 it was 72,9 per cent, by 1970 68,2 per cent and by 1977 barely 60 per cent.

Through various measures of suppression, Estonian language, literature, music, and other forms of cultural expression of Estonia's heritage are being systematically eroded. Andres Küng, of Estonian descent and one of its foremost writers in exile, has documented this cultural genocide, which is being allowed to continue with hardly a ripple of protest from the West,

notwithstanding the spirit of the Helsinki agreement, — as much a sin of omission by the West, as it is a sin of commission by Soviet-Russia.

Former President Gerald Ford announced, in somewhat cryptic fashion, on July 25, 1975, that the sovereignty of the Baltic states was not to be regarded as jeopardised by the signing of the Helsinki agreement, and resolutions by the US Congress on July 26, and August 1, 1976, have confirmed the spirit of this statement. The British, through the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hattersley, on July 15, 1975, and President Giscard d'Estaing on August 1, 1975, reaffirmed their recognition of the sovereignty of the three Baltic states. The government of Bonn has made a similar declaration, and in Australia, the new Liberal government overturned a decision regarding Estonia by the previous Labour government.

The reactions by Estonia's neighbours are more ambivalent. Finland, of course, has hardly much choice in foreign-relations matters of this kind. Norway and Denmark have no *de jure* recognition, but Sweden, who received most of the refugees from Balticum, has, strangely enough, the most questionable record. It was the first nation, after Nazi-Germany to give *de jure* recognition to Soviet-Russian annexation of the Baltic states. When Soviet-Russians demanded the return of refugees who had come after May 1, Sweden even went a step further and sent some who had arrived before the stipulated date. Finally 146 Balts and four Germans who had come in uniform seeking asylum, were turned over to Soviet authorities and a certain fate. The still "secret" labels of this repatriation do not prevent the poignant memories of the tragedies of that windy winter day in January, 1948 from remaining.

Tenth Anniversary of Czecho-Slovakia's Betrayal

On August 20, 1978 ten years elapsed since the massive Soviet armies, supported by military units of the Warsaw Pact countries, invaded Czecho-Slovakia and dispersed the regime of Alexander Dubcek, which expressed a lively trend toward autonomy and tried to develop "socialism with a human face."

The peoples around the world were shocked by the brutal use of force displayed. But few Americans have understood the American policy decisions that opened the way to the Soviet action.

Max Lerner, noted American columnist, reported in the August 23, 1978 issue of *The New York Daily Metro* the contents of a memoir by Zdenek Mlynar, Communist Party secretary in the Dubcek regime at that time. The memoir appeared in Cologne, West Germany.

Mr. Mlynar had been a faithful party man who believed that the Czechs and Slovaks would never have to confront force from their Russian "brothers". But his faith was broken and his life transformed — as the image of Russian Communism was transformed on August 20, 1968. Mr. Mlynar, who is now in exile in Austria, calls his memoir *Night Frost*.

The American role in these tragic events was significant. As the Soviet Premier, Leonid I. Brezhnev, told the Czech leaders later, the Russians did not make their move until they had word from President Lyndon B. Johnson that America considered the Yalta and Potsdam treaties to apply to Czecho-Slovakia. Mr. Johnson's "yes" reached Mr. Brezhnev on August 18, two days before the Russian tanks rolled into Prague.

According to Mr. Mlynar, this was pivotal, and historians will argue whether Mr. Johnson had any choice, and also whether a negative response from Washington would in fact have deterred

Leonid Brezhnev from changing his plans. Haranguing the little huddle of Czech leaders in the Kremlin to extract a signed "normalization" agreement from them, he told them "Nothing will happen in your favor. There will be no war." Presumably, he had President Johnson in the bag.

At that time, the United States was deeply involved in the Vietnam War, which immobilized it for any serious foreign action anywhere else. Of course, President Johnson could have refused to give Leonid Brezhnev the answer he wanted about United States neutrality on many moves toward Prague .

True, it would have been a gesture without affect, since America could not afford a showdown with the USSR. But it would at least have said to the world that America cared about progressive "emancipation" of a satellite country and did not accept Soviet "hegemony" over Eastern Europe forever.

The issue was one of spheres of influence resulting from World War II and the Allied agreements at Yalta and Potsdam. President Roosevelt's chief concern was to keep Stalin as an active "partner" in the war and peace. Although it is said that the day-to-day military operations and decisions were left to U.S. theater commanders, the prevention of Gen. George Patton's forces to capture Prague was ordered from Washington.

In addition, the mood of the American people at the close of World War II was largely sympathetic to the USSR. But at Yalta, Roosevelt got the short end of the to Moscow by the United States and Britain.

This concept of the spheres of influence, unfortunately, has been lingering since, as demonstrated most dramatically by the so-called "Sonnenfeldt doctrine" under

the Ford-Kissinger conduct of U.S. foreign policy a few years ago.

In conclusion it is to be recalled that during the Dubcek rule the Eastern (Ukrainian) Rite Catholic Church was restored, and Ukrainian national life in the Priashiv area was developing with celerity and had a powerful impact on the

Ukrainians under Russian Communist rule in Ukraine.

After the fall of Dubcek many Ukrainian cultural leaders were imprisoned, ousted from posts of leadership, and thus the development of a gifted people as the Ukrainians was retarded from proceeding normally.

Armenian-Ukrainian Solidarity

Paruir Airikian, the secretary of the United National Party of Armenia, wrote on January 12 to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that in the future, Armenian patriots "will express their solidarity with true sons and daughters of Ukraine not only by means of hunger strikes and statements."

Airikian was born in 1949. He became the leader of the UNP of Armenia in 1968. In 1969, he was arrested for conducting "anti-Soviet propaganda", and was sentenced to four years imprisonment. After his release, he was arrested a second time on February 12, 1974, and sentenced to two years in prison. Later, he was sentenced to seven years in prison camp and three years in exile.

Excerpts from Airikian's statement appear below.

"Beginning in 1975, we, Armenians, members of the United National Party, which is working toward achieving the independence of Armenia through a referendum, completely understand our Ukrainian brothers and sisters, share their hopes and desires, and observe January 12 (Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners held each year on the anniversary of the 1972 mass arrests of Ukrainian dissidents) along with them. In the camps and prisons, our solidarity is expressed and will continue to be expressed through hunger strikes of protests.

In keeping with a decision of the UNP in 1976, all members of our party are

obligated to observe January 12 as a Day of Solidarity of the UNP with Ukraine.

This solidarity already has its own history. Among the Ukrainian political prisoners (as also among Jews, Latvians, Lithuanians and others) we have found not only brothers and sisters, but people of like opinions and friends in the fight for national rights and self-determination and human rights. The following Ukrainians have become members-sympathizers of the UNP: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Roman Semeniuk, Vasyl Stus, Iryna Kalynets, Stefania Shabaturova, Mykola Buduliak-Sharyhin, Ivan Hel', Vasyl Ovsienko, Zorian Popadiuk.

All of the above participated in actions of the UNP on August 11, 1975-77, December 5, 1976, April 24, 1975-77, and February 12, 1977.

As secretary of the UNP, I once again emphasize that in case of need, our party will express its solidarity with the true sons and daughters of Ukraine not only by means of hunger strikes and statements.

By means of today's hunger strike, I express my protest against the present conditions in the USSR, against repressions of independent thinkers, especially in Ukraine. I demand that all court and investigative matters be ended, that all political prisoners, political psychiatric patients and political exiles be released, and their rights of free social activity be guaranteed."

The 60th Anniversary of the Independence of Latvia (1918-1978)

On November 18, 1978 Latvians in the free world and in the occupied homeland, Latvia, celebrated the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Latvia, one of the three republics of the Baltic States (Estonia and Lithuania celebrated their 60th jubilee in February of this year). Of course, only Latvians in the free world celebrated this event freely and openly, but Latvians enslaved by the Soviet Union celebrated this anniversary secretly, if only by remembering the independence of their country in their hearts.

On November 18, 1918, Latvia was proclaimed as an independent republic by Latvian people in their capital, Riga. Latvia was the last of the three Baltic States to proclaim her independence, just one week after the end of World War I. It was done in the most difficult circumstances: Latvian lands and cities were devastated by the war; many Latvian refugees were still in Russia; Latvians had no wealth nor arms to defend their new country.

Only a month after the declaration of independence, the Soviet Red Army treacherously invaded Latvia and other Baltic States; the War of Liberation started against the invaders of the New Baltic States. In 1920, peace between the

Baltic States and Soviet Russia was concluded at different times for each country. However, only 22 years of independence, had been enjoyed by the Baltic peoples when on June 17, 1940, the bloody hordes of Russians again invaded their free countries and forcibly incorporated them into the Soviet Union. Persecution, murder, deportation, genocide was and is the grisly goal of the Soviet leaders. It was carried out for destruction of the Baltic Peoples and still is.

There was a break in the Russian occupation of the Baltic States during the time of German occupation (1941-1945). During these years, some hundreds of thousands Baltic refugees escaped from the second communist occupation of their homelands to Germany, and later settled in various countries of the free world where they enjoy freedom, peace and prosperity.

The United States of America, along with some other free countries, recognizes the right of the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, to be free and independent nations, and condemns the occupation of these states by the Soviet Union. Let us hope that some day the Baltic States will be freed from Russian occupation and will join the other nations in the free world as independent and free republics.

ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

In 1977, the local TV station in Chernovetz, Ukraine, broadcast a special program on the "brutality" and "crimes" of religious believers. Using "facts" and "evidences" the authors of the program tried to explain to the audience that all the "illegal sects", like Baptists, Witnesses

of Jehova, the Seventh Day Adventists, etc. are only formed for the benefit of their leaders. The authors also claimed that the leaders of the above sects make short work of those followers who happen to disobey, and even kill them.

Dr. Edward L. Keenan speaks on non-Russian nations in USSR

Dr. Edward L. Keenan, dean of Harvard University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and professor of history, spoke on "The non-Russian Nationalities of the USSR: Prospects for the 1980's" on July 20, 1978, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Keenan is a member of the Committee on Ukrainian Studies at Harvard. He is the author of "The Kurbskii-Grozny Apocrypha" and numerous other scholarly works.

Dr. Keenan began his lecture by noting that today it is much easier to report on nationalities problems in the USSR than it was 10 years ago, not only because many works on the topic have been published, but also because Americans are better informed about national problems in general and are more attuned to a diversity of cultures.

Although many Americans are acquainted with the process of Russification and the nationalities problems in the Soviet Union, said Dr. Keenan, they are surprised to find out that according to the 1970 census scarcely 50 percent of the population called themselves Russians. The second largest nationality group is the Ukrainians. They are followed by some 20 numerically and politically important nationalities and by many smaller groups. Although there is a constant process of assimilation of the smaller minorities into the larger ones (not only into the Russian), Dr. Keenan noted that the larger minorities do not disappear and do not assimilate, instead they develop and consolidate.

A fact that is surprising to many persons is that processes such as urbanization and technological development do not lead to assimilation. On the contrary, they strengthen national feelings and promote the modernization of traditional cultures, according to Dr. Keenan.

An important factor in the maintenance of the identities of nationalities in the USSR is the fact that non-Russian nationalities once had their own "golden eras" and their own governments. Although they lost this, these historical facts give the nationalities self-confidence in the struggle for their rights.

The feeling that they are being economically exploited is constantly increasing among the non-Russian nations of the USSR, according to the professor.

Dr. Keenan also noted the importance of social processes in the USSR since the time of the revolution, such as the destruction of the elite and its replacement by a privileged class of collaborators which resulted in the replacement of destroyed national cultures by a Russified "Soviet culture."

Although at present the Soviet authority is stable and has full control, the professor stressed that we must examine long-range processes, especially demographic ones. The growth of the Russian population is much less than that of other nations of the Soviet Union. During the period of 1959-70 the total population of Russians grew by only 13 percent, while that of the Uzbeks, for example, grew by 53 percent. This will be reflected in economic and political interrelationships. In the future, the balance between the Russians and other nationalities will be upset even further, said Dr. Keenan.

For example, in the army, where Russians still occupy all the leading positions, the percentage of Russians is steadily declining. The increase in the labor pool in the USSR is solely to the influx of non-Russians, mainly from Central Asia and the Caucasus. A question arises: should industry be relocated in non-Rus-

sian regions, or should workers be relocated en masse to Russia? The latter solution raises problems much like that of the "Gastarbeiter" in western Europe.

The above-mentioned processes are important not only to non-Russians, but to Russians as well. Already the Russians are a minority in the USSR. This fact, plus the fact that the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR are growing in number and developing nationally, has a great effect on the psyches of Russians. On the basis of "samizdat" materials we can discern their distress at the fact that Russia is becoming an empty nest as a result of the migration of Russians into other republics,

that the Russian language is losing its purity, and that other nationalities are using them economically.

Dr. Keenan also explained some existing ideas about the future of the USSR.

One such opinion, that of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, has it that Russians should return to Russia, and that non-Russian republics should become independent.

Dr. Keenan's conclusion was that the nationality problem of the USSR will continue to grow and become more dynamic, and that to the extent that Americans understand national problems, they will be able to understand the problems of the USSR.

GOLDWATER SEEKS AID FOR RESURRECTION OF UKRAINIAN CHURCHES

Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) has called on the President of the United States to actively support the efforts to resurrect the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

In a resolution by him on June 14, Sen. Goldwater said: "It is the sense of Congress that the President of the United States of America shall take in the name of human rights immediate and determined steps to call upon the government of the USSR to permit the concrete resurrection of both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches and other independent religions in the largest non-Russian nation both within the USSR and in Eastern Europe."

The Senate Resolution 92, with the House of Representatives concurring, also called on the President to "utilize formal and informal contacts" within the Soviet government to secure freedom of religion. The US chief executive is also urged to "bring to the attention of all national and international religious councils" what Sen. Goldwater called this "outstanding Stalinist crime".

In his follow-up statement, the Arizona senator denounced the Soviet government's denial of religious freedom as being "among the worst crimes against humanity any modern government has committed".

Sen. Goldwater said that in addition to Catholics, Orthodox and Jews in Ukraine, the Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, Lutherans, Jehovah's Witnesses and others also face persecution.

"Mr. President, crimes of this magnitude must not be forgotten. Smiles and talk of detente will not achieve human rights victories," said Sen. Goldwater. "We must show that we care. We must mount the same relentless pressure against the godless tyrants as they have used and are using to extinguish religious choice and independence in Ukraine".

He said that "we must help the courageous and devout fellow human beings in Ukraine" who are fighting for their religious rights.

"Ukraine has long been a great religious resource. By helping to revive this vast spiritual lode of Ukraine, we will ennoble human life among a large and great people," said Sen. Goldwater.

Lithuanian Prisoners of Conscience in the Soviet Union

A partial list as of August 30, 1978

SURNAME, FIRST NAME	BORN	SENTENCED	TERM (years)	PRISON/CAMP
ABRAMAVIČIUS, Petras	1930	1953	25	No. 36
ABRAMINAS, Vytas	1935	1955	25	Mordovia 385/19
ARAJUS, Vilius		1973	5	Kaunas
BABIČAS, Vaclovas	1918			No. 35
BABONAS, Petras	1946	1973	5	Kaunas
BAGDONAS, Povilas	1917	1955	25	No. 17
BAKANAUSKAS, Antanas	1917	1969	10	Perm reg. Kučinas 399/36
BALTRŪNAS, Antanas	1907	1967	13	No. 19
BARANAUSKAS, Stasys			10	No. 36
BASTIS, Vitas		1953	25	No. 35
BERANSKIS, Kazys	1917	1969	15	No. 19
BIRŽYS, Povilas	1901	1959	25	No. 19
BRIČKUS, Aleksas	1910	1963	15	No. 19
BURBULIS, Antanas	1917	1969	15	No. 19
BUŽINSKAS, Kazys		1968	10	No. 19
CIDZIKAS, Petras		confined		Čermiachovskis Psychiatric Hospital
ČIUKSLYS (ČIUKŠIS?), Karolis	1912	1963	15	No. 35
DUBAUSKAS, Julius	1927	1953	25	No. 36
DŽIAUGIS, Antanas	1914	1965	15	No. 36
GAJAUSKAS, Balys	1927	1978		repeatedly sentenced to 10 years.
GRICIUS, Jonas	1910	1954	25	No. 36
GRIGAS, Stasys	1913	1967	15	No. 3
GRUZDIS, Kazys				No. 19
JASKŪNAS, Henrikas				repeatedly arrested in 1976
JAUČKOJIS, Juozas	1912	1967	12	No. 17a
JAUGA, Antanas	1921	1967	15	No. 35
JOKUBAUSKAS, Kazys	1920	1965	15	No. 17
JUCYS, Juozas	1915	1971	12	No. 35
KADŽIONIS, Jonas	1928	1953	25	No. 36
KARALIUS, Jonas		1967	25	No. 3
KARPAVIČIUS, Petras	1912	1964	15	No. 35
KAVOLIŪNAS, Vitas	1927	1953	25	No. 36
KAZAKEVIČIUS, Antanas	1926	1953	25	No. 36
KIBURYS, Jonas	1916	1953	25	Perm. conc. camp
KORSAKAS, Antanas	1908	1967	15	No. 19
KRIVINSKAS, Jonas	1917	1963	15	No. 19
KUKĖ, Jonas	1908	1966	12	Mordovia 385/3
KULIKAUSKAS, Boleslovas		1974	3 ¹ / ₂	exiled in USSR

SURNAME, FIRST NAME	BORN	SENTENCED	TERM (years)	PRISON/CAMP
KURŽINSKAS, Jonas				Perm 389/35
KVARCIEJUS, B.				No. 35
LAPIENIS, Vladas	1906	1977	3	
LAURAITIS, Stasys	1907	1970	12	No. 19
LEIKUS, Juotas	1914	1971	15	No. 19
MATUZEVIČIUS, Jonas	1930	1953	25	No. 35
MAZELSKIS, Jurgis	1912	1965	15	No. 17a
MEŠKINAS, Albertas			15	No. 35
MITRIKAS, Vladas	1910	1955	25	No. 36
MORKŪNAS, Stasys	1913	1965	15	No. 36
NAMCEVIČIUS, Motiejus			15	Mordovia 385/19
PAULAITIS, Petras	1905	1958	25	No. 19
PAULASKAS, Jonas	1915	1964	15	No. 36
PETKUS, Viktoras	1929	1978		repeatedly sentenced to 15 years.
PETRAUSKAS, Bronius	1922	1968		Perm
PETRONIS, Povilas	1911	1974	4	No. 35
PLUMPA-PLUIRA, Petras	1939	1974	8	No. 35
PRANCKŪNAITĖ, Ona	1936	1977		repeatedly sentenced to 2 years
PURLIS, Bronius		1953	25	No. 35
RANDIS, Zigmās	1920		10	No. 36
REKAŠIUS, Benius	1927	1955	25	No. 36
REMEIKIS, Vytautas	1942	1967	25	No. 36
RIMKUS, Jonas	1916		15	No. 36
RUGYS, Juozas		1973		

All of the addresses for the above prisoners (except where indicated) are: Name and surname, USSR.Moskva, Ucrezdenie 5110/1 Zch, USSR. Blanks appear in the text where specific data was not available.

(To be continued in next issue.)

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Book Reviews

Stanley W. Frolick

USSR — Invincible or Explosive?

THE ETERNAL MYSTERY OF RUSSIA

Pulitzer-Prize Winner, E. Salisbury, an Associate Editor of the *New York Times*, was a Moscow correspondent for five years. In an article bearing the above title and adapted from his introduction to a photographic book "The Soviet Union" by Emil Schulthess, published by Harper and Row, the author seeks to penetrate the enigma that is Russia.

Of particular interest to readers is his assessment of the chances for survival of the Soviet Union. In reviewing the "factors at work in the complex equation that is modern Russia", and the various elements that may produce change, Mr. Salisbury states that "yet another potentially explosive force is the re-awakening nationalistic feeling among the component peoples of the Soviet Union — the Georgians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Balts, Azerbaijanis and, most importantly the Ukrainians. A century ago, imperial Russia was called 'the prison house of nations' by the younger revolutionaries. Today, there is not one of the lesser partners in the Soviet Union that does not harbor nationalistic resentment against the Great Russianism of Moscow". The author also concludes that "watching the success of Jewish agitation against the State, they have raised the question: If the Jews are permitted to leave for Israel, why cannot we win our national rights? It is a question loaded with dynamite."

Turning to the central question of the viability of the political structure known as the Soviet Union, the author summarizes the views on the question expressed by the Soviet historian, Andrei Amalrik,

who "believes that at some future date — he picks 1984 for symbolic reasons — it will fly apart under the trauma of a devastating war with China. Ukraine and other major republics will win their independence, leaving only a truncated central state, possibly in the form of a small Stalinist Central Asian federation. Amalrik's vision is too apocalyptic to win many supporters. (He has been condemned to a long prison term for promulgating it.) Yet, as decades pass with no essential change in the narrow, repressive atmosphere of Russia, more and more grievances are accumulated that can produce striving for change at almost any cost. Somewhere in the not illimitable future the moment may arrive when the sterile state bureaucracy will no longer be able to cope with the disparate contentions of a multi-national, multi-social populace."

Mr. Salisbury is not sure he agrees with Amalrik's belief ("too apocalyptic"), and concludes that Russia will probably continue racing invincibly along "like a bold troika that cannot be caught". He bases this conclusion on the characterization of Russia as a "tidal nation" where "currents move slowly", and where the dissent, "of some intellectuals, some poets, some physicists and a few philosophers", questioning the path she is taking and the reality of her distant goals, is too weak and lacking in support of the majority to cause the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Does this not contradict the earlier stated finding?

Is it just a few philosophers, some in-

tellectuals, some poets, etc. that stand in opposition to the political regime? What about the "potentially explosive force" of the reawakening nationalism of the subjugated nations and the resentment of these peoples against the "Great Russianism of Moscow", against the growing stress of "Great Russian Culture" so chauvinistic toward the non-Russian peoples in the Union? These feelings and this resentment, assuredly gains publicity when they are articulated by "some in-

tellectuals", "some poets", etc., but surely they are an expression of sentiments harbored in the hearts of the non-Russian masses, not limited to the small group of intellectual dissenters. For every poet, philosopher and physicist behind the barbed wires of Soviet concentration camps, there are literally thousands of ordinary men and women, political prisoners, in these self-same camps.

Can a slave state prevail?

Lew Shankowsky

Nestor Makhno: Anarchist

Michael Pali, "The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno 1918—1921. An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution". Publication on Russia and Europe of the Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies (formerly Far Eastern and Russian Institute) Number 7. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London 1976. 428 pp. \$14.50.

This book is worthy of the most thoughtful attention of every serious student of the recent Ukrainian history. It deals with one significant aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917—1921), which was the anarchist peasant movement under the leadership of Nestor Ivanovich Makhno (1918—1921). This aspect is presented against the back-ground of the Ukrainian Revolution and the Ukrainian Liberation War (1917—1920), which are discussed in detail. From this point of view, the volume is perhaps the most satisfactory discussion of the subject accessible to the English reader.

First, the book is remarkable for its scholarship. Every nook and corner of the sources was ransacked by the author in preparation of his book. Every reader will be pleased by the size the notes (pp. 261—312) and will surely not be disappointed in the size of the bibliography (pp. 313—

416) numbering more than 100 pages. In no other book has the organization of the source material been so painstakingly carried through, and nowhere else have the peculiarities of the source material been so well presented, as in Dr. Pali's scholarly and objective book. If we add to this that Dr. Pali possesses a rare gift of uniting profound and broad scholarship with a spirited and entertaining literary style, we may be sure that his book will be a favorite with every scholar and every reader, and a sort of a complete reference manual for the years to come.

This admirable volume was designed by the author to take the reader into the life and activities of Nestor Makhno. He was an anarchist of Ukrainian peasant origin and a leader of a partisan "army" which often changed sides in the revolution-war, was noted for its bravery and extraordinary exploits. Makhno and his "army" played a significant role in the Revolution, being a formidable military threat to various forces contending for Ukraine, and having some support of Ukrainian peasant masses in Southern Ukraine.

However, the Ukrainian national historians do not consider Nestor Makhno a Ukrainian national hero. With the exception of the late Prof. Vasyly Du-

brovsky, Mykyta Myronenko, or some young followers of anarchism, (there are some of this orientation among Ukrainian students), Makhno is generally considered a negative force in the Ukrainian liberation movement. I think that there was a turning point in Makhno's life: this was his marriage to Halyna Kuzenko in Summer of 1919. Halyna Kuzenko was a teacher, a very beautiful woman, a courageous partisan and a nationally conscious Ukrainian. In the USA, she would have been dubbed a "Ukrainian nationalist." Under her influence, Nestor Makhno changed considerably, and he changed his attitude to the Ukrainian government and the Ukrainian Army. While in the first period of the Makhno army's activities in Ukraine, there were cases of Makhnovite attacks on Ukrainian troops, or assassination by Makhno of another Ukrainian partisan leader, Ataman Matviy (according to Dr. Palij — Nykyfor, what I think is not true) Hryhoriev (Grigoriev in Russian spelling), there were no attacks against the Ukrainian troops after Makhno's marriage to Halyna Kuzmenko. Instead, there were cases of fraternization, as, e. g., in Uman where the crack unit of the Ukrainian army, the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen Brigade (USS) supplied Makhno's army with arms and ammunition, and took the wounded and sick *Makhnovtsi* into Ukrainian hospitals (they were murdered by Gen. Denikin's White Army when it took the city). From Uman, Makhno's army started its famous raid in the hinterland of the White Army, which started Sept. 26, 1919. Makhno's army moved a distance of 600 km in 11 days, defeated the units of the White Army, took the cities of Kryvyi Rih, Oleksandrivsk (now Zaporizhzhia). Melitopil, Berdiansk, and, on Oct. 7, the city of Mariopol, threatening directly the IIQ of Gen. Denikin's army in Tahanrih. Finally it turned against Katerynoslav (now Dnipropetrovsk), took the city and

held it for six weeks. After the catastrophe of the White Army, Makhno's army turned against the Red Army. In 1921, the army was overwhelmed by the superior power of the Red Army and it was forced to flee Ukraine. Makhno and his entourage became emigres. While in France, Makhno and his associates wrote a little about their movement (Arshinov, *Memoirs of Makhno*, publications of Makhno Library), but only in Dr. Palij's book could the movement find its final history, based on many different sources and most advanced modern criticism.

Makhno, who after his marriage to Halyna Kuzmenko stubbornly fought the enemies of Ukraine, the Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Russian forces, contending for the domination of Ukraine, deserves a monographic study by a Ukrainian born scholar. The Makhnovite movement was part and parcel of the recent Ukrainian history and it should be known by every student of Ukrainian history. Dr. Palij did not write his book because he was under the spell of Makhno's anarchism, but because he understood its influence on the ultimate failure of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Revolution. And he understood the reasons for the ultimate failure of the Makhno movement too. In the Conclusion, Dr. Palij states: "Makhno had no positive goal either as a Ukrainian or an anarchist... He was isolated from the national forces that strove to maintain independence of Ukraine... and he had not worked out a plan for... a stateless society in the region of movement... To change the course of events of the Revolution would have required a much greater effort by the people and its leaders. Only the united effort of all national forces under unified leadership and with a single goal could have established and maintained an independent Ukrainian state. Thus the Makhno movement was not a constructive factor in the Ukrainian

National Revolution..." It is impossible to add something to this statement.

Dr. Michael Palij wrote a serious and important book on our recent history. The book is not limited to the presentation of Makhno's anarchism (as David Footman and Victor Peters did in their books on Makhno), but gives us a very broad picture of all Ukrainian physical and moral strivings to achieve independence of Ukraine. The book is characterized by an unquestionable amplitude of knowledge, and by a certain skill and completeness of

treatment. The Ukrainian reader, especially the young one, will immensely profit from this accumulation of knowledge. The American reader will find in the book a very meritorious account of the Ukrainian history, free of usual mystifications, distortions, and lies, founded on a familiarity with the best authorities, written in excellent style, and what is most important, accurate in its statements and facts. The volume is well equipped with maps, tables, and illustrations. An 11 page index closes the book.

Dr. Aleksander Sokolyszyn

Soviet Psychiatry and Methods of Abuse

"Russian's Political Hospitals; the Abuse of Psychiatry in the Soviet Union" by Sidney Bloch and Peter Reddaway. London, Victor Gollanz Ltd., c1977. 510 p. Ill., Ports. 22 cm. Includes bibliographies and index.

The United States and other Western powers are hoping that with help of advanced technology, they may be able to help mankind in all aspects of life, particularly medicine. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is fighting against human rights and freedom through the use of psychiatric abuse.

The Western world has reaped success for its efforts, but all the Soviet Russian government has received is condemnation for persecuting dissidents. Never before has a government applied psychiatric torture to political prisoners. The book, "Russia's Political Hospitals; The Abuse of Psychiatry in the Soviet Union," is a documented study of responses by Western psychiatrists to the psychiatric abuses in the USSR, which could be called "crimes against humanity".

Vladimir Bukowsky, to whom, among others, the book is dedicated, wrote in the

foreword that human rights defenders in the Soviet Union are the key targets of Soviet psychiatric abuse. These human rights defenders include Ukrainians and other nationalities, he wrote.

A preface and 10 chapters, dealing with different aspects of Soviet psychiatry, psychiatric abuse, the international response, the victims, and the oppositions to the psychiatric abuse, follow the foreword.

The book ends with 10 appendices, including a list of victims, letters and other material relating to each topic, 58 pictures, a table of reference, and an index.

It is interesting to note that over 60 pages are devoted to Ukrainians, such as Leonid Plyushch, his wife, Tatiana, Mykola Plakhotniuk, Ivan Dziuba, Anatoliy Lupynis, Mykhaylo Lutsyk, Valetyn Moroz, Gen. Petro Hryhorenko, and his wife, Zinaida. Among the photos are Hryhorenko and his wife, Plyushch and his wife, Plakhotniuk, Moroz and Lukyanenko.

The American edition was published under the title of "Psychiatric Terror".

We consider this book to be of great value for anti-Communist struggle.

The Poltava Affair

The Poltava Affair, A Russian Warning: An American Tragedy — by Glen B. Infield — Macmillan Publishing Co., 265 pp.

With the de-classification of much of hitherto secret documents relating to the conduct of the last world war, the list of books appearing on the market utilizing this material, keeps growing. Infield's book is one of these. It is an account of a secret World War II American operation, code-named "Frantic", which involved the procuring and the operation of US air bases in the Soviet Union for B-17 bombers.

Such bases were needed to enable American Flying Fortresses to mount round-trip shuttle bombing missions of strategic targets in Eastern Germany and its occupied territories further east, which were beyond the range of these British-based aircraft. Having these bases in the USSR, they could land there, re-fuel, re-arm and return to homebases in the United Kingdom, attacking additional German targets on the homeward flight.

American military planners also hoped that US bases and the presence of their bombers in the East would divert German forces from Western Europe, thereby ensuring the success of the planned Allied landing in France. It can be safely assumed that this argument was not put forth to Soviet leaders too forcefully.

The Americans were also anxious to demonstrate their friendship and goodwill, win the trust and confidence of the Soviet-Russians, and build a foundation for full and close co-operation on the post-war period. Lastly, and probably most importantly, the American side hoped that the granting of bases for shuttle bombing would be the foot in the door leading to the provision of further bases in eastern Siberia from which US airplanes could bomb the Japanese homeland.

Whatever the motives or considerations, "Operation Frantic" is now only of academic interest, as the operation failed. It failed because it was not meant to succeed from the outset if the Soviet-Russian "ally" had anything to say. It is truly amazing how much patience (naivete would be a better word) Americans displayed in the protracted and frustrating negotiations with Soviet Russian officials, from Stalin down, before their wish was granted. In the course of these negotiations, it is simply appalling to read how the American negotiators knuckled under to all Soviet Russian demands and pre-conditions; how much they gave away to appease their "ally" and, after being kicked in the teeth time and time again, how they swallowed their pride and kept coming back for more of the same. All the while, they kept comforting themselves with the most ingenious and ludicrous theories to explain away their ally's intransigent behaviour.

In the end, in exchange for stepped-up aid, US technology, secret military equipment, and top-secret US intelligence, the Americans had to settle for only three bases, all in Ukraine: at Poltava, Myrhorod and Piryatin. Even so, they were also compelled to accept severe restrictions on the number of US military personnel stationed there, on air corridors for ingress and egress of American aircraft, on the quantity and type of navigation aids to be employed, a prohibition of aerial reconnaissance and of all activities related to meteorological data gathering for purposes of weather forecasting, and finally, on the targets to be bombed. Naturally, the Reds did not wish any property damaged in areas slated for incorporation into their empire on cessation of hostilities... Were the suspicions of the Americans aroused? Not at all!

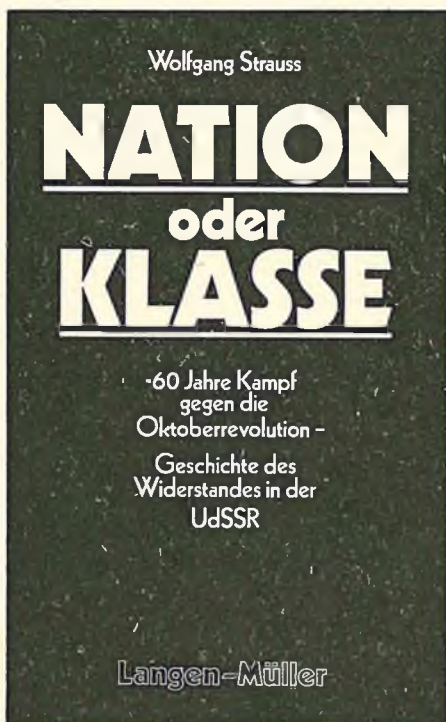
The condition in the agreement which proved to be the most disastrous for the Americans was the provision that Soviet Russian forces alone would assume the exclusive role of providing all air and land defense for the three bases. On June 21, 1944, German warplanes attacked the American air base at Poltava, destroying and damaging more than 60 US heavy bombers and other aircraft, communications equipment, parts and supplies of all kinds, stocks of ammunition and aviation fuel, and surface vehicles of various types. American fighter planes, of course, were

permitted to take off to engage the enemy bombers. And while these circled over the airfield almost an hour and a half, methodically inflicting the greatest possible damage, not a *single* Red air force fighter was sent aloft to attack or pursue the German bombers!

On the basis of all the facts collected by the author of the book, he concludes that the Poltava disaster was a result of Stalin's connivance and treachery. But there were no American protests lodged with their ally, and American war material and aid of all kinds continued to flow to the USSR, enabling the Soviet Russian dictator to further his plans for conquest in the process of empire building. And long after the military necessity for such bases had disappeared, the Americans continued keeping and using them, albeit on a smaller scale.

Infield sees the greatest tragedy of all in the American failure to recognize Soviet Russian duplicity and to see the behaviour and attitudes displayed by them throughout this sordid affair for what they were: a harbinger of things to come.

Like so many American and British writers, Infield keeps referring in his book to the inhabitants of Poltava and Ukraine as "Russians". It is difficult to explain this unfortunate practice, particularly as he and others would not (and if they did they would be laughed out of the country) as an example, describe the natives of Scotland or Edinburgh as English, — rather than as Scots, or at the very least as British.



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"The Trumpeter", a quarterly publication of the Croatian Philatelic Society, Affiliate 53 of the American Philatelic Society, is available to those interested in stamp collecting.

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features, society news and a Croatian-language section.

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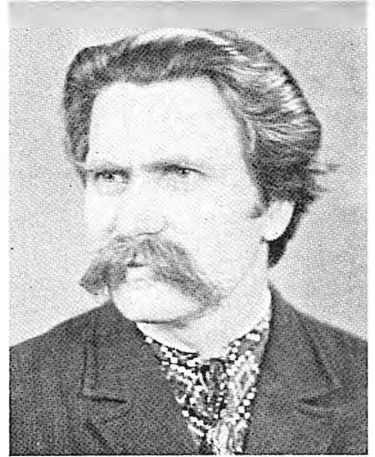
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A GIANT IN FAITH*

*"If I were the last Ukrainian
on earth, I would still continue
to fight for Ukraine."*

Lev Lukyanenko



Steadfast you stand, though weakened by past years
In the camps, in defense of your beloved land.
Despite of all attempts to silence you
By our foe, a free Ukraine you still demand.
Of the feelings of hopelessness that some seem so
To Hold, you've vowed to never yourself embrace.
And, with a faith undying in Ukraine,
To the world you dared present her case.
As were the Apostles in early Christian times,
You are possessed of a fiery spirit and
A faith unbounded in a cause also just:
The freeing from tyranny of your native land.
An example to us you ever will remain
Of a giant in faith enduring in Ukraine.

Paul Nedwell
August 19, 1978

* This poem is written and dedicated to Ukrainian jurist Levko Lukyanenko, who was just recently sentenced (July 21st) by another Soviet kangaroo court in Ukraine for his association with and participation in the human and national rights movement in Ukraine. (Articles on pages 13—15.)